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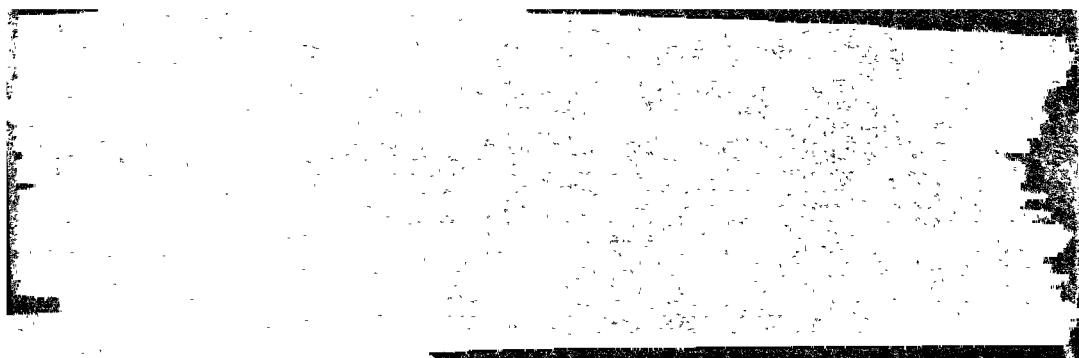
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THE ASIATIC REVIEW

JANUARY, 1940

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

BURMA AND HER LAND COMMUNICATIONS

By F. BURTON LEACH, C.I.E.

ONE of the most remarkable things about Burma is its geographical isolation from the rest of the world. By sea it is not on any through route, as Rangoon lies well off the line between any other two ports; even the Calcutta-Singapore steamers—the only passenger lines which make it a port of call—have to go several hundred miles out of their way to do so. By land, though it is bordered on one side by India and on another by China, it has no railway communication with either, and only in the last year has a motorable road been made into China. There is still no road into India passable by any kind of wheeled vehicle. Communications with the other two countries on its frontiers, French Indo-China and Siam, are equally primitive. The former only touches it for about 100 miles along the Mekong river on the extreme east of the Shan States, and the country on both sides is so wild and thinly populated that communications have never been seriously considered. With Siam, however, it has a land frontier of about 1,000 miles, and there has been contact, sometimes for trade, sometimes for war, for centuries. It is now possible to go from Rangoon to Bangkok by motor by a circuitous route through the Shan States to Chiangmai and thence by rail to Bangkok, a distance of some 1,200 miles, but for purposes of through transport this route need hardly be considered. Only since air-transport started has Burma come on to any world route of importance, Rangoon being on the line from England to Australia.

It is not my purpose to-day, however, to discuss sea or air-routes,

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but only the existing and possible communications by land between Burma and the neighbouring countries, which have become a matter of much greater interest owing to the Sino-Japanese war and the construction of the motor road from the Yangtze to the Burma frontier, which has given reality to some extent to the project which has been discussed for the last seventy-five years of making Rangoon a port of China. This is the most interesting and important of the land routes between Burma and the rest of the world, but before coming to it, I would like to speak briefly about communications with other countries.

THE SIAMESE BORDER

It is convenient to start with Siam. The Siamese or Thai, as they now ask to be officially called, are of the same race as the Shans, who form the bulk of the inhabitants of the plateau country on the east of Burma and of three or four of the northernmost districts of Burma proper, and it is only natural that there should have been constant relations, more often warlike than peaceful, between the two countries. The natural approach to Siam from India and the west would seem to be from one of the ports in Tenasserim, the southern coastal strip of Burma, and the most southerly district, Mergui, was for some centuries part of Siam, and its old port of Tenasserim, no longer accessible by sea-going ships, was the principal port of Siam for all travellers from the west. Recent investigations have shown that it was probably by a route further south that Indians first reached the great Khmer Empire of South-Eastern Asia, whose ruins show clear traces of Hindu influence, but in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Mergui was the usual approach from India to Siam.

The road, however, has long become nothing but a mere jungle track, hardly feasible even for pack-animals, and there has never been any serious proposal to open out communications there either by road or rail. If Burma and Siam are ever linked, this is the easiest route, as the densely wooded mountains which divide the two countries increase in height and in breadth from south to north. On the other hand, Mergui is a long way south of the line from Rangoon to Bangkok, and such proposals for a railway as

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have been considered were to start east from Moulmein or Tavoy. The country, however, is extremely difficult, and it is most improbable that any trade would spring up which would make a railway or a motor road a commercial success. The few passengers who want to go from Rangoon to Bangkok can now do so by air in two hours, and it looks as if air transport had finally killed any idea of a Burma-Siam railway. Even a road is hardly more than a dream of the remote future.

THE APPROACHES TO INDIA

Let us turn now from the south-east to the north-west of Burma and consider the question of communication with India. There are two possibilities and two feasible routes in each case. The first possibility is to cross the mountains which separate Burma proper from Arakan, the coastal strip running from the borders of Bengal down to Cape Negrais, and thence on to Chittagong, where there is a railway to Calcutta; the second is to start from some point in the north of Burma and link up with the Assam railway. The second gives the shortest length of new road or rail to be constructed, but the country is very difficult and very sparsely populated; the journey from Calcutta to Rangoon would be very long and expensive, and there is little prospect of diverting either passengers or goods from the sea-route, which would be both quicker and cheaper. To go through Arakan would involve more new construction, but it would link Arakan with the rest of Burma, and there would be a certain amount of local traffic to be picked up there. A serious drawback is that the main line could not well pass through Akyab, the only important port, which would have to be approached by a branch line.

There are two possible passes over the mountains from Burma to Arakan, the Taungup pass in the extreme south, leading from Padaung opposite Prome on the Irrawaddy to Taungup on the Arakan coast, and thence up the whole length of Arakan to Chittagong, and the An pass leading from Minbu on the Irrawaddy to the neighbourhood of Kyaukpyu. Both these routes have been surveyed for a railway; the Taungup pass, being only about 2,000 feet high, is the easiest way across the Arakan moun-

tains, the An pass being about 4,000 feet, but Arakan is an extremely difficult country for either rail or road construction, as it consists largely of mangrove swamps intersected by numerous tidal creeks, and the railway or road would have to be heavily embanked for most of its course, and the bridging would be extremely expensive.

Further north there are two possible routes to link Burma with Assam without touching Arakan. The first is to start from the Chindwin river and go through Manipur, and the second is to start from Mogaung on the Burma railway and go through the Hukong valley. Both routes involve crossing a long stretch of mountainous country, much of it practically uninhabitable, particularly on the Hukong valley route, where there is no chance of any local traffic. It can safely be said that no railway from Burma to India is likely to be a commercial success, and it could only be justified on strategical grounds, in the event of the sea-route being interrupted. This happened for three weeks in September, 1914, when the *Emden* was in the Bay of Bengal, and this event naturally led to much discussion of the question, but nothing has ever come of it. Since then, the development of air transport has made the construction of either a road or a railway between India and Burma less likely than ever.

THE ACCESS TO CHINA

This is as much as I propose to say about communication between Burma and the other countries across its frontiers, and I will now turn to the most interesting question at the moment, the new Burma-China road, and the projected railway.

There has for centuries been a road across China to Yunnan, and thence down to the Irrawaddy river at Bhamo. The first description we have of it is in the pages of Marco Polo, and it is clear from his description that it was an old trade route even in those days. It seems certain that Marco Polo himself did not visit Burma and wrote of the road only from hearsay, and it was not until the middle of the seventeenth century, when the British appear to have had a factory at Bhamo for a short time, that any European visited the north of Burma.

All communication with the interior of Burma then ceased, and it was only after the annexation of Arakan and Tenasserim that Major Burney, the resident at Ava, obtained permission to send an officer to visit Bhamo in 1835. The officer was Captain Hannay, who obtained from the Chinese traders the first reliable information about the routes into Yunnan. He did not, however, go up from Bhamo into China, and the withdrawal of the British resident at Ava a year later closed the country again for another thirty years, and it was not until 1868, after the second Burmese war, that Captain Sladen made the first journey into Yunnan from Burma. His objective was Talifu, which had been reached from the east by the great French explorer, Francis Garnier; but Captain Sladen was unable to get beyond Tengyueh, owing to the disturbed state of the province, which was in the throes of the great Muhammadan rebellion. It was not till 1874 that the country between Talifu and Tengyueh was at last penetrated by Augustus Margary, of the Chinese Consular Service, who travelled unarmed from Shanghai to Bhamo, one of the most brilliant feats of exploration ever accomplished.

Ten years later Upper Burma was annexed, and the country was soon opened up and the old trade between Burma and China was revived. It is remarkable, however, that even before the route had ever been traversed by a European the idea of Rangoon becoming a port of south-west China had taken firm root. As early as 1861 a paper was published in the *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* on the communication of the south-west provinces of China with Rangoon, and in 1864 Dr. Williams wrote on the question of trade with China through Burma in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, while in 1865 another Mr. Williams actually wrote a memorandum on railway communication. Even more remarkable was a memorial on the subject from the Wakefield Chamber of Commerce to the Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury in 1869, and two years earlier the Rangoon Chamber of Commerce had written to a "mercantile man," Mr. Theodore Stewart, who accompanied Captain Sladen's mission, expressing the hope "that a prosperous trade will ere long be established between China and British Burmah, and that the time is not far

distant when the prediction that Rangoon will become the Liverpool of the East will no longer be a dream of the future but an accomplished fact."

THE RAILWAY PROJECT

It must be remembered that at this time the possibilities of the development of Burma itself were underrated; it was not until the opening of the Suez Canal and the consequent expansion of rice-cultivation in Lower Burma that Rangoon became a great port; also the geographical difficulties of crossing Yunnan were not realized until Margary's journey from Talifu to Bhamo. The earlier talks of a railway were sometimes based on the idea of a line running north from Moulmein through the Shan States rather than from Upper Burma. This it is true would avoid the Salween crossing, but it still leaves the Mekong crossing to be accomplished, and this length of line would be prohibitively expensive. As soon as the railway was carried through to Mandalay after the annexation of Upper Burma in 1886, and afterwards, when it was extended to Lashio in the Northern Shan States, it was realized that the only feasible route was from Bhamo or from Lashio.

The Lashio branch was intended to continue to the Salween at the Kunlong ferry, with the idea of eventual extension into China; but this project was vetoed by Lord Curzon when he visited Burma as Viceroy of India in 1901. He was remarkably outspoken, even for Curzon, on the scheme. "The idea," he wrote, "that the wealth of Szechuan would stream down a single metre-gauge line, many miles of which would have to scale mountains by a rack, to Rangoon, while the great arterial rivers flow through the heart of the province of Szechuan itself—which are quite competent to convey its trade to and from the sea—is one, as it seems to me in the present stage of Central Asian evolution, almost of midsummer madness."

Whether or not Lord Curzon had seen reports of Major Davies' journeys in Yunnan in 1899 and 1900 I do not know, but his opinion found support in the reports of earlier travellers. Margary's untimely death a month after his great journey deprived the world of any detailed report from him, but an expedition which went up

next year to enquire into his murder included Mr. Baber, also of the Chinese Consular Service, who first recorded the vast difficulties of the country between Talifu and the Burma frontier. "The valleys, or rather abysses, of the Salween and Mekong," he wrote, "must long remain insuperable difficulties, not to mention many other obstacles." He also pointed out that the natural approach to eastern Yunnan is from the Gulf of Tongking.

In 1908 Major Davies published his book *Yunnan*, the fruit of his three years' journeys in 1895, 1899 and 1900, when he marched over 5,000 miles, covering all the important routes, and reaching many places never before visited by a European. This book remains the most detailed and authoritative description of the country. He discusses at length all the possible routes for a road or railway, and his account confirms the difficulties reported by Baber and previous travellers. There is no way of getting from Rangoon to the Yangtze valley without crossing somewhere the Salween and the Mekong, two of the largest rivers of Asia, which run as Baber says in abysses rather than valleys, separated from one another and from the country on either side by precipitous ranges of mountains whose passes are between 7,000 and 8,000 feet above sea-level. The Mekong, where the new road crosses it, is 4,000 feet, and the Salween is less than 2,500 feet, and these are by no means the only large rivers and mountain ranges to be negotiated, so the switchback nature of the road can easily be imagined.

THE BURMA-YUNNAN ROAD

In spite of these difficulties the Chinese have succeeded in constructing a road passable by motor vehicles, at least during the dry season, from the Burma frontier to Yunnanfu, now called Kunming, the capital of Yunnan, and thence to the Yangtze at Chungking, the temporary capital of China. In December last, the American Ambassador to China motored the whole distance from Chungking to Rangoon, about 2,000 miles, in 13 days, an average of 150 miles a day, which is sufficient to prove that the road is quite fit for traffic. The most difficult part of the road is the last 350 miles from Hsiakwan to the Burmese frontier. As far west as Hsiakwan the road had been constructed three or four years ago,

but the last portion was made in about eighteen months after the outbreak of the war with Japan.

Baber's description of this country and the rough contour of the road which you see here give some idea of the difficulties to be overcome, and when it is added that this 350 miles was constructed almost without any mechanical appliances, by human labour working against time, when the country was in the throes of a disastrous war, the magnitude of the task can be to some extent realized. Nobody who knows this part of the world—a tangled mass of precipitous mountains cleft by gigantic torrents, the upper waters of some of the greatest rivers in the world—can fail to be amazed at the engineering feat which has been accomplished, a feat which, with the limited means available, could only have been accomplished by the people who built the Great Wall of China.

No description of the road has, as far as I am aware, been published in any permanent form, but there have been a few accounts of it in the Press and in private pamphlets which give a good idea of it to anybody who has experience of that part of the world or of mountain roads in general.

Starting from the Burma side, the road leaves the rail-head of Lashio, about 3,000 feet above sea-level, and climbs for about 50 miles over some of the finest country in Burma, much of it open rolling downs, the highest point being about 5,000 feet. It then descends for another 50 or 60 miles to the Chinese frontier, the first two towns in China, Wangting and Chefang, being, with the exception of the Salween crossing, the lowest points on the road. From there it continues to Mangshih, about 3,300 feet, the usual terminus of the first day's run. The Burma section of the road up to mile 105 was constructed some ten years ago, and is part of the Lashio-Bhamo road, and the only new construction in Burma is the short stretch from mile 105 to the Chinese frontier at Wangting.

MOUNTAINOUS STRETCHES

After Mangshih the real difficulties begin, the climb to Lungling, and beyond Lungling to the pass at 8,000 feet, being very steep; and from the pass the road goes down equally steeply to the Salween bridge, which is only 2,500 feet. This bridge and the

Mekong bridge are both suspension bridges of the same size, 860 metres long, and are said to be able to take a 10-ton load; the construction of them in these inaccessible situations is a remarkable engineering feat.

From the Salween the road climbs again to Takuansse at nearly 7,000 feet, and thence drops 1,000 feet to Paoshan, where the road meets the old mule-track from Bhamo, the first large Chinese city, and the usual second night's halt. This section is easier, and it is said to be possible to do 40 miles an hour for considerable stretches. The third day's run goes down from Paoshan to the Mekong, which is crossed at about 4,000 feet, and thence by a veritable switchback to Hsiakwan, 460 miles from Lashio. Hsiakwan is the road junction for Talifu and for trade routes from Tibet, and is the most important commercial town in the west of Yunnan.

From Hsiakwan to Kunming is 260 miles, and it is possible to do this in one day, but it is more usual to stop at Chuhsung and leave a short run of 120 miles for the fifth day. Between Hsiakwan and Chuhsung the road reaches its highest point, nearly 9,000 feet above sea-level. From here it descends to Chenan and the last 150 miles on to Kunming is across the great Yunnan plateau varying from 5,000 to 6,250 feet, and this section of the road is comparatively easy.

Kunming, better known by its old name of Yunnanfu, the capital of Yunnan, is an important centre, as the terminus of the Red River railway from Haiphong, and the junction of several roads from Szechuan and Kweichau provinces. There is a foreign population of about 500, of whom half are French, and there are several hotels with European accommodation, a luxury not to be found anywhere else on the road, though it is proposed to build inns at the principal halts. There is also at present no petrol to be obtained on the road between Kunming and the Burma frontier, so it is necessary to carry enough for 600 miles. Most of the road is still unmetalled, and until it is metalled it will only be motorable, at any rate for heavy vehicles, in the dry season from October to May. Even after metalling it will be liable to frequent interruptions from landslides in many parts.

ROUTES TO THE YANGTZE

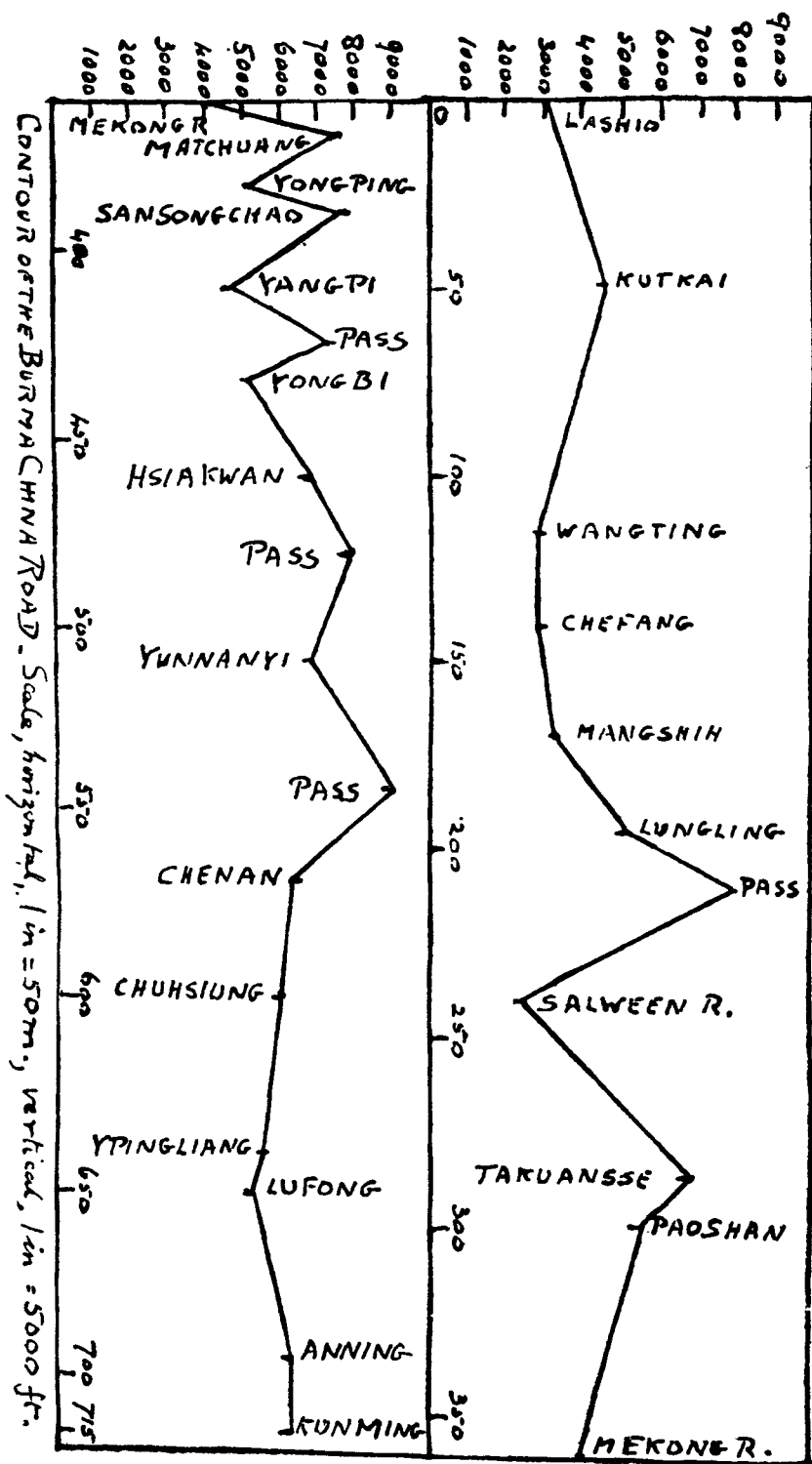
Beyond Kunming there are several possible routes to the Yangtze. In a direct line north the distance is less than 100 miles; but the country is impracticable for a motor road, and the river is not navigable at this point, so a longer route had to be selected. The highest point on the Yangtze which could be considered for the road terminus is at Suifu, where the Min river joins it, about 400 miles from Kunming. An even longer route was, however, chosen, running eastwards to Kweiyang, the capital of Kweichau province, and thence northwards to meet the Yangtze at Chungking, the present capital of China, a distance of about 700 miles from Kunming, 1,400 miles from Lashio, and nearly 2,000 miles from Rangoon. The selection of the longer route from Kunming to the Yangtze was no doubt due to the fact that the country is easier and more thickly populated and trade prospects are better; but what trade there has been in the past from China to Burma has been mainly raw silk from Szechuan, which comes down to Kunming or Hsiakwan from the north, and the Kunming-Kweiyang-Chungking road will not be of much assistance to this.

Not content with the construction of this road, the Chinese are reported to have already commenced the construction of a railway from Kunming westwards to Hsiakwan, to be continued to the Burma frontier and connected with the Burma railway at Lashio. The latest reports speak of its being open to traffic in a year's time, which seems incredible, even allowing for the millions of labourers whom China can produce if required. The engineer-in-charge, however, is said to have constructed another railway in China of 215 miles in ten months. The railway will apparently follow the road from Kunming to Hsiakwan, but will take a completely different route between Hsiakwan and Lashio, running south and west to cross the Salween at the Kunlong ferry, and it will be useless until the Mandalay-Lashio line is continued to this point, a distance of some 80 miles. As far as is known nothing is being done to construct this extension at present. The Burma railways are metre gauge, and it was imagined that the Chinese would make their line of the same gauge, but it is now reported that the last 280 miles to the frontier—the most difficult section

—will be 0.6 metre, about 24 inches, which is narrow even for a mountain railway. The cost is estimated at \$100,000,000 for labour alone, apart from imported material, for a length of 530 miles. This change of gauge will entail breaking bulk twice, and it seems doubtful if the estimated freight capacity of 300 tons a day, which is very small, will be reached. The one thing that is cheap is coal, of which Yunnan contains an almost unlimited quantity at present entirely undeveloped for lack of transport.

COMMERCIAL PROSPECTS

How far these gigantic schemes will ever be a commercial success is open to question. Lord Curzon may have underrated the trade possibilities of the trans-Salween route, which he spoke of as only enough to fill two dug-outs, but the value of the Burma-China trade has never amounted to more than a few hundred thousand pounds in normal times. At the present moment there is a demand for munitions due to the closing of the Chinese ports, but this is presumably only temporary, and whether in peace-time trade will justify the cost of construction and maintenance of the road and railway seems doubtful. Western Yunnan is a poor and thinly populated area, and the natural outlet from Kunming is down to the east. The Red River railway to Haiphong, which was built at the beginning of this century, is about 550 miles, almost exactly the same distance as Lashio to Rangoon, and the extra cost of freight to Rangoon, which is more than twice as far from Kunming, is going to be a very severe handicap. Also it must be remembered in considering this road as a back door into China, and not merely as a link between Burma and the two provinces of Yunnan and Szechuan, that Chungking itself is very isolated. It is 600 or 700 miles from the nearest railway at Hankow, which lies as far to the east of it as Kunming does to the west. Distances in China are so great that it is difficult for us to realize them, but the population and the possibilities of future trade when the country is opened up are also incalculable. There are doubtless men still living who thought the idea of trans-American railways linking the Atlantic to the Pacific was fantastic. Perhaps there are also men living who will see trans-China railways linking the Pacific to the Indian Ocean.



DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A JOINT meeting of the Association and the Royal Central Asian Society was held at the Royal Empire Society, Northumberland Avenue, W.C. 2, on Wednesday, November 1, 1939, when a paper entitled "Burma and her Land Communications" (illustrated by lantern slides) was read by Mr. F. Burton Leach, C.I.E. Sir Hugh Stephenson, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., was in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: Before we begin our proceedings this afternoon, I feel that you would wish me to refer to the lamented death of Colonel Muirhead, who so recently gave up the appointment of Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State to India and Burma in order to take up again his war duties. Colonel Muirhead was a keen member of the East India Association, and most of us well remember the very interesting talk he gave us only a few months ago on his flying visit to India and Burma, in the course of which he inspected the Burma end of this new China road, which is so closely connected with the subject of the lecture this afternoon. The Association has suffered a great loss in his death, and I think you will wish that your sorrow at this event should be placed on record.

It is a great pleasure to me to preside this afternoon and to introduce the lecturer, Mr. Burton Leach. He needs no introduction, as most of us have already listened to very interesting lectures of his on Burma trade and kindred matters. Mr. Leach served for twenty-nine years in the Indian Civil Service in Burma. I never had the pleasure of working with him, because he left Burma before I went there; but I can vouch for the value of his work and for his competence to speak on Burma matters. Mr. Leach came back again while I was still Governor and took up the appointment of Political Secretary to the Burma Chamber of Commerce, which has given him an outlook from an economic view-point which does not fall to the lot of most members of the Service and which is of particular value to the subject of his lecture this afternoon.

(Mr. Leach then read his paper.)

The CHAIRMAN: I am sure you will agree with me, we have been listening to a most interesting lecture, and I hope that many of the audience may be able to throw further light on some of the points on which Mr. Leach has touched.

When the question of the separation of Burma from India was under consideration, the principal relevancy of Burma's land communications was to the question of Burma's defence, and the difficulties of transport and access were then to that extent an asset in that they diminished the chances of invasion and decreased the necessity for military protection. This was only three years ago, and the idea of a motor road from China to Burma was then very high up in the air. This helps us to realize what Mr. Leach has referred to as the magnitude of the task undertaken in building this motor road from China. After that one does not like to prophesy, but I think

Mr. Leach has clearly shown that the likelihood of any similar change on the other land frontiers is extremely small. Land communication with India can only be justified on strategic grounds, and then only if we have lost the command of the sea, not merely for three weeks as in the days of the *Emden*, but permanently.

The linking up of Arakan is an internal problem of communication, which must be left to be dealt with in due course as Burma expands, but I doubt whether it is anywhere near the forefront of the present development schemes before the Burma Government.

Mr. Leach has therefore concentrated on the construction of the new road. The wonderful feat of the completion of the road in an extraordinarily short space of time is undoubtedly due to Japan having deprived China of its ports. It is true that even before the war China had schemes of road and rail development which included Yunnanfu in their scope, and there were vague talks of extending them to Bhamo and Myitkyina; but invested interests were strong, and the likelihood of a road link to Burma was exceedingly remote. The driving power of the new road was the need for munitions, but we cannot contemplate that the China-Japan war will last for ever, and therefore our main interest in the road is from an economic point of view. The lecturer paints these prospects with a very gloomy brush, but at the end he tried to cheer us with a vision, not of local trade, but of a time when China and Burma, and doubtless other countries, have laid aside their rivalries and joined in co-operation for a vast trade through a fully developed country.

We are fortunate this afternoon in having with us Mr. Chen, Councillor of the Chinese Embassy, and I hope he will be able to give us some more cheering view of the prospects of the future of this road. It is a depressing thought that such a magnificent achievement should be doomed to disappear through landslides or disuse, and I hope that some of us may be able to point out a way whereby this new road, this new link with the vast Empire of China, may be made to serve and develop the prosperity of Burma. I do not know what the prospects are of minerals in Yunnan. Modern mining can do a very great deal more than the Chinese mining. We are told that "Western Yunnan is a poor and thinly populated area." Is this inevitable? Why is it sparsely populated? Is it due to denudation which might be remedied? Is there any possibility of exploiting some new crop relatively valuable to its bulk, such as tea? Is there any possibility of expanding a tourist industry? I have not been further than the borders of Burma myself, but the country up to that border would be an asset to any tourist agency. And I remember the thrill with which I walked over the China border for the purpose of saying that I had set foot in China.

I think we shall all agree that it is a depressing note to end up on if we find that this great achievement, this monument of human industry, is to be relegated to a grass-grown track when the immediate need of the present war is over. (Applause.)

Mr. W. C. CHEN (Councillor of the Chinese Embassy): I am very interested in what has been said. You all know how vital it was for the Chinese

Government to have the road to Burma completed, and how important it is to have the route for use at all seasons as soon as possible. During the wet season there is a period of time when it cannot be used, and that is why the Chinese Government are anxious to have a railway, even a light railway, on the existing road laid for temporary use.

The urgency of the case is well understood because of the present need for transporting munitions. The Burma Government has been very liberal with us as to the transit duty for loading and unloading and transmitting material through Burma. I think the Chinese Government can never say that the Burma Government was not liberal with us. For that we have already expressed our thanks at the proper quarters.

As to the commercial value of a railway or a road, one must think that unless you have a road nobody will go to that place to live. When you have a road or a railway, people begin to populate the place and to make it wealth-producing. We are all of the opinion that this railway, when built, will continue to be used after the war is over. On the Burma side from Lashio to the border, I was told, was about one hundred miles. If the Burmese Government do not wish to build the line, we will build it for them. If they wish us to do so, let them let us know and we are quite ready to come in. If it is a matter of subsidy in case after the war that one hundred miles does not pay, there are ways and means of subsidizing that part.

As you know, ever since the Japanese invaded China they have been systematically destroying our higher institutions of learning. Anticipating this, some of these institutions in other parts of China bought land and started buildings in Yunnan and other south-western places, many of them near and around Yunnanfu, before the Japanese invasion. These are permanent institutions; they are there to stay.

Moreover, many factories, including power houses, cotton mills, paper mills and industries of a co-operative nature, are springing up in and near Yunnanfu and in the interior. So I have perfect confidence that the railway will pay for itself, even after the war is over.

Another thing: you have just heard what the Chairman said of the beauty of the country through which the road passes. From the tourist point of view it is very much like Switzerland. Several people who have travelled there have told me this; and I regret that I have never been to that part.

The completion of the Burma-Yunnan railway is a most urgent question for the Chinese Government. We hope that the British authorities will consider the proposition in a favourable light in spite of difficulties. (Applause.)

Mr. BURTON LEACH, in reply, said: I am sorry that the Chairman thought I was gloomy; I really did not mean to be as gloomy as that. I never meant that the road was doomed to disappear and slide down the hillsides. All I wanted to express was that, from experience of even mule tracks through that sort of country, I know how they are bound to be interrupted by landslides during the rains for several years until the ground has settled after being cut, and what a trouble this always is, and what an expense it entails in maintaining the road.

I was very interested in Mr. Chen's remarks, and I see he takes the bold line which the Americans took in opening up North America—that you have to make your communications first and the trade will follow your communications. It is a very fine policy. It succeeded in the United States, and I hope most sincerely that it will succeed in this case.

I never meant to belittle this road. I expressed my admiration for the work. But what I did mean to emphasize was that this road is an even more difficult piece of work from an engineering point of view than the Trans-American crossing. Most of the route in North America is across level plains: you have only a short stretch through the Rockies. This road is like cutting through the Rockies the whole way from the Atlantic to the Pacific. It is an engineering work of the most amazing difficulty, and I most sincerely hope that Mr. Chen's outlook is right and that new industries will spring up following this road and the opening up of communications. I do not know whether I am likely to see such a result, but I hope Mr. Chen, anyhow, will see the prosperous result of this road, and that the communications which have now after so many years of waiting been opened up between Burma and China will not slide down the hill, but will remain permanently and will become the beginning of a new era of prosperity for that part of the world. (Applause.)

Brigadier-General Sir PERCY SYKES: It is my pleasant task to thank the lecturer. We have enjoyed his lecture very much. The part that we in the Royal Central Asian Society have enjoyed most were his last words, and we wish Mr. Chen and his Government all good luck in providing the Burma-China road and rail link.

May I add a word about this combination of the two Societies. People said, "Oh, in this time of war there will only be about twenty people there!" Now I think the two Secretaries must get together and arrange with the Royal Empire Society for a larger hall. (Applause.)

Sir ALFRED CHATTERTON writes:

In 1920 there was submitted to the Tata Industrial Bank proposals by a syndicate asking for financial assistance to construct a railway from Lashio in Upper Burma to the Yang-tsze-Kiang Valley with a branch to the south into Tonkin. I investigated the project on behalf of the Bank and submitted an unfavourable report, mainly for two reasons: (1) The existing trade overland between China and Burma was insignificant in volume and would not be greatly augmented by a long stretch of railway passing through a sparsely peopled and undeveloped country, much of which was a high tableland, the resources of which from a mineral or an agricultural point of view were not likely to prove of any great importance. (2) The railway had, of course, to cross the valleys of the Salween and Mekong rivers and much very rugged country in the high plateau of Yunnan.

When the surveys were made I do not now remember, nor the exact route of the line, but what remains in my memory is a calculation I made of the vertical rise and fall which had to be provided for. This amounted to about 28,000 feet each way. To carry any considerable amount of traffic, the ruling

gradient would have had to be in the neighbourhood of 1 in 40, and to obtain such a gradient would have added, especially in the crossings of the two great river gorges, enormously to the length of the line. As the crow flies, the distance from Lashio to Yunnan is about 350 miles, whilst the motor road from the data furnished by Mr. Leach is 720 miles. What the gradients are on the motor road is not stated, but it is almost certain that in many places they are much steeper than 1 in 40, and I do not think it will be an excessive estimate to suggest that a metre gauge railway will have to be developed to a length of well over 800 miles. Of necessity in such a wild and mountainous country it will have to be very solidly constructed, and even with very cheap Chinese labour it can hardly cost less than a lakh of rupees a mile, or £6,000,000, and this estimate must exclude the cost of the major bridges.

In 1920 the commercial prospects of such a line did not justify so large an outlay, but today the conditions have materially changed. National China has at any rate temporarily, and probably permanently, moved a long way to the West, and it has become a vital matter that she should have an access to the sea other than on the Pacific Coast, and it would be sound policy on the part of the Burma Government to afford China every possible facility to obtain such an outlet down the valley of the Irrawadi river. If the Chinese Government think it worth while to construct a substantial railway to the Burma boundary there should be little hesitation in making the link that will unite it with the Burma railway system. It is to be hoped that the present Sino-Japanese conflict will be ended long before this railway could be constructed, and that the negotiations preliminary to its sanction can be conducted in a peaceful atmosphere, when commercial rather than military considerations will be dominant.

What the future of China will be is now a matter of some uncertainty, but it is rational to assume that there will be a free Republic in the West, and that these hitherto neglected regions will be developed so far as the resources of the country permit. The Province of Yunnan alone has a population of about 12 millions, and is known to possess very considerable mineral wealth, but how much only future scientific prospecting will reveal. The history of the development of the Bawdwin mine offers great encouragement in this direction. Towards the south, where the country is at a lower level, it is stated that there are rich and fertile plains and valleys supporting a very considerable population. Taking a long view, there is but little doubt that the railway should be constructed. Having regard, however, to the very difficult country through which it must be carried, it is essential that very extensive surveys should be made to secure the best possible alignment. Hasty work in this direction may lead to serious mistakes which might militate against its usefulness. Our trade relations with China are very important, but have hitherto been confined entirely to the Pacific Coast. In the opening up of Western China we shall be well advised to lend a helping hand, and as a preliminary step our engineers might well be employed in assisting the Chinese Government to obtain through Burma a western outlet to the sea.

KANGRA, KULU, AND KASHMIR

BY MISS CATHERINE WALTER

AFTER a year of travel over a great part of India the places that remain most vividly in my mind are the Malabar Coast, the Kangra and Kulu valleys, and Kashmir. Malabar needs a chapter to itself, but Kulu, Kangra, Kashmir are in a sense rivals in beauty and interesting in contrast. The first two valleys are rich in colouring, primitive and rough in outline; the valley of Kashmir has been formed on a larger scale and is tinted in delicate pastel shades. I fully realize that many people in this room know far more about these places than I do myself, but at least my slides may remind them of wonderful days spent among these valleys and on mountain-tops.

Incidentally, it was through Kangra and Kulu that Kim and his holy man wandered in their search for peace and The Way, and here the beautiful woman of Kulu was so attracted by Kim. Certainly after seeing these people I wonder that Kim ever left the place, for they are perfectly fascinating.

The Kangra valley lies north-east of Amritsar and is roughly seventy miles long. The height of the valley itself varies from 2,000 to 3,000 feet. Along the north side a long chain of snow mountains, rising from 15,000 to 18,000 feet, forms a barrier to Chamba State. Another line cuts dead across the east end of the valley, running north to south and down into Mandi State. East of this range and parallel to it lies the Kulu valley, 5,000 to 6,000 feet above sea-level. Till quite recently one could only approach Kulu by footpaths over the passes from Kangra or from Simla.

There is now a wildly exciting motor road that curves and clings to the sloping valley edges. In the rainy season great slabs of road and rock slide into the torrent below, regardless of your presence or your car; but, in spite of this attempt at civilization, Kulu still remains one of the primitive hidden places of the world.

At the north end of the valley the Rohtang pass guards a way into Central Asia, and from this pass the Beas river rises from a

slab of granite and drives its way downwards through deep boulders and moraine. Later it broadens to a wide fishing-stream that flows quietly by shady trees and through the famous Kulu fruit orchards. Fifty miles south the waters narrow incredibly until squeezed tight between the rocky slabs of cliff. Then, winding round the little ancient town of Mandi, the river finally escapes through Kangra to the plains.

For many centuries Buddhist monks, pilgrims, traders, explorers have made their way from China and Tibet over the Baralacha and Rohtang passes down through Kulu and Kangra and into the plains of India. They came to worship Buddha at Sarnath, to bring merchandise to Benares, Delhi, Lahore, to visit the courts of the Mogul Emperors in the north, or the last strongholds of the Hindu kings in the south of India.

In these lovely valleys the soil often yields double crops. Rice, wheat, barley, sugar-cane, and some tobacco and tea are grown. The perfect time of year is April and May. Then shoots of young green rice form an emerald border along the river beds, fruit blossom stands out against a background of dark pine and deodar forest, and sudden storms turn the hills to indigo blue and bottle green. Above all, the jagged lines of snow peaks, some rising to 20,000 feet, cut across a brilliant blue sky.

THE PEOPLE OF KANGRA

In the forests panther and bear are fairly common, also black buck, deer, boar, pheasants, chikor. The people are almost entirely Hindu. From pre-Christian times up to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries these valleys consisted of small hill states, held by some of the oldest families or clans in Indian history. The Katoch royal line of Kangra considers itself older than those of Rajputana. The descendants of these "barons of the hills" may be traced among the present-day farmers and are of Hindu Rajput stock, though not inclined to intermarry with the Rajput of the plains. Their caste system subdivides the people again and again, and the very earliest religious customs have survived in these till recently inaccessible valleys.

During Mogul times the people were subject to a light form of

control. Later they were conquered by the Sikhs, who ruled till we took over in 1846. There is a great variety of types, including the Hill Brahmins; the Rajput who will not do agricultural work, whose women are strictly secluded, and who live in the higher hills in houses apart from the villages; the Rajput who through economic pressure has become an agriculturalist and will plough his fields himself. Below come the Sudras, a different stock altogether, short and mixed, with the slightly Mongolian strain that comes from Lahul or Ladak.

THE SHEPHERD FOLK

The Guja and Gaddi hill shepherds are fine-looking men and women who say that their descendants fled from the plains after the Muhammadan invasions. They keep their Hindu customs strictly. They are reserved but good-humoured, good-natured, and honest, but unfortunately cursed by a love of litigation and drinking, which causes endless trouble and even wrecked homes. One meets these shepherds all over the hills, often carrying a spindle, for the men do their own weaving. Flocks of up to a thousand sheep will be driven by three or four men and dogs up to Lahul in summer and down to the valleys for the autumn. The dogs keep off leopards and bears, which follow persistently. The men wear capacious homespun woollen garments. Round the waist is wound many times a thick black goat's-hair cord. A high-peaked cap is decorated in front by dried flowers, feathers, or red beads. The women, who have fine regular features, wear a homespun dress to the ankles and throw a wide scarf over the head or fold it as a turban with a streamer. They add necklaces of coral, lapis lazuli, or semi-precious stones and quantities of silver earrings.

Everywhere one is struck by the extreme beauty of the women. Certainly I have never seen any to compare with them elsewhere. They are a refined, aristocratic type, with a dash of gipsy swagger and the glorious smiles of our Irish colleens. In the Kangra valley village women dress gaily. You meet groups swinging magnificently along the sunny lanes bordered by green rice and white fruit blossom and wild roses.

They wear long, fully pleated, brilliant striped skirts with a magenta or rich blue scarf wound in high folds among their dark hair and streaming behind them, and as usual are covered with anklets and necklaces. They are full of laughter and smiles. The effect is overwhelmingly beautiful. These women are an independent lot and by no means in subjection unto their husbands. The man realizes that if a woman leaves him he will have to buy another to plant his rice.

RELIGIOUS FAIRS

In Kulu polyandry exists, but is very rare. The major Hindu gods are venerated, but traces of Vedic nature-worship remain. The snake Nag has many shrines; there are places where snake-bite may be cured, and a few persons claim immunity from snake poison. Trees also have a part in religion. The semi-religious fairs play an enormous part in the life of these people, and all women attend them, except those of the very highest caste.

There exists a great company of gods and godlings, and the images of hundreds of local deities, richly dressed, are carried to these fairs in sedan chairs by their attendants. Drums are beaten, long horns of brass or copper are sounded, and the pipes play.

The villagers wear their gayest clothes; even the men's caps may be wreathed by bright flowers. Native priests officiate. There is wrestling, dancing, and much drinking of *logree*, a fierce drink distilled from honey or rice. The effect on the people is often devastating.

The two valleys are full of small temples or shrines, some of stone with typically Hindu carving, others of wood, many showing early Buddhist influence.

THE VALE OF KASHMIR

Kashmir came under the influence of the great Buddhist Emperor Asoka in 245 B.C. After this period a line of Hindu kings ruled until 1294, when the first great Muhammadan invasions of India overran the country. Later again, the Mogul Emperors took their courts up from Delhi to Srinagar during the summer months, and on the shores of the Dal lake exquisite

gardens, full of roses, fountains, and streams, were planted by the Emperor Jehangir, who was a contemporary of James I. For a while Kashmir was held by Afghan kings until, in 1819, it was conquered by Ranjit Singh. In 1846, after the First Sikh War, the country was assigned by treaty to Maharaja Gulab Singh of Jammu, and the territories of his successors form the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

It was interesting to read a few weeks ago of the fine offer of the present Maharaja to provide two battalions and a mountain battery from Kashmir State (and more if required) for the War. I watched the Kashmiri soldiers drilling on the palace parade-ground at Srinagar only last September.

To form any impression of the vale of Kashmir one must imagine a large plateau 6,000 feet high, extending roughly eighty miles from north to south and twenty to twenty-five miles across. Through the centre winds the broad Jhelum river. From its waters a network of streams, canals, and lakes spreads over the country, which is, naturally, a wonderful rice-growing district.

As one approaches Kashmir by the Banihal pass, 9,000 feet, in spring the whole plateau unfolds itself before one in a haze of delicate colouring. Willow-trees and incredibly tall poplar avenues seem to rise out of the pale shimmering waters and sheets of young green rice. Gradually one realizes that the whole lovely basin is circled, without a break, by snow. Mountain ranges averaging 12,000 to 17,000 feet follow each other in flowing lines across the sky. The effect is indescribably beautiful.

In April round Srinagar fruit blossom is out, and very small, pale irises are scattered along the poplar avenues and across the fields. Suddenly enormous purple and white irises rise in clusters everywhere—over the rocks, over the little Muhammadan graveyards, and up the ravines. In the hills one finds wild-rose bushes, berberis, daphne, acacia. There is another flower world in the lakes. Every imaginable water-weed and rush clings round one's boat. In August the surface of the Dal lake is a mass of floating lotus leaves and great pink blooms with yellow centres.

On our three-weeks' trek among the mountains I noticed, at a height of between 8,000 and 13,000 feet, wild irises, yellow

anemones, gentians, violets, wallflowers, forget-me-nots, white marsh marigolds, white "hot pokers," strawberries, trilliums, fritillaries, wild rhubarb, primulas.

THE HILL FOLK

The dresses of the hill people are interesting. One met hillmen, bearded, tall, with sunken eyes, very fierce, keen, handsome, and wicked-looking. Cheerful groups of women woodcutters wore rough, long shirt-like dresses in grey homespun, sometimes with trousers. Their hair hung in groups of small tight plaits over their ears and was covered by flat-crowned, wide-brimmed hats edged with sequins. Another gipsy-like group of very good-looking men and women had small caps with curtain-like drapery over the ears, and were dressed in rich colours. The women and children had covered themselves with silver bracelets, anklets, earrings, and semi-precious stone necklaces.

One met great flocks of sheep coming up the passes to their summer quarters and bought one or two for our food supply. It was amusing to watch these sheep being milked out on the open hillsides to provide our camp with excellent cheese for breakfast.

KASHMIR TODAY

Kashmir is so full of variety. One can only give the very slightest impression of the history, people, flowers, sport, and natural beauty of the country. But I may be allowed to make brief reference to the Administration and its responsibilities.

Because of the glamour that surrounds the country, one is apt to forget the modern aspect of Kashmir.

One must always realize that Kashmir and Jammu is actually the largest State in India. On the west it touches the North-West Frontier; on the north the State is bordered by Chitral, the Korakoram Mountains, and Yarkand; and on the east by Chinese Tibet. Therefore the territories of three Great Powers—Britain, Russia, and China—meet on its northern border.

Great efforts are being made by the State to lead its people along the best up-to-date lines of progress in administration, education, agriculture, finance, industry.

As well as elementary and secondary schools throughout the State, there are colleges at Srinagar and Jammu and two schools of agricultural education for the sons of zemindars. Great interest is taken by the Government of H.H. the Maharaja in the new schemes for rural development. Students from the colleges have helped to spread information among the villages. There have been magic lantern and cinema shows, fairs, exhibitions, and a distribution of pamphlets dealing with cleanliness and improvement of rural conditions generally. A collection of songs and dramas has been made, and shows have been staged in villages. Experimental work is going on at small Government farms and nurseries on plant and animal diseases.

There is in Kashmir a women's welfare centre, also travelling dispensaries. The State gives grants to several hospitals. Among the good works done in Kashmir one must not omit the C.M.S. school and hospital; the former has always been run more or less on Scout lines and has made a splendid contribution to the upbringing of many Kashmiri boys and girls.

The last Administration Report shows that there are 5,600 Scouts in the State. Six training camps were held in 1938. At the Jammu Physical Culture Display 500 Scouts and students took part. That year sixteen persons were saved from drowning by Jammu Scouts.

In 1931 all public schools and wells were thrown open to untouchables, and two years later the temples were also opened to them. In a country of the size of Kashmir, which contains so many inaccessible regions and a people comprised of wild hillmen, peasants, town dwellers, and also the most distinguished pundits, one must be thankful that the Maharaja has in the Prime Minister and his colleagues men with vision and enlightenment to administer the State at this critical moment in history.

Probably the magnificent trekking expeditions appeal more than anything else to the men and women who have the luck to visit the vale of Kashmir and its circle of snow mountains.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held in the India Room, Royal Empire Society, Northumberland Avenue, W.C. 2, on Thursday, October 19, 1939, when a lantern lecture entitled "Kangra, Kulu, and Kashmir" was given by Miss Catherine Walter. Mr. W. Lints Smith, late Manager of *The Times*, was in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: We are met here today to hear a lantern lecture by Miss Catherine Walter, with the alliterative title of "Kangra, Kulu, and Kashmir." I am sure, knowing Miss Walter, that she will be most entertaining and informative, and, as she is a member of the House of Walter, which founded *The Times*, she is not likely to indulge in imagination, but will give us facts.

I feel very honoured to be in the Chair today. Sir Frank Brown probably thought it appropriate, as I had introduced him to Miss Walter. It is also, perhaps, appropriate because I introduced Miss Walter to journalism. As a former colleague of Sir Frank Brown of many years' standing, I have, of course, long known of the good work that has been done and is being done by your Association.

I am sure it must have been a great satisfaction to the members of the Association to read the announcement Lord Zetland made in Parliament yesterday on the opening of combatant service to Indians, Anglo-Indians, or Burmans resident in this country. (Applause.) I believe the Association took the initiative in urging on the Government the removal of a hurtful disability based solely on grounds of race. We are all gratified that H.M. Government listened to the earnest representations made by the Council of the Association. (Cheers.)

When this lecture was being arranged it was to be in a London hotel, and I was to have the pleasure of being the host of the Association. Owing to the war conditions in which we are living now, it was necessary to have the gathering earlier in order to get away before the black-out. This is one of the ways in which societies and institutions are affected by present circumstances. This, I believe, is the first public gathering the Association has held since the war began. More than one function which had been arranged has had to be abandoned; but it is a matter for great satisfaction that the Council of the East India Association has found it possible to continue its work in London and to give entertainment—such as we are going to have today—and also instruction by the discussion of Indian problems.

The next meeting of the Association will be convened to hear Sir Frank Noyce on the great part India can play on the economic side. In bringing to notice the economic factor, the Association is fulfilling the object for which it was founded seventy-two years ago of "promoting the welfare of the inhabitants of India." I think the Association can discuss this matter from the encouraging background of knowing that Indian sympathy and support

are on the side of the Allies. It would be idle to pretend that there are no implications involved in that support in some quarters. But it was Mr. Gandhi himself, we must recall, who tritely asked, when the war began, what would happen to Indian political freedom if the Allies lost. I think he might be reminded about that in view of the statements he has made on the Viceroy's message to India. Lord Linlithgow, whose ceaseless efforts to bring about unity and co-operation we all admire, said in his masterly statement that there could be no real doubt, whether in India, or in the United Kingdom, or in any Allied country, as to the motives with which we entered the war, and consequently as to the broad general objectives before us.

We may be quite sure that once again the Indian Army, whether in the West, or in relieving British garrisons in the East, will have a great part to play in the tremendous effort with which we are now confronted. Associated with that army will be many of the troops raised and maintained in the Indian States. Their rulers have been no less eager than they were a quarter of a century ago to offer to the King-Emperor their personal service and their resources in men, money, and equipment for the purposes of the war.

Of many outstanding offers, mention may appropriately be made on this occasion of the promise of His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir to raise at once two battalions and a mountain battery, and to be prepared to raise three more battalions if they should be necessary. It is to be remembered that in this connection the position of Kashmir makes it a Frontier State, and that in a real sense His Highness shares in the responsibility of the wardenship of "the marches" on the northern frontiers of India. This topical consideration adds to the interest with which we shall listen to the description of the beautiful Vale of Kashmir which Miss Walter will give us and see the slides she will exhibit. (Applause.)

Miss WALTER then gave her lecture.

The CHAIRMAN: I think you will all agree that we have had a great treat from every point of view. (Applause.) We have to congratulate Miss Walter, not only on her slides, but on her vivid description, and not least on the great courage that she must have displayed on the long trek she described.

Sir LOUIS DANE: I am asked to propose a vote of thanks to the lecturer and to the Chairman, and also to say a few words because I happen to have spent a good deal of time in the countries about which Miss Walter has been lecturing.

My experiences of Kulu are almost prehistoric, but things in India move very slowly, and I gather from the lecture that things have not altered much since I went there in 1881 as Private Secretary to the Lieutenant-Governor, when we crossed over by one of the footpaths from Simla. The Governor's entourage was very large, and I suppose between two and three thousand coolies were required. I was very much concerned because I had to make the arrangements for the camp.

When I went into Kulu I was tremendously taken with the beauties of the

valley. I happened to be engaged at the time, so I decided to get the Lieutenant-Governor when he left to appoint me as Assistant Commissioner in charge of Kulu, and there I went in 1882 for a honeymoon extending over nearly three years. Perhaps it is as well that I had just been married, or I might have fallen a victim to the very charming ladies of whom you have heard this afternoon. The subdivision of Kulu includes the Tibetan tracts of Lahul and Spiti across the Central Himalaya, and there the ladies are not so beautiful.

At any rate, I did decide that something must be done to stop this curse of gangs of coolies, twenty to twenty-five men, having to be kept at every stage to carry loads for a chance traveller. Before I left I got the Lieutenant-Governor to put pressure on the Hill States, and the road to the Sutlej from Narkanda was made passable for mules. Then when I was in Kulu I set to work and made the roads more or less passable for mules. Before I left, my wife was able to drive in a jinricksha at a very rapid pace to Simla without stopping, so it was hardly a footpath at that time. The result was that mules could be engaged for the journey right through, and it was not necessary to keep these gangs of coolies waiting at each stage. Therefore I think I deserve well of Kulu in that respect.

You have heard about these ladies, who are certainly most enterprising young women. They do the planting out of the rice. The men do the sowing. At a certain stage it has to be planted out. They make a beautiful mud pie of water and mud, which comes up to your knees; then about twenty of these girls get into the mud with baskets of the young rice seedlings and plant them. There is a tradition in Kulu that when the girls are doing this they are entitled to do anything they like with any unfortunate man who may come near them. One of my predecessors was there and was not aware of this pleasant country custom. He saw these girls planting and was rather interested. He went up quite close to them, and then noticed a lot of them taking a tremendous interest in him. They began to chatter and laugh and move towards him, and he went off. It was fortunate he did, for otherwise he would have been rolled over into the mud until he was speechless.

I do not like to venture to correct a lady on the costume of the women, but I think Miss Walter described them as wearing a skirt. It is not that. It is merely an ordinary thick woollen sheet, but they manage to put it round themselves and fasten it with two silver pins with silver chains, and it looks exactly like a dress and a skirt. It is nothing but a plain sheet. It is very easily put on and taken off, very warm, and most suited to the country. It was said in *The Times* the other day that Frau von Ribbentrop was lecturing the German women on how to dress and telling them that they should be satisfied with one hat, one dress, and one pair of shoes. Apparently they did not think this sufficient, and were so infuriated with Frau von Ribbentrop—who was very well attired—that I understand they proceeded almost to assault her, and she had to be saved by the police. In Kulu, at any rate, they do manage with one sheet to make a very good dress.

Mention was also made of the motor road to Kulu along the Bias. Of course, having spent a long and very pleasant honeymoon in Kulu, I was

very much interested in it, and when I was Lieutenant-Governor determined I would do more for it. So I started the construction of the road.

I also had a canoe in Kulu. Canoeing there is rather an exciting proceeding, but I found it useful because I was able to go part of the way down the gorge, and I came to the conclusion that it would be possible to make a road there. Nobody did it until I became Lieutenant-Governor, when I simply said, "This road has to be made," and it was made. My last work was to go along this road while under construction into Kulu, and come back down the Sutlej from Luri on an inflated buffalo skin.

I was very doubtful about this motor road, because I was afraid it might have spoilt Kulu, but I am glad to hear from the lecturer that Kulu is still as beautiful as ever and the people are still as nice as ever. I was the first to take Kulu pears to Simla for sale and put the trade on a good footing.

Miss Walter also referred to the fish. There again I had a great deal to do with the trout in Kashmir, and I had trout sent from there, and in 1912, as Lieutenant-Governor, gave personal instructions to my successor as Assistant Commissioner for the hatcheries. The trout are plentiful and flourishing exceedingly. There are two hotels now and several fishing houses, and altogether things are very nice for visitors. At the same time I must confess that I still dream of Kulu as I knew it when I was first there. I think there were only two Europeans besides my wife and myself. I must say my wife stood it very well, but after about nine months she said she really must go where she could see an Englishwoman.

There are three ways into Kulu, of which you have heard, but there is yet another way. I think only myself and two other Assistant Commissioners have been over it. This is the Pin-Parbati Pass over the Central Himalaya. It was always recorded in the books that for over a hundred and twenty miles the Central Himalaya was impassable, and one had to go into Spiti from the north and come out by the same route. It seemed to me that there must be some way across. I tried it, and, much to everybody's surprise, I came across with a pony and two yaks, some coolies, and a couple of goats. If anybody wants a good long trek I can recommend it. The pass is about 17,000 feet high. You have most glorious scenery and have to spend about six hard hours coming down the Parbati glacier, some six or seven miles long. If you want to spend a very happy summer, I can strongly recommend you to go to Kulu.

As to the gods and godlings, I had once to take a battery of artillery through Malana. It was very out of the way. The people spoke a language of their own, an archaic Tibetan, and the women never left the valley. To get into it you had to go for one and a half miles on pegs along the face of the precipice. Obviously nothing in the way of animals could be got in except kids or calves on men's backs. I got a request from the mountain battery at Simla to suggest some really difficult ground for their exercises. I thought this would be excellent, and I proposed they should go through this village, which had refused to carry out the orders of my two predecessors. I succeeded in a fortnight in making a sort of track over two passes, one 12,000 feet and the other 13,000 feet. It was the beginning of December. The battery arrived. I was then struck with qualms. I took the Major up part of

the way and showed him the worst places. He said : "That is nothing to a mountain battery !"

Everything went off all right. The whole body of villagers were supposed to be the incarnation of Jamlu, and Jamlu is the king of all the godlings in Kulu, who pay him tribute. After this one would have thought the people would have been exceedingly annoyed with me; but, on the contrary, the headmen came down to the valley every year to collect their dues, and generally stayed with me for a week, and I used to have to entertain them. The next year there was a bad epidemic of smallpox and a lot of people died. All they said was that I was the cousin of Jamlu, and Jamlu was very indignant that they had been so rude to his cousin in not carrying out the orders he had given them. Therefore this scourge had been sent to put them in the right way. Malana is now on the tourist route.

I would add a word of thanks to the Chairman for the remarks he has been good enough to make about the position in India, and also for congratulating the East India Association on having succeeded in getting recruitment for the army in this country thrown open to Indians and Anglo-Indians and Burmans. We always felt it was a monstrous thing that that was not allowed, and I am glad the sound policy has been adopted. The great efforts the Princes have made in the cause of the Empire is nothing new; they have always done so.

In a country like India, which is as large and as populous as the whole of Europe without Russia, and where the greatest differences of degrees of civilization exist, where some of the people are absolutely primitive and a great many—90 per cent.—are practically illiterate, and there are many different languages, as in Europe, the policy of "One man, one vote; and one vote, one value" is a very doubtful one—at any rate, at present. Would it work in Europe as a whole?

Also in such a subcontinent it is no use saying that all people are equal or politically of equal importance. They are not. Certainly the Punjab races and the martial races in other parts of India would never agree to be bound by "One man, one vote" if we were out of the country. Nor would the States. However, there it is. I see that the Congress have unfortunately struck a very discordant note as regards helping the cause of the Empire, and are trying to bargain. It is a very great pity, and I do not think it will advance their cause in India at all.

I ask you all to pass a vote of thanks to the lecturer for her most interesting paper and slides and to the Chairman for so kindly presiding. (Applause.)

Professor RADHA KRISHNAN BHAN writes :

I am thrilled to read the appreciative references to my homeland. The picture of the Vale of Kashmir and its surroundings is a rich tribute to the work of Nature. Miss Walter went up the mountains on a three weeks' trek, and it is natural that she should have felt impressed with the sublimity of the scenery all around. The visitor is always enamoured of the snow-capped lofty mountains standing in their majestic heights just before him, the everlasting glaciers, the mountain lakes with their emerald waters and storm-

swept icebergs and the silvery streams stealing their course through gorges and open valleys. Perhaps she could have wended her way to the south in search of the lake Konsa Nag, which I feel like calling the prince of all lakes, and whose three mountain peaks (15,000 feet high) are visible not only from the valley, but from far-off Sialkot. Or she could have gone up on the north right up to the feet of the invincible Harimukh (16,800 feet), or to the east up the popular and now crowded Pahalgam to the famous Kolahai Glacier, or to Amar Nath, leaving behind rich meadows sprinkled with a wealth of multi-coloured flowers.

While speaking of Kashmir today, Miss Walter made reference to the useful educational institutions and the scheme for rural uplift. The drive against mass illiteracy, with a gigantic plan for adult education spread over a number of years, is bound to give His Highness' Government a position of leadership in Indian States. Miss Walter could not have failed, even during her short visit, to get attracted by the superior workmanship of the Kashmir artisan, which no doubt forms a harmonious combination with the beautiful scenery in the great scheme of Nature. Again, the administrative report which has been quoted gives a clear impression of the anxiety of the Government to bring about increased development by sponsoring a number of schemes.

What Kashmir wants is a planned policy to increase the purchasing power of the masses and to eradicate the evil of illiteracy. In both these directions, however, the efforts of the Government are not sparing.

The hearty response of the State to the call of the Empire at this grave hour, when civilization is threatened, is in keeping with the loyal traditions of the ruling house and an encouragement to the martial spirit of most of the people.

INDIA'S ECONOMIC CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE WAR

BY SIR FRANK NOYCE, K.C.S.I., C.B.E.

PUBLIC interest in India and her reactions to the war has so far been concentrated almost entirely on the political aspect. Congress, asked to support a war fought for the independence of small nations, demands that India's independence shall be regarded by Great Britain in the same light as that of the struggling nations of Europe. The British Government, satisfied that, on the whole, the Act of 1935 represents the best chance of securing the agreement of the bitterly opposed communities and groups, is averse from any precipitate constitutional change, though it promises a full review of the Act at the end of the war. In this attitude it has the support of some of the important minorities which stand outside the Congress.

It is much to be hoped that a solution of the political controversy will speedily be found and that the energies of India will be set free to mingle with those of the rest of the Empire. Once the political question is out of the way, the economic question will become the paramount one. For this war, even more than the last, is a contest of economic stamina. If the German strategy of the knockout blow by means of air offensive and mechanized invasion fails, as it seems to have done on the Western Front, the war becomes primarily an economic one directed to economic objectives and waged with economic weapons. The British Empire is opposed to Germany not only in war but also in its theory of war. Germany is still faithful to Clausewitz, who taught that wars are won by seeking out the enemy's forces and annihilating them. Great Britain is satisfied if she can maintain her own forces intact whilst awaiting the collapse of the enemy from economic exhaustion, an exhaustion induced by means of the traditional British weapon of blockade.

What part can India play in this war? Can she reinforce the economic lasting power of the Empire? Or, great as may be her

contribution in man-power, will she need to seek in return aid from the rest of the Empire in order to maintain her war effort?

You will, I am sure, understand that it is impossible for me even to attempt to answer these questions. To do so would require a knowledge of British strategy and British intentions which only the Committee of Imperial Defence can possess. The scale of India's war exertions will depend to a great extent on the course the war takes in the next few months. In a sense, all India's plans are conditional until more is known about the plans of Russia. But I venture to suggest that India's geographical position makes it obvious that her most important economic function must be to act as a supply centre from Egypt, where some of her own troops are already stationed, to Malaya. She will, it may be anticipated, take over, as far as lies in her power, the supply of raw materials and manufactured articles alike, wherever needed, throughout the Indian Ocean and Red Sea littorals, thus setting free this country's resources, and especially its shipping, for use in other important and indeed vital directions.

IN THE 1914-18 WAR

As I do not possess any prophetic gifts, all I can do this afternoon is to remind you of the economic contributions India made during the last war, to discuss very cursorily the extent to which India's economic resources have developed since then and, incidentally, to mention how far those resources, agricultural, mineral and industrial, have been drawn on in recent years by Germany, which, in 1937-38, stood fourth in the list of countries participating in India's overseas trade in respect both of imports and exports.

Of one thing we can be certain and that is that, however stern and prolonged the struggle, India is far better prepared to meet it than she was in 1914. Great Britain can never forget the contribution India made in the last war, in loyalty, in men, and in money. Her unanimity in support of the Empire enabled India to be denuded of troops; over a million men were despatched overseas; she made a munificent financial gift to the Imperial war treasury. But while recalling those Great War services, it is necessary also to recall that India's war effort was hampered through-

out, and in the early stages most seriously so, by her inadequate economic equipment. The Munitions Board, with its vast organization comprising the control, *inter alia*, of ordnance factories, clothing and textiles, hides, timber, shipbuilding, hardware, chemicals and minerals, did not begin to function until March, 1917, over two and a half years after the war had started.

The position today is very different. For many years past there has been a Committee of the principal supply officers, under the chairmanship of the Commerce Member of the Governor-General's Executive Council, which has been engaged in formulating plans covering all the needs, military and civil, which it was anticipated would arise in war time. Immediately on the outbreak of war a Department of Supply was established, with Sir Zafrullah Khan at its head. Sir Zafrullah Khan is now Law Member, but it is hardly necessary to remind this audience of his outstanding record as Commerce Member. Mr. Dow, till recently Secretary to the Commerce Department, is Director-General, and Sir James Pitkeathly, of whose work in fostering the development of Indian industry I shall have something to say later on, is Deputy Director-General. Another body which has just come into being and which should play an important part in the months to come is an Economic Resources Board with the Commerce Member, Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, as President, and Dr. Gregory, the Economic Adviser to the Government of India, as Vice-President. The main purpose of this Board is to act as a clearing-house of information, advice and discussion on economic matters, including the repercussions of Imperial and foreign policy and legislation upon the situation in India. Amongst its functions will be to supply Departments of the Government of India with memoranda and opinions bearing on economic problems, to report on social conditions in India and suggest appropriate action, and to draw up plans for the more efficient organization of economic life in the country under war conditions.

As a prelude to the consideration of the economic contributions India can make to this war, let me give you an extract from the "Official Account of India's Contribution to the Great War," published in 1923, summarizing what she did in that war. She pro-

vided the greater part of the supplies required by the troops in Mesopotamia and other centres, thereby lessening the demands on Great Britain and America. By the end of September, 1918, the value of the equipment and stores dispatched to the front amounted to about £80,000,000. In addition, she supplied vast quantities of raw materials and partly manufactured articles to the Allies such as raw and rough tanned hides, wolfram, manganese, mica, salt-petre, timber and bamboos, raw silk, hemp, coir, tea, petroleum, various oils and certain foodstuffs. During the war she exported for all purposes some £137,000,000 worth of raw jute, sacks and cloth, while her output of cotton and woollen goods was enormously expanded.

I should perhaps explain before I go any further that, from the statistical point of view, this is the worst time of year for a paper such as this. The 1939 issue of that invaluable publication, the "Review of the Trade of India," has not yet appeared, and my latest figures are, therefore, in most cases those for 1937-38.

WHEAT EXPORTS

Foodstuffs call for first consideration. In the last war, wheat purchases came under Government control early in 1915 and, during the period for which control continued to operate, the Royal Commission on Wheat Supplies purchased in India nearly five million tons of various foodstuffs of a total value of over £40,000,000. I doubt if it would be possible to purchase a single ton of wheat in India this year for export, for the monsoon has been a failure over many parts of the country, and present indications are that India will have to import to satisfy her own needs. In good years, largely as the result of the completion of great irrigation projects of which the Lloyd Barrage in Sind is the most noteworthy, the position is different, in spite of the tremendous increase in the number of mouths India has to feed. In 1936-37, India exported 235,000 tons of wheat and, in 1937-38, 460,000 tons. Most of her exports come to the United Kingdom, where it is useful for blending with Canadian and Australian wheats, but, in 1937-38, 148,000 tons, valued at Rs. 147 lakhs, went to Germany. Since the separation of Burma, India has no rice to spare, and

indeed is a net importing country. In 1936-37, India, including Burma, exported nearly a million and a half tons of rice, of which 53,000 tons went to Germany. Of other foodstuffs, barley and lentils, the exports of which to the United Kingdom are by no means inconsiderable, deserve a passing mention. The dependence of the United Kingdom on India for supplies of tea is too well known to make it necessary to give illustrative figures. The Germans are not tea drinkers, but they took 2,265 cwts. of coffee from India in 1937-38.

There is one direction in which the war might well give a valuable stimulus to Indian agriculture. Much has been done in recent years to improve the marketing of agricultural produce in India. If to this were added a rapid improvement in cold-storage facilities and refrigerated transport, there would be a steady development in the production of trade in milk and other dairy produce, fruit and vegetables, and important developments in the fishing industry.

SUGAR PRODUCTION

The most striking change which has occurred in India's agricultural economy since the last war has been in respect of sugar. Less than ten years ago, in 1929-30, India imported 940,000 tons of sugar. Stimulated—it would, I think, be entirely correct to say unhealthily stimulated—by high revenue duties, production went ahead so rapidly that in 1937-38 the production of the 136 factories working was 947,000 tons. Imports had fallen to 23,000 tons, and part of these was passed on to adjacent countries. It is not likely that any part of this great production would be available for export even if the Government of India had not, as a contributory gesture towards international co-operation, agreed at the International Sugar Conference of 1937 to prohibit the export of sugar from India by sea except to Burma for a period of five years. For the cost of production of sugar in India is still so high compared with that in the great cane-sugar exporting countries that it is very doubtful whether, in normal circumstances, it will be possible to export sugar on an economic basis for some years to come. War conditions may, of course, alter that, though not immediately, for unfavourable agricultural conditions this year have resulted in

a fall in Indian sugar production to 658,500 tons. In any case an India which, in a normal year, is self-sufficing in the matter of sugar supplies is obviously in a stronger financial position than the India that had to find millions of guilders to pay for Java sugar between 1914 and 1918.

The number of books and newspaper articles which give us the comforting assurance that Germany cannot win, because, amongst other reasons, she is short of several essential war materials, mounts apace. High up in all the lists of those materials come oils and fats. India, I need hardly remind you, is one of the world's greatest producers of the seeds from which these are extracted. Her total exports of oilseeds in 1937-38 amounted to 950,000 tons, mostly groundnuts and linseed. The expansion of groundnut cultivation since the last war has been almost as striking as that of sugar cane. In 1913-14, the area under groundnuts was 1.6 million acres, and the outturn 658,000 tons. The acreage is now $8\frac{1}{2}$ millions, and the yield over 3 million tons. On the other hand, cotton seed, castor seed, rape and sesamum do not figure so largely in the export trade as they used to do. Germany in 1937-38 took 116,000 tons of oilseeds, nearly all groundnuts, valued at about Rs. $1\frac{3}{4}$ crores. She also took about 6 per cent. of the 5 million gallons of vegetable oils and 59,000 of the 357,000 tons of oil cakes exported in that year.

Another essential war material which figures prominently in the lists to which I referred just now is rubber. Of that, India exported 17.2 million pounds in 1938-39, of which 2.2 million pounds went to Germany. Larger supplies are, of course, immediately available if required, as the permissible export percentage of the basic quota under the restriction scheme is at present 75 per cent.*

JUTE AND COTTON

We now come to those two important agricultural products, jute and cotton, and it will perhaps be convenient if I deal with them here both from the field and factory aspects. I take jute first, for raw jute and jute manufactures easily head the list of India's exports, accounting as they do for about a quarter of her

* It has since been raised to 80 per cent.

total export trade, Rs. 44 crores out of Rs. 181 crores in 1937-38. Raw jute also heads the list of Germany's imports from India. In 1937-38, she took 143,000 tons, valued at Rs. 286 lakhs. The value of India's monopoly of jute to this country has been shown by some striking figures given in a recent article in *The Times Trade and Engineering Supplement*, by Sir Frank Brown, which I trust he will forgive me for quoting here. In the 1914-18 war period, the total value of India's exports of raw and manufactured jute was £137,000,000. In the three fiscal years to March last, India supplied the United Kingdom with 62 million sacking gunny bags, 462 million yards of gunny cloth and 514,000 tons of raw jute. In the three months from April 1 to June 30, British purchases amounted to 140 million gunny bags, 57 million yards of gunny cloth and 29,000 tons of raw jute. All of us have ocular evidence that the figures he gave must have been very greatly augmented since the end of June. Large reserve stocks of both the raw and the manufactured article can be drawn on, and the mills both in Calcutta and Dundee had, in the pre-war days, completely forgotten what it was like to work at full capacity.

Largely as the result of the indefatigable work of the Indian Central Cotton Committee, itself a product of the last war, the production of longer stapled varieties of cotton is proceeding apace, though not so fast as the production by the Indian mills of the finer types of piece goods. The only points about the export trade in raw cotton which need detain us are (i.) the fact that Germany in 1937-38 took 30,000 tons valued at Rs. 169 lakhs and (ii.) the increasing use of Indian cotton in Lancashire. This, which is due to the efforts of the Lancashire Indian Cotton Committee, a noteworthy instance of co-operation between different parts of the Empire, received a set-back in 1937-38 for reasons into which I need not enter. In that year, exports to the United Kingdom which had reached the record figure of 610,000 bales fell to 395,000 bales. There was a slight recovery last year. It will be obvious that the more Indian cotton this country uses the greater will be the easing of the dollar exchange and the greater the opportunity of gaining a better market for Lancashire piece goods in India.

In 1913-14, the last pre-war year, the total amount of cotton piece goods consumed in India was 5,280 million yards, of which 3,130 million yards were supplied by imports, and 1,080 million yards by Indian mills and 1,070 million yards by handlooms. In 1935-36, the total available for consumption had increased to 6,130 million yards, of which only 970 million yards were supplied by imports, whereas the amount supplied by handlooms had increased to 1,660 million yards, and that supplied by Indian mills had gone up to 3,500 million yards. In 1937-38, Indian mill production had risen to 4,100 million yards. There was a further increase in 1938-39, but I have not been able to obtain the final figures for that year. India has taken advantage of Japan's pre-occupations in other directions, and exports have shown a marked increase in recent years. 241 million yards were exported in 1937-38. Suffice it has been said to show that India will be well able to meet all calls made on her in this direction.

I fear that I have overwhelmed you with figures and will, therefore, spare you a detailed examination of the statistics of some other raw materials and semi-manufactured materials which, important though they are, occupy a less prominent position in India's export trade than those we have been considering. Among them are wool, hides and skins, lac, raw hemp, coir and timber and other forest products. German imports of hides and skins and of lac from India were by no means negligible, amounting in value in 1937-38 to Rs. 50 and Rs. 21 lakhs respectively. She also took 160,000 cwts. of coir, valued at Rs. 16 lakhs.

MINERAL PRODUCTION

India is not very rich in mineral wealth and, now that Burma is no longer part of the Indian Empire, she is no longer interested in those exports of wolfram, tin, pig-lead and spelter which proved such valuable assets in the last war. She has, however, large quantities of two very useful minerals—manganese and mica. The feverish rearmament programmes all the world over resulted in the export of over a million tons of manganese ore in 1937-38, of which 284,000 tons came to the United Kingdom and 17,000 tons went to Germany. Chromite is the only other metal of which

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the exports are considerable. Germany took 4,200 tons of the 41,000 tons exported in 1937-38. High-grade mica is, I believe, an indispensable constituent of certain types of aeroplane. India can supply this, and exported 180,000 tons of mica in 1937-38, of which Germany took about one-tenth. Coal should be mentioned in view of the possibility of Indian supplies being utilized outside India in relief of supplies from the United Kingdom. Twenty-five million tons were raised in 1937-38, of which over a million tons were exported. But the experience of the last war makes it doubtful whether increased industrial activity will leave India with any coal to spare. She has very little petrol of her own and, even before Burma was separated, was importing 10 million gallons a year, as well as 62 million gallons of kerosene. Coal and petrol remind me that I ought to mention one very striking advance that India has made since the last war and one that holds out almost limitless possibilities—the development of the use of hydro-electric power for agricultural and industrial purposes. I need not dwell on that, as Sir William Stampe gave the Association a most interesting account of it a year ago.

As I said at the outset, great as was India's economic contribution in 1914-18, the war revealed serious deficiencies in her economic equipment. It was the urge to rectify these and to utilize to far greater advantage the industrial resources of the country which led to the appointment of the Industrial Commission of 1916-18. Its report, appearing as it did on the crest of the industrial wave caused by the war, undoubtedly did much to stimulate the rapid creation of new industries. But it would have had a far greater effect if its main recommendations had been accepted. Its publication, however, coincided with the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, under which industries became a provincial transferred subject, and the advantages of the centralized initiative and control the Commission had advocated were lost.

GOVERNMENT STORES

Then came the Fiscal Commission, whose report of 1922 led to the establishment of the Tariff Board and to "discriminating protection." Important as are most of the industries to which protec-

tion has been extended—steel, cotton manufactures, sugar and matches are among them—it must be remembered that protection has covered only a limited field. Dr. Matthai, himself for some years Chairman of the Tariff Board, recently pointed out that only two of the eight industries he had selected to illustrate India's industrial progress had received protection. The eight industries were pottery, paints, soap, leather, matches, rubber goods, glass and chemicals. The two which had received protection were matches and heavy chemicals, but the latter only had it for a short period.

It was fortunate for India that, in spite of the constitutional changes, one of the Industrial Commission's recommendations was accepted. The Commission held that the purchases of Government stores in the past had been conducted in such a way as to handicap Indian manufacturers in competing for orders and to retard the industrial development of India. It recommended that the Department of Industries should be in charge of the work and that orders should not be placed with the Stores Department of the India Office until the manufacturing capabilities of India had first been exhausted. The result was the establishment of the India Stores Department which throughout its existence until a few months ago, when he was called away to even more important work, has had Sir James Pitkeathly at its head. I had the privilege of working in the closest association with Sir James for five years and am glad to have this opportunity of testifying to the selfless devotion with which he has carried out the policy the Government had in view in establishing the Department over whose destinies he has presided with such conspicuous success. The transactions of the Department now amount to well over Rs. 6 crores annually, but its assistance to industrial development is by no means confined to purchases. The work it carries out at its Test House in Calcutta enables it to give advice freely and effectively as to the way in which the quality of the articles tendered can be brought up to the standard required. An interesting development which took place during my term of office as Industries Member, and one which is linked up with the work of the Test House, was the establishment of an Industrial Research Bureau. Some idea of its

activities can be obtained from the fact that it has issued bulletins on improvements in glass furnaces, the development of heavy chemical industries, vegetable oils, and the soap, leather and handloom industries. It has also been working on rayon, lubricating oils and paints, hurricane lamps, calcium carbide, dry cells, internal combustion engines and casein plastics. I have heard with regret that it has been closed down since the beginning of the war.

MISCELLANEOUS INDUSTRIES

Sales to Government provide only a limited market for the products of Indian industry. Its ability to exploit—I am not using that word in any derogatory sense—the internal market was, paradoxically enough, immensely enhanced as the result of the world depression, which led in 1930 to a very substantial increase in revenue duties and also by the device of the minimum specific duty, which provided protection against the influx of cheap Japanese products without infringing most favoured nation rights. A host of small industries has developed rapidly behind this protective barrier. A visit to one of the numerous exhibitions of Swadeshi products, which have recently become so popular in India, provides convincing evidence of that. The Ottawa Agreement of 1932 has also proved of value in this connection, for, in order to prevent loss of revenue, the preferences granted to the United Kingdom necessitated an increase in the rate of duty on articles imported from foreign countries.

A stimulus to industrial development which should not be overlooked has been that regrettable extent of middle-class unemployment which presents such a problem in India today. It has had one good effect—namely, to turn the attention of some of those who have received advanced technical and scientific education, especially in this country, from Government service to activities on their own account. During my last visit to the coal-fields, I came across a graduate who, in the absence of Government employment, had started turning out baskets for use in the coal mines, and was making a good thing out of it. His case is typical of many, though one could wish there were more of them.

I do not propose to weary you by dealing seriatim with the

different industries. If you want detailed information you will find it in the last "Report on the Conditions and Prospects of United Kingdom Trade in India," by the Senior British Trade Commissioner in India. Sir Thomas Ainscough's Report sounds a note of some regret at the extent to which India is becoming self-sufficient in respect of a wide range of articles which used to be imported from this country. However regrettable that self-sufficiency may be in normal times from the point of view of the export trade of the United Kingdom, it is obviously of the greatest value to the Empire at this juncture. Sir Thomas Ainscough points out that, with the exception of locomotives, wheels, axles and a few rolling stock and permanent-way specialities, India now produces all the railway equipment, including permanent-way material, wagons, carriage stock and bridge work, that she requires. Biscuits, cigarettes, soap, rubber tyres, asbestos products, metal boxes, electric lamps and aluminium-ware are now supplied from Indian factories. Imperial Chemical Industries are producing soda ash, caustic soda and chlorine in India, and other concerns are also producing heavy chemicals. Amongst the stores formerly imported for the Army but now manufactured in India are axes, barbed wire, batteries and cells, glycerine, cutlery, ground-sheets and hurricane lanterns. Sir Thomas mentions that Indian paper, cement, sugar, matches, agricultural implements, electric fans, glassware, copper sheets, electric cables, pharmaceutical and medical supplies and disinfectants are rapidly replacing the imported article. Sugar, matches and cement have done so almost completely. In 1914, the quantity of Portland cement manufactured in India was insignificant and war demands had to be met from imported stocks. Even in the last stages of the war, when the whole output of cement was taken over by the Munitions Board, it only amounted to 59,000 tons from March to November, 1918. Over a million tons of cement are now manufactured in India annually and imports have fallen to about 20,000 tons.

IRON AND STEEL

And now for the last figures I shall give you. I have designedly kept them to the end partly because they concern the

most vital industry of all, the iron and steel industry, and partly because they furnish the most striking evidence of India's industrial progress. The first iron was smelted at Jamshedpur in 1911 and steel production began a little later. In 1913-14, the output of pig-iron from Jamshedpur and from the Bengal Iron Company was 305,000 tons. Steel was manufactured only at Jamshedpur and the output was 49,000 tons. In 1938-39, the total production of pig-iron in India was 1,575,000 tons, of steel ingots 977,000 tons and of finished steel 935,000 tons. And the figures will soon be increasing very rapidly as the newly formed Steel Corporation of Bengal turned out its first ingot a few weeks ago.

Long as this survey has been, I am conscious that I have left many gaps. I do not know how far the capacity of Indian Ordnance factories has increased since 1918, though I have no doubt that there has been a great advance. And I cannot say how far India could build ocean-going ships if she were called upon to do so. During the last war her activities in that direction were confined to the provision of a large number of river craft for the Mesopotamian campaign. I should, of course, mention that, in 1914, she had no Indian-owned mercantile marine. The Scindia Steam Navigation Company now operates a fleet which has increased from 29,000 tons in 1923 to about 100,000 tons.

My survey will have served but little purpose if it does not provoke the question, "Where is India's economic effort going to lead her?" There is one aspect of war which is, I think, apt to be overlooked. War has been the grave of many great empires, and the extreme left in India makes no secret of the fact that it regards England's present danger as India's opportunity to secede. And yet the war may have the almost paradoxical effect of bringing home to India in a vivid way the economic interest that she has in remaining within the Empire.

The philosophers of the Nazi party appear to think that war, by the mass shedding of blood, will, in some mystical way, weld the German nation into unity. They are likely to be disappointed. On the other hand, war may, in fact, have a unifying effect on the British Empire—not as the result of the emotions it generates

but through the economic problems it poses and the trains of thought set up in the effort to deal with them.

STRENGTH IN UNITY

It should, I think, be clear from the analysis I have endeavoured to make of India's economic position that though she is very much better prepared to face a war than she was in 1914, her resources are still inadequate to sustain unaided the test of prolonged hostilities. She does not build broad-gauge locomotives, ships, aeroplanes or motor-cars, and her resources in petrol and several essential minerals are insignificant. Although a predominantly agricultural country, she has to supplement her food supplies from Burma and may have to import wheat this year. But, in association with the rest of the Empire, her potential strength is so great that her position is virtually invulnerable.

In the modern world no nation is economically strong enough to develop full proficiency in all arms, on land, on sea and in the air. The principle of modern strategy is the division of defence. One of the turning-points in economic thought was the affirmation by Adam Smith of the principle of the division of labour; the principle that the welfare of the community was maximized by the individual specializing in a single activity. So in defence strategy today. By standing in with a bloc of powers a nation, specializing in its chosen lines of defence and leaning upon the support of the others, can render itself secure as the result of a much smaller effort than would have been necessary had it been necessary to defend itself unaided. This is perhaps the strongest though, of course, not the only inducement to India to preserve the British connection.

To this the Indian nationalist is likely to urge two objections. In the first place, he will perhaps claim that if India were not a member of the Empire, if she were an isolated unit, she would not have been drawn into the war at all and would need no war industries. India, it may be argued, had no interest in Poland and it was only membership of the Empire that dragged her into the war. But this argument cannot be sustained. The day of the entirely independent state is over. States cannot stand alone; the

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search for security leads to the restless seeking for alliances which has been the outstanding feature of the history of the last century.

“GUNS OR BUTTER”

In the second place, the Indian nationalist may perhaps urge that, far from being unwilling to adapt India's economic system in such a way as to make it possible for India to defend herself, he would warmly welcome this as it would give an impetus to her industrial development. He regards industrialization as the sign and seal of the modern and the independent. His contention that certain industries necessary for national security have not been fostered by Government to the extent they should have been is deserving of sympathy, but to regard the economic organization of society on a war basis as a thing in itself eminently desirable is a view that can be held only by those whose vision is obscured by the most intense national passions. Preparation for war always distorts a country's economy. It lowers the general standard of well-being and it is but little compensation that it may greatly benefit certain sections of the community. Such a distortion in this imperfect world is a necessity, and any political arrangement which permits security to be achieved at a lower economic cost is a clear gain to the community as a whole.

In a country like India the class which pays heaviest for defence relatively to its resources is the peasantry, and the Indian peasantry is one of the poorest in the world. At the present time, while India remains within the Empire, one of the most vital branches of India's defences, defence by sea, is borne almost entirely by Great Britain, and although it is true that in return India supports that part of the British Army which is stationed in India, the economic advantage is certainly in favour of India. An independent India would have to build a navy and to develop industrial power behind the navy, and the increased burden upon the population would be immense. Similarly, as we have seen, she would need to develop her economy in various directions for the upkeep of the army and air force. And the new industries would not be profit-making; in general, they would be maintained from the revenue of an already heavily taxed people.

Modern India is, in fact, faced with the same problems and temptations as Germany. She must choose between guns and butter. If she remains within the British Empire she will, in her economic planning, be able to preserve a just balance between the needs of peace and the needs of war and to make adequate provision for security with the minimum dislocation of her economic life. If, lured by empty considerations of prestige, she elects to stand alone, she will, like Germany and like Russia, dissipate the increasing margin of wealth brought about by technical progress in directions of singularly little value to the great majority of her citizens.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, November 14, 1939, when a paper entitled "India's Economic Contributions to the War" was read by Sir Frank Noyce, K.C.S.I., C.B.E. Sir Firozkhani Noon, K.C.I.E., High Commissioner for India, was in the Chair in the absence of Lord Hailey of Shahpur and Newport Pagnell, who had expected to leave for Geneva to be a British delegate at the Assembly of the League of Nations. Lord Hailey wrote expressing his disappointment and regret at missing the lecture and discussion.

Sir FIROZKHAN NOON said: It is a great pleasure and honour for me to replace Lord Hailey. I am sorry that you have a very poor substitute, but I feel that being a Shahpuri I have a particular right of preemption which I could not forgo.

Sir Frank Noyce needs very little introduction. His paper is of vital importance to India and to England. In view of the fact that he has been a foremost member of the Government of India, himself personally responsible for many reforms which are leading India today on her march to industrialism, he is eminently fitted to speak on the subject on which he has been requested to read a paper. I hope you will excuse Sir Frank for remaining seated, because he has been ill and his doctors have advised him not to stand up. We are particularly grateful to him for having come here personally in spite of his indisposition to speak to us this afternoon.

Sir FRANK NOYCE then read his paper.

Sir HARRY LINDSAY was first called upon to speak and said: We are very grateful indeed to Sir Frank for this extremely comprehensive paper. It is a difficult subject to deal with because it is so enormously wide. Fortunately he has had so much experience in India, both as Industries Member and in many other capacities, that he is, I think, the man best qualified to write a paper of this kind. (Hear, hear.) We owe to him a great debt of gratitude for it.

To remind you of the wide range of his activities, he was at one time making a special report on the position of cotton in India, and soon after he was transferred from cotton to coal. I remember that, contrary to all the laws of Nature, his picture of cotton was much blacker than that of the coal industry.

I think his paper has come at a very appropriate time, because we are unfortunately on the threshold of a new war, and it seems as if we were just beginning all over again at the stage at which we left off the previous war. Certainly there is one phenomenon which, I am sure, strikes everybody, and that is that Dora, who blossomed so much at the end of the last war, has again raised her head. (Laughter.)

The effect of war on the economics of India is worthy of study, particu-

larly at this moment. For more than twenty years, since the end of the last war, the primary producer all over the world has had a very thin time. It is quite true that immediately after the last war there was a boom, when the primary producer got extremely high value for his goods, but since then he has been struggling, and now at last under war conditions (it is an ill wind that does not blow somebody good) the primary producer should at last be able to come into his own.

The immediate effect of a war is to upset entirely the relative values of different commodities. I do not mean merely as between raw materials and manufactured goods, though that relatively is upset, but also as between different classes of raw materials. You get an entirely new standard of values imposed by war. War materials come first, and ordinary peace-time requirements second. The result of that is not only a temporary artificial adjustment of values during the war, but after the war again a readjustment to peace-time conditions. Here, I think, is the great lesson which we may learn at the end of this present war—namely, that we must not try—as we did in 1919-20—to revert towards pre-war standards of values. They are bound to be entirely new, and it is only right that they should be new. It is only reasonable to expect that new values should be created, and that the uncertainty of this factor should be realized.

“Then,” you will say to yourselves, “if that is so, what certainty is there for the future? We cannot see what new standards of values are going to arise. What hope is there for the future?” Well, studying carefully Sir Frank’s paper, you can find your answer between the lines. The answer is science, science, science. It is the scientific production of goods which is going to ensure a minimum of friction, a minimum of waste and a maximum of successful effort. It is the scientific processing of goods following their scientific production which helps on towards scientific transport and scientific distribution. The science of distribution has not even been touched yet; it still remains to be worked up.

Fortunately, not only in war-time but also in the aftermath of peace, India’s economic position is very strong. Every country aspires to play her part in world economics and to fulfil her general responsibilities by the development of her own natural resources. India is wonderfully blessed in the variety and wealth of her natural resources. She can look forward with confidence to her own ability to meet alike the vast and varied demands of war conditions, and the more difficult demands of peace. (Applause.)

Sir THOMAS SMITH: I would add my congratulations to Sir Frank on the very interesting and comprehensive paper that he has read to us this afternoon.

Sir Harry Lindsay mentioned that Sir Frank was in a unique position to write a paper like this, because he had had many opportunities of making contacts with Indian industry. One of the many offices he held was that of president of the Indian Textile Cotton Enquiry Committee, and in that capacity, as president and grand inquisitor, he acquired such a knowledge of the industry that he knew almost as much about it as the mill-owners themselves.

He has referred to the very great increase in the production of piecegoods manufactured in the Indian mills. Since 1913-14 production has gone up four times. That is a most notable achievement, and in this respect India may now be said to be self-contained. I remember in the last war India was very short of cloth owing to supplies from Lancashire and Japan being very greatly reduced. Raw cotton had risen to enormous levels, something like eight times the price to which it had fallen in the early stages of the war. Cloth had risen in consequence, and the problem was how to bring the price within the reach of the poorer classes. So the Government of India devised a special or "standard" cloth of cheap design to meet their needs. I think Sir Frank was Controller of that Cloth Committee. Each mill had to make so much of it under levy, and I remember attending a conference in Bombay when we somewhat imploringly begged Japan to make some of this quality out of the cotton she took from India, and at the same time to increase generally her exports to India.

There is a great change since then, and I am certain that today India will not have to ask for outside help at all as she is nearly able to supply the country's needs. That is all to the good. And rightly so, considering that India is the second largest producer of cotton in the world and the first in the Empire.

There was also difficulty about dyes. German supplies, of course, were cut off, and the industry had to look round and have recourse to the old indigenous dyes. That was not a very easy matter because they had been completely ousted by the German synthetic dyes, so easy to use and so reliable in their results; but we managed somehow. Sir Frank has referred to the increased production of heavy chemicals, but I'm afraid this war finds India no better off in regard to production of the actual dyes themselves. In the last figures I saw for 1937-8, in nine months of that year India had imported a crore of rupees extra in dyes. That is a very big sum indeed.

I agree with Sir Frank that the developments in the iron and steel industry and in the cement and sugar industries have been noteworthy. Doubtless, when this war is over, a new fillip will be given to industrial development. It was so in the last war. As the result of the post-war boom between 1919-21, some two thousand new companies were registered, but unfortunately many of these were weaklings and almost perished at their birth. One can only hope that this time they will be of a more enduring character, and that they will be industries vital to the well-being and economic stability of India.

For, after all, in spite of the achievements that are recorded in this paper, India is still industrially backward. The percentage of the total population engaged in industry is entirely insignificant. Some time or other we shall have to reconsider the conclusions of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report of 1918. I was re-reading them before coming here today. They are admirably expressed in these words:

"On all grounds, a forward policy in industrial development is urgently called for; not merely to give India economic stability, but in order to satisfy the aspirations of her people who desire to see her stand

before the world as a well-poised, up-to-date country; in order to provide an outlet for the energies of her young men who are otherwise drawn exclusively to Government service or to a few over-stocked professions; in order that money now lying unproductive may be applied to the benefit of the whole community; and in order that the too speculative and literary tendencies of Indian thought may be bent to more practical ends, and the people may be better qualified to shoulder the new responsibilities which the new constitution will lay upon them."

Sir DAVID CHADWICK: I admire the skill of my old friend, Sir Frank Noyce, in the way in which he handled this question. When I first saw it on your list, I thought Sir Frank Brown was trying to lay a trap to get somebody to try and prophesy what India was going to do in this war. Sir Frank Noyce evaded that trap, but he has emphasized what seems to me the main point in trying to look forward to what might happen—namely, whilst many of the basal facts remain the same as in the last war—for instance, India's large capacity for supplying its immense products such as jute, tea and mica—yet the conditions are very greatly different, and it does not necessarily follow that the Indian contributions in the war that is past and the one now on will be the same. He emphasizes that her industrial equipment is much more broadly based and wider than it was then.

Sir Thomas Smith was right when he mentioned how the demand for cotton cloth became insistent towards the latter end of the last war, and how India was almost begging Japan to supply its needs. He suggested that that will not now recur. At the same time, at the beginning of the last war Bombay were on their knees to the Government of India, asking them to buy all the cotton that was then maturing in the fields because there was no one there to buy it and the foreign markets for export cotton had gone. Contrast that with Sir Thomas Smith's account of a later phase in that war. It illustrates the severe and varying shocks to which Indian economy was then subjected.

I suggest that this paper gives a certain hope that similar difficulties, which will arise if this war is prolonged, will not be so acute as they were in the past one. As Sir Frank Noyce has pointed out, the internal balance between agriculture and industry is a little surer. And undoubtedly the machinery for organization is much better in India today than twenty-five years ago. Also on the export side, India, too, has in many products to meet more competition. There are more alternative sources of supply today for her oil-seeds. Africa has greatly progressed. The same applies to manganese. This may steady the rise in prices of commodities.

My own feeling is—rushing in where Sir Frank would not tread—that India should be this time both warned and better equipped; or I would put it this way: that the difficulties which will arise will find a country much better prepared to meet them. It is these violent economic dislocations which are to be feared and, by all means possible, averted.

That, I hope, will lead to the next thing, which Sir Thomas stressed rightly, the avoidance of an unhealthy boom after the war is over. (Applause.)

Sir DAVID MEEK : I should like first of all to be permitted to join the previous speakers in thanking Sir Frank Noyce for the obligation under which he has placed us all in presenting to us a paper of the greatest interest, full of profound thought and covering a very wide field with reliable and accurate information. Having been given the opportunity of making a few remarks, I shall have no difficulty in keeping within the time limit of five or six minutes permitted, more especially as I am following so many distinguished speakers who are experts on the subject matter of the lecture, following them in this discussion as I have followed many of them in other walks of life.

The point has been made that the conditions which will prevail in this war will differ widely in many respects from those of the last great war, especially where India is concerned. This is a conclusion about which there can be no doubt. As the lecturer has brought out so clearly, the industrial India of today is entirely different from the India of 1914, and the industrial development which has taken place in India during the last quarter of a century received much of its initial impetus from the conditions brought into being by the last war, when, owing to shipping and other difficulties, the supply of many of the articles which India imported for consumption was cut off for a period of over four years. The India of those days was ripe for industrial development, mainly because of the presence of unemployment in the middle classes, which held within their ranks many who had been highly trained in technical directions, often in the United Kingdom, but who could find no employment on their return to India in the usual fields of Government or other public service. After the war the rigidity of India's fiscal policy, which necessitated the imposition of high levels of revenue-producing import duties, was the main factor in the continuation of the industrial development which had started up in the war period.

India's economic effort in this war is also likely to be different and more efficient for another reason. I am giving away no secrets when I say that India's organization for the economic effort in the war starts off from a position which is in advance of that attained toward the end of 1918. As Sir Frank Noyce has emphasized, the matter has not been neglected in the years which have intervened, and much forethought has been given to the problems which would arise, the action which would have to be taken, and the organization which would be necessary in the unfortunate event of hostilities being forced on the Empire. With the outbreak of war, I am sure that India is in a state of preparedness equal to that of any other part of the Commonwealth oversea.

The question of the relative prices of raw materials and industrial products has also been mentioned. For a number of years past it has been generally recognized that raw products prices have been on a level which can only be regarded as definitely unsatisfactory in relation to the general price level, and naturally even more unsatisfactory in relation to the level of prices of finished industrial products. Whatever the causes, this is an admitted fact, and the terms of trade for raw-product exporting countries have been unfavourable in the last ten years. This position has been the main factor in bringing about the completion of International Agreements for the

co-ordination and regulation of supply and demand for various raw materials aimed at bringing about equilibrium at a price for each commodity which is regarded as fair to the consumer and at the same time gives a reasonable return to the efficient producers. Now that war has come along, prices of raw materials have risen, either because of an actual increase in demand or of an anticipated increase. No one wishes the taxpayer's burden, arising out of the effort, to be increased, but at the same time the increase in raw material prices which has taken place so far—it is some 30 per cent. increase on an average—has only placed the raw material producing countries in a position which by general consent is considered more equitable than the position of recent years. This has been recognized at least implicitly by the Home Government in the controlled prices which have been set out in the schedules for some of the commodities required, such as wool, hides, etc.

There is another point to which I should like permission to refer—the source from which United Kingdom requirements should be bought. This point is of very great importance, as in most foreign countries payment will have to be made on a cash basis in currencies mostly related, if not actually tied, to dollars. Our purchases from the U.S.A. will be on a “cash and carry” basis. The “carry” part may lead to some scarcity of freight for goods to the United Kingdom from other parts of the world, but at least it is a favourable item in the balance of payments. But “cash” for our purchases in the U.S.A. will make heavy demands on the dollar resources of this country. A similar remark applies to the purchases in Canada and in other countries outside the sterling area. It would appear, therefore, that wherever possible—as is the case with a number of raw materials—the proportion of takings from Empire sources should be increased over the average of peace times. Two important commodities which are bought in large quantities from the U.S.A. are cotton and tobacco, while there is also the minor one, coffee, which is taken from Brazil and Costa Rico as well as from India and Kenya. Some of India's markets for raw cotton have been closed by the war, and as a result of the experience, dating from the Ottawa Conference, we know that this country can adapt herself to absorb Indian raw cotton in increasing quantities. This is a trend which in the financial interests of this country it would be profitable to maintain and even accelerate. Similarly, although at present not at an equal rate, the imports of tobacco from India could be expanded with a saving in dollar-exchange resources, and corresponding remarks could be made with regard to the much smaller import trade in coffee.

One of the main difficulties in the last war arose from the scarcity of shipping at times. I hope, and many anticipate, that similar shortages will not arise on this occasion. I know that India's industrial development has accentuated the problem of having to send out ships only partly laden to the East to bring back full cargoes of the war materials which are required here; but it is essential that the shipping requirements should be provided for the transport of the goods which India has been asked to supply to the Allies. The industrial development of India has at least brought into existence a manufacturing source which is nearer some parts of the Empire than the United Kingdom, and relieves the pressure of demand on the productive

capacity of this country at a time when that capacity will soon be fully engaged on the urgent needs of the war effort.

Sir ALFRED CHATTERTON : Those of us here today who had to deal with the many industrial difficulties which cropped up in India during the last war will have heard with astonishment and regret that the Bureau of Industrial Research has been suspended.

I should like to endorse the remarks of Sir Frank Noyce about the Indian Store Department. Of course, it was started after the war was over, but during the first ten or twelve years of its existence I was in India in a private capacity engaged on a variety of industrial developments, and as the result of my experience I should like to express my appreciation of the very great value which the test house and the laboratories attached to that Department were to people who, outside the Government altogether, were trying to introduce new industrial advances.

During the progress of the war of 1914-18 it proved to be a matter of extreme importance that, in Bangalore, we had the Indian Institute of Science, which was staffed with men of high scientific ability, and their services both to the industry of the country and to the Indian Munitions Board were extremely valuable.

Obviously, not knowing what demands may arise in India during the current war, it seems to me that it is rather a suicidal policy to suspend even temporarily the work of those officers who are likely to be able, by their scientific knowledge and experience, to influence progress in industry and in the development of the natural resources of the country.

Sir Thomas Smith referred to the fact that nothing at all had been done in regard to the question of the manufacture of dyes in India, although there was a great demand for them, and imports in recent years had increased by more than a crore of rupees.

To me it is a matter of regret that the efforts that were made in 1920 to do something in this direction failed to come to any practical result, chiefly for reasons of finance. The suggestion was put forward that we should import into India what are known as "intermediate products" in dye manufacture. In this connection I had an interview in Bombay with Field-Marshal Sir William Robertson, who had become a Director of British Dyes, chiefly because he was impressed with the very great importance of their plant and products in connection with chemical warfare. He thought that it would materially strengthen the military resources of India if the industry was established there, and on his return to England he placed our proposals before his co-directors in British Dyes, and plans and estimates were prepared amounting to nearly a crore of rupees for establishing dye works in India. Owing, however, to the subsequent slump and to the general expectation that the future promised a long peace, nothing came of them.

For the last few years the raw material of this industry has been largely increased in India, and it will increase still further with the development of the iron smelting and the manufacture of steel. The intermediate products are derived from the distillation of coal-tar, and the working them up into

final products will give employment to a large number of the young Indian chemists who are finding at the present time great difficulty in getting work of any kind.

In India during the last war we experienced great difficulty in getting scientific assistance in dealing with problems which arose from time to time. When the war broke out, the British Government created a Board of Scientific Advice, and we were told in India that if we wanted any help we should write to them.

In one particular matter I might relate my experience. We wanted certain information and wrote to this Board, and they referred us to the Imperial Institute, and the Imperial Institute authorities took some considerable time in replying to our request for information. Finally, they gave us the advice that out in India we certainly could not do what we proposed, and that we had better send the raw materials home to them. By the time we received this advice we had got over the difficulties ourselves, and carried out the proposals we had in view without the help of the Imperial Institute. As a result, we established an industry which had formerly been mainly carried on in Germany with a turnover of several hundred thousand pounds a year.

What I think is wanted now is the establishment of a consultative committee in London to supply this technical information, which men in India will find it difficult to obtain during the period of the war. The technical advances of the last ten or fifteen years have been extremely great, and the majority of officers in India are not always in touch with the latest developments here. If they had free access to a competent committee in London to help them and advise them as to what had been done up to the present time in Europe or America, it would probably be of great help to them. I feel sure that it would be easy to obtain the honorary services of a number of men, some with experience of Indian conditions and others highly competent experts in various branches of technology. I think that is a suggestion which would, if carried out, very materially influence the development of Indian resources in the course of the present war. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN : I am sure you have all been very pleased to listen to this learned discourse on a very important subject. First of all, I should like to congratulate Sir Frank Brown for possessing a very special sense of topicality in digging out the most competent retired officials of India for giving lectures. When these poor men arrive in this country, wanting to rest, suddenly they see Sir Frank Brown at their door. But I am sure it is a pleasure for them to lecture to the Association.

Secondly, we are indebted to Sir Frank Noyce for sparing the time to come here. If there was anybody fitted to speak on a delicate matter like this, where Indian opinion is so sensitive, Sir Frank Noyce was the right person. He has left behind him a reputation of fairmindedness and liberality of view, which has helped him to form very lasting friendships amongst Indians.

He has been modest enough not to tell you that the Stores Department—which was started in India for the purchase of stores and which has been

responsible for so much encouragement to Indian industry—was really started by him.

Sir FRANK NOYCE : Oh, no, no !

The CHAIRMAN : Oh, now you have spoilt the story ! Well, it was under him for five years. Anyhow, he put life into it. (Applause.)

The gentlemen who have taken part in this discussion were eminently suited for this purpose because three of them have been Indian Trade Commissioners in London : Sir Harry Lindsay, Sir David Chadwick and Sir David Meek, as well as Sir Frank Noyce himself. Sir Thomas Smith, I am sure, is even better fitted than these gentlemen, because he is experienced in controlling the purse, which is so important in financing all industries. And Sir Alfred Chatterton, with his experience of industries in Southern India, has made a definite contribution to the debate.

It really gladdened my heart to listen to the past and present Indian Trade Commissioners speak about the prospects of India making a lot of money out of this war. They have been really true friends of India, and I could see in their faces a gleam of light and pleasure as they saw this prospect of more money flowing into the pockets of the Indian peasant. Ordinarily we are told that prices go up by an escalator and come down by ordinary steps, but unfortunately for us poor agriculturists the prices are going up by an ordinary ladder and will probably come down by an electric lift. But we are very thankful to Providence, however much we regret the cause, because it is only occasionally, once in twenty-five years say, that the poor agriculturist can really have his own back on the industrialist. But we are very much afraid that as soon as peace comes back the industrialist will again come round and down the poor agriculturist.

I remember the story of two boys, one the son of a moneylender, the other of an agriculturist, wrestling together and the moneylender's son on the top. While on the top he started crying. When asked why he was crying, he said, " Oh, I am afraid this fellow will soon put me down again and beat me." That is how we agriculturists are afraid of the industrialist as far as prices are concerned.

There is one point on the economic contribution of India to which I should like to draw your attention, and that is our geographical position. There are few people today who realize the strategical importance of India. With the Suez Canal and other routes open, India can make a very big contribution in not only holding together the far-flung parts of the Empire, but in supplying them with things which ordinarily they may receive from the mother country. I know of definite cases in recent months where we have made war equipment in British India for other parts of the Empire. During the last war our munition factories were doubled as far as capacity is concerned. Even now they are being extended very rapidly. We can make guns and munitions of all sorts; if necessary heavier armaments too.

I do feel that India can, and will, make a great contribution to strengthening the military position of her sister Dominions beyond the Suez. The remark has been made that India does not possess a navy. I agree, and it

is a thing which we Indians feel very strongly. I feel that India should possess the strongest navy in the East, even bigger than that of Japan. Our four thousand miles of sea coast need a very strong navy indeed. But you must not be angry when you find we have not many ships, because we are not worse off than other parts of the British Empire—Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa. If they can depend on the mother country for the defence of their coasts against common enemies, I feel that India is equally entitled to the support of that same British Navy. I know this much—that if Indians had the power today to spend their money on armaments, the demands of the navy would be their first charge. The Indian public will not stint spending money on the navy; even the small addition to the navy of one or two cruisers or battleships a year would in the long run give us great strength, and the Indian public would bear that burden with the greatest of pleasure.

I do not wish to detain you any longer. I thank you very much for having encouraged the Association by attending in such great numbers.

Perhaps Sir Frank Noyce would now like to answer some of the questions that have been put to him during the debate. (Applause.)

SIR FRANK NOYCE : I do not think any questions were actually put to me during the discussion. I am very glad to have escaped them.

All I have to do, therefore, is to express my warm thanks for the cordial reception you have given my paper, and to you, sir, for the all too kind things you have said about its author. Nobody was more conscious than I, when I got to the end of it, how many gaps I had left. I had hoped that some of those would be filled in in the course of the discussion, and I am glad that that has been the case.

I am especially grateful to Sir Harry Lindsay. He and Sir David Meek filled in a very real gap when they pointed out the probable effect of the war on prices, and the prosperity, which we hope will not be transient, which it may bring to the producer of primary products who has suffered so severely since the last war. That was an aspect I had not overlooked, but I felt that, if I once embarked on a discussion of it, my paper would have grown to a very great length, and our time is, as you know, severely limited.

It had not struck me till you mentioned it, sir, that we had speaking here this afternoon the whole succession of Indian Trade Commissioners from the first to the last, four in all. I was the second and the one who occupied the post the shortest time. It has been a great pleasure to me to have my predecessor and successors here today.

I thank you all once again most warmly.

SIR JAMES MACKENNA : I think there are two conclusions we may draw this afternoon. The first is that it does not matter in what position an address is given, whether standing or sitting : the quality is not affected. The second is that economics is not a dull subject.

I consider that this afternoon we have had a most interesting discussion on a very high level of a paper which, from its bald title, might have looked

abstruse, but which has been brightened first by the clear way in which the subject was opened up by the lecturer, and subsequently by the succession of experts who have spoken.

I therefore have very much pleasure in proposing a hearty vote of thanks to my old friend, Sir Frank Noyce, for his exceedingly able paper. I also want to couple with it a vote of thanks to our High Commissioner for India, Sir Firozkhan Noon, who in every sense of the word is a High Commissioner. He never refuses the call of duty, and the East India Association makes very frequent and sudden calls upon him. I do not imagine he knew till last night or probably this morning that he would be presiding here today. As you know, he has a delightful touch of humour, which, it is not necessary to remind you, indicates that he comes from the North! (Applause.)

Sir LOUIS DANE writes :

I had intended to make some remarks on this valuable lecture by Sir Frank Noyce with the object of showing how the foundations of some of the great economic developments in India, to which he refers, were laid, but the time was short, and it was most desirable that all the authorities on the modern Indian economical position should be heard, so I did not speak.

There are three points in which I am interested to which Sir Frank specially referred, and the first is the spread of hydro-electric power. In this I was a pioneer in Upper India and I started the Simla hydro-electric scheme as Chief Secretary, Punjab, in 1897, and carried it to completion in 1913. In 1901, as Resident in Kashmir, I encouraged the Durbar to secure the services of Sir A. de Lothbinière, the constructor of the great Cauvery schemes, and he made the Jhelum power station, which is still not nearly fully used as a transmission line to the Punjab was never constructed. My personal plan was to start with small schemes on the Sind and Lidhar Rivers, but he thought the larger project would work, and the Durbar followed his advice. Later he told me that he was sorry he had not taken up the smaller scheme first.

Then in 1904 I was consulted about the Upper Swat Canal, and suggested the modification of its course and the dropping of the water by a fall into a nala below the Malakand instead of the long stepped-down channel proposed. This was cheaper and would be available as a source of power supply. It has now been so utilized in 1938. A similar arrangement at my suggestion was made at the point where the Upper Jhelum Canal drops the supply for the Lower Canal into the river above Rasul. This also has been considered for a power station. Smaller electrical power stations were put up on the Upper Bar-i-Doab Canal at Amritsar and on the Lower Bar-i-Doab Canal near Renala.

Then the Bhakhra dam on the Sutlej was suggested by me personally. It is a bold scheme for holding up a huge reserve of water in the rains by a dam eventually put at 500 feet high in the Bilaspur State. It was novel and was much debated, and the war of 1914-18 blocked progress. Since then several such dams have been built on the Rio Colorado in the U.S.A.,

and the scheme was passed as thoroughly sound by a scientific committee. It would give irrigation for two million acres and also secure the lower canals on the Sutlej, some of which suffer from a scanty supply, especially the tail canals in Bahawalpur, which depend entirely on the river. Their construction was blocked by the Reforms scheme and expenditure connected therewith. Lately it was revived, and was apparently on the point of being undertaken as a protective work for the Southern Punjab, when it has probably again been blocked by the present war. By this scheme an enormous amount of electrical power would be available, though this at present in the Punjab is not so necessary as it was owing to the construction of the Uhl (Mandi) project under Lord Hailey.

In my time the question of leakage through the banks of the canals and seepage through the beds was beginning to be serious, and we thought of cementing the canals where necessary. It was also proposed to construct trial elevators for the wheat in the canal colonies. The trouble was that the cost of cement from England was almost prohibitive, and on three occasions consignments were found to have lost their tensile strength on arrival. The makers said they could not be responsible for deterioration after the cement was once shipped. We then had an officer put on special duty to visit great cement works and make experiments in the Punjab. Some rough but effective hydraulic cement had been made with the local nodular limestone (*kankar*) and clay as far back as 1885. The result of the inquiry and experiments showed that excellent cement of high quality could be made locally at about a quarter of the prevailing price. The subject attracted attention and even led to the papers on the subject being stolen from the Secretariat. However, with the approval of the Government of India, it was decided to throw the manufacture open to private enterprise, and that was the foundation of the present flourishing industry. In 1910 there was only one small factory, at Porbandar in Kathiawar. It is worth recording that when English cement was used for the petroleum wells of the Attock Oil Company there were constant failures in setting; since Punjab cement has been used a failure is very rare.

Sir Frank Noyce remarked that India has very little petrol of her own. Except for the oil wells in remote Assam, that until recently was unfortunately the case. Petroleum seepages occur over the area between the Salt Range and the foothills of the Himalaya in the Punjab, and these have been known for centuries. The crude oil was used by the people for sheep scab, etc. Some near Fathchganj were worked before 1860 and subsequent years for oil used in making gas for one of the European barracks at Rawalpindi. In 1879 Canadian drillers were brought out by Government and two wells were drilled which I saw when accompanying the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Robert Egerton, to the Frontier. Soon afterwards the drillers applied for licences for themselves, but were told that these could not be granted until the value of the springs was ascertained. Then the pipes stuck and the drillers disappeared. It was believed at the time that this was because they could not get a concession for themselves. The drips went on, but in 1885 the Geological Survey reported that the eocenes in which the oil had been formed had been denuded, and the prospects of

petroleum production were not favourable. In 1897, as Chief Secretary, I raised the question again, but received a similar reply. It was stated that the drips would probably soon cease, but they went on as usual. When I became Lieutenant-Governor further investigations were made, and I was asked by two parties if I thought that it was worth while prospecting the area. I told them the previous history of the case, and said that the drips had not ceased, that it seemed probable that the drillers had spoiled the wells, and that I thought that in view of the great present value of petroleum products prospecting was worth while, but it was highly speculative, and they must acquaint anyone financing the work with the views of the Geological Survey.

Two companies were formed in 1913; one, the Indolan, collapsed owing to the failure of the chief promoter, and the other, the Attock Oil Company, is still working. It was blocked by the war, and then found oil at fairly shallow depths at Khaur, forty-five miles from Rawalpindi, but the wells did not last long. In 1937 more lasting supplies were struck at nearly 8,000 feet at Dhulia, eight or nine miles from Khaur; and the present prospects of the company there are good, though more wells must be sunk and other areas prospected before it can be held that the Punjab can do much to produce a full supply of petroleum products for Upper India, where there was no indigenous source of supply before. The present output is about 2,000 barrels a day, or 30 million gallons a year, but the wells are controlled to suit the state of the market at the capacity of the refinery and are not working at full capacity. The capacity of the refinery has been raised from a nominal 1,500 barrels a day to 6,000 barrels a day by a new addition of 4,500 barrels capacity.

Rome was not built in a day, and this short account may show that economic development in India was not neglected before the war and the Reforms. But the way of discoverers is hard and toilsome, and great enterprises can only be started in a country like India by men of vision and pertinacity, and the faith that can move mountains.

Sir MUHAMMAD ZAFRULLAH KHAN (Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council and Representative of the Government of India at the discussions with His Majesty's Ministers in London) was prevented from taking part in the meeting by his absence with the Dominion Ministers in France. Before leaving to return to India he issued the following statement :

In 1914 India ranged herself wholeheartedly with her sister nations in the struggle against wanton aggression, giving lavishly of her wealth, both in money and materials. Her direct monetary contribution towards the cost of the last war amounted to £146.2 millions, a figure which does not take into complete account the additional financial burden which India bore as a result of war conditions. By 1918 she had sent nearly a million and a half men overseas to serve in Europe, Gallipoli, Mesopotamia, Egypt, East Africa and Palestine. Wherever the Empire fought, they played their part gallantly.

To a man, the great Indian Princes and Ruling Chiefs offered their services and their resources. Their troops replaced regiments which could

not otherwise have been spared from India, and 20,000 of them also served overseas. The material contributions of the Princes did not consist only of millions of pounds sterling as free gifts or contributions to War Loans: ships, cars, hospitals, horses, camels, and goods of every type and description were lavishly and spontaneously placed at the disposal of the Crown.

The influence of India's participation in the last war was indeed great. The full force of India's contribution in the present war will not be felt at once, but her immediate steps disclose something of the immense reserve power. India maintains in peace time a standing army of 150,000 of all arms, excluding British troops stationed in that country, and in war has a vast reserve of man-power to draw upon. Regular units of the Indian Army are now serving overseas in Malaya, Aden and Egypt. Indian Territorials and the Auxiliary Forces are serving by the side of their professional comrades. The army is being steadily expanded, and pilots and mechanics for the Air Force are for the first time to be recruited, commissioned and trained in India. The recruiting offices have been so overwhelmed with volunteers that the authorities have had to cry a halt and explain that it is impossible to utilize all offers of service at once. Significantly, too, these offers of service come not only from the classes from which the army is normally recruited, but from every class, community and walk of life.

No picture of India's war effort would be complete without a reference to the Indian States, who are, of course, in direct relationship with the Crown. True to their tradition of loyalty and service, the Princes have offered their all. No less than three hundred of them have personally signified to the Viceroy their eagerness to help in every way, the great Muslim rulers standing side by side with the representatives of Hindu martial tradition, the Marathas, Rajputs and Sikhs. Their collective territories cover one-third of the whole area of India, and among their ninety million peoples are some of the greatest of the fighting races of India, who have won fame upon many fields of battle.

The potential strength of the Princes is indeed great, and their striking response in this crisis has made it clear that their contribution to India's war effort in men, money, material and personal service will worthily bear comparison with that of 1914-18. And there is another aspect to the staunch loyalty of the Princes which must not be under-estimated. Tradition is still strong, and despite all the evolutionary changes of the last twenty years the Princes exercise an influence which is felt far beyond the confines of their territories: their call to arms finds a response in every corner of India where their subjects and clansmen may be.

If before this struggle is ended a call has to be made on India, as in the war of 1914-18, men will be found eager and ready, both in British India and in the Indian States. And of the armed forces of both it can be said that they have greatly improved in training and equipment since the last war. Mechanization has commenced, there is an Indian Sandhurst to train young Indian officers for commissions in all branches of the services, the Indian Air Force is growing and volunteer reserves are in process of formation. Last, but not least, there is now an Indian Navy, already on

active service with the Royal Navy in Indian seas, assisting in guarding and keeping open the trade routes. Also auxiliary craft requisitioned on the outbreak of war, officered and manned by personnel of the Royal Indian Navy, are helping in the essential task of keeping the ports safe for shipping.

So many contributions in money or in kind have been sent to the Viceroy that he has found it necessary to open a War Purposes Fund. They have come from rich and poor alike, the millions of the prosperous, the humble rupees of clerks, even the agricultural produce of the cultivators. Generous donations have also been made to the Indian Red Cross.

In the industrial and economic sphere, the whole country has vigorously tackled the problems of converting and expanding peace-time machinery for war needs. As the months pass, India will not only provide more thoroughly for her own war-time needs, but for those of her partners overseas. Much exploratory work has taken place in peace, and this was placed at the disposal of the War Supply Department, now reinforced by an Economic Resources Board. Large orders from His Majesty's Government have already been fulfilled, and the Supply Department is now in a position to meet other demands.

The extent to which India has been transformed economically in the last twenty years is perhaps not generally realized. Whereas in 1914 she was ill-equipped to produce the essential requirements of war, she has now advanced to a higher place among the great manufacturing countries of the world. A further expansion of her industrial capacity is planned, particularly for the supply of such essentials as jute, hessian cloth, blankets and other textiles, steel, boots, leather, tentage and war equipment. But India remains essentially an agricultural country, and her agricultural resources are enormous, perhaps not so much in cereals, but in groundnuts, linseed, rubber, tea, cotton, and certain foodstuffs. In addition the present plans provide for the supply for overseas use of vast quantities of other materials: iron, coal, shellac, hides, mica, manganese, saltpetre, silk, hemp, coir, petroleum and various oils.

India today is in a much better position to face a prolonged struggle than she was in 1914. She can provide not only for the majority of her own needs, but she has so developed that her immense natural resources can provide an ever-increasing flow of her products for use overseas. Her almost inexhaustible man-power lies in reserve, while her armed forces are on service and supplementary forces are being trained for future needs.

India, in unison, has denounced Hitlerism in unqualified terms and has resolved that its menace to world peace must be destroyed. India's war effort is the measure of that determination.

INDIA'S CONSTITUTION AND THE WAR

BY SIR ALFRED WATSON

Nobody but a fool would believe that he can formulate any cut-and-dried solution of the problem that now faces us in India. Patience and the determination of the Viceroy to continue his efforts to find some form of agreement may do much to ease the situation, but again, as always of recent years, both political advance and the avoidance of serious political retrogression depend upon Indians themselves. Unless all parties in India are prepared to recognize that the establishment of national unity is precious beyond constitutional forms, there is no escape from the present deadlock or the further deadlocks that lie ahead.

For the moment we face a triple tragedy—the tragedy of misunderstanding of motives, the tragedy of missed opportunities, and the tragedy that there should be political strife when the two nations—India and Britain—face a common danger with common ideals for the freedom of mankind. And perhaps a greater tragedy than these three is that the purely internal political manœuvres in India should be capable of being represented abroad as a failure in determination on the part of a considerable portion of the Empire to end that aggression towards weaker nations that we brand as Hitlerism.

One cannot wholly acquit the Government of India of responsibility for an initial misunderstanding. In spite of reserved powers, and notwithstanding that a boycott by Congress of the Central Legislature was already in existence, consideration of Indian susceptibilities would have suggested some consultation with the leaders of popular parties before India's full participation in the war was proclaimed. Such conversations might have meant a delay of a few days. They might well have failed to bring about agreement, but they would have avoided the allegation that India was being committed without her voice being heard.

Bureaucracy in a hurry is fertile in mistakes, in India as elsewhere. Much passion might have been averted and much of the subsequent negotiations might have been unnecessary had there

been recognition from the beginning, as there was subsequently, that it was desirable to associate with India's war effort the leaders of all the major political parties in India.

ERRORS OF THE CONGRESS

Nevertheless one is compelled to affirm that the truly Himalayan blunder has been on the part of the Congress leaders. They have been offered by the Viceroy, with the full consent of the British Parliament, the closest association with the Central Executive in the conduct of India's part in the war. That was an immediate step in the political advancement of India of which they could scarce have dreamed. It was a departure upon which there could have been no going back, that would have survived the war and cleared the path to fully responsible government in the years immediately after the war. When the Congress leaders ask, "What constitutional advance can be introduced now as an earnest of ultimate intentions?" they have had an answer giving them an immediate influence and control over policy at the Centre. That offer they have, for the time being at any rate, rejected. To one who, like myself, looks forward with confidence to the attainment by India of full nationhood within the Empire, such refusal must seem a deplorable failure of statesmanship.

A greater error is the decision, now carried into effect, to withdraw the Congress Ministries from all the Provinces in which they have had control of affairs, leaving Government no option but the placing of all administration in the hands of the Governor and the permanent Services. Government must be carried on whatever happens, and the very preponderance of Congress in the majority of the Provinces precludes the formation of alternative Ministries. We are cast back to the days of Morley-Minto. Administration will go on as efficiently as before. Twice during my service in Bengal this situation had to be faced, and the Services proved fully competent for the emergency. They will do so again throughout the areas in which they have to take responsibility.

Has Congress counted what may be the effect of the change? For more than two years the Ministries that have now thrown in their hands have been struggling, not without a measure of success,

with the problems that arise when reforms are attempted and there is an attenuated exchequer. With the war the lean years will pass. India is in the main a producer of prime commodities which are rising in price in all the markets of the world. The Indian peasant will be more prosperous. Unaccustomed to assigning immediate benefits to remote causes, he may well be found contrasting present benefits with the straitened years of Congress rule and be shaken in his political faith. One need not approve the wisdom of Mr. Jinnah's call to the Muslims of India to observe a day of deliverance and thanksgiving that Congress Governments have ceased to function. That is a dangerous and ill-considered challenge to further communal dissension. Yet it is a retort invited by the action of Congress itself.

BRITISH ATTITUDE

The Congress decision must be as disastrous upon opinion outside India as it is fatal, inside India, to Congress influence upon the course of Government. I sincerely believe that at no previous time has there been in this country such a unity among all parties of sympathy with the political aspirations of India. That sentiment is being gravely weakened by recent events. Prejudice is bound to arise when, with the remainder of the Empire united in a struggle for freedom, a great party puts a price on its adherence to the common cause. "What has shocked us in this country," said Lord Salisbury in a recent debate in the House of Lords, "is that these Indian leaders have thought fit to use the international situation in order to promote a further step towards self-government." My nerves are less susceptible than those of Lord Salisbury, but I have to recognize that he does represent a point of view, and that it is a grave misfortune to the Indian cause that those who hold his opinions should have been strengthened in their opposition to Indian aspirations by Congress action.

What shocks those of us who have endeavoured to promote the cause of India is that Congress should have missed an unexampled opportunity of furthering self-government, and should have done so in pursuit of a shadow. To demand a statement of war aims at the very beginning of the war is not the action of

practical men. We have yet to win the war, and what can be done at its end will depend wholly upon the character of the victory. Any pledge given now to India would come from men who, if past experience be any guide, may not be in power and able to implement that pledge at the close of a long struggle.

Nor can we ignore the fact that a precise statement of aims as regards India made now, whatever its character might be, would accentuate divisions and increase tension. It is true that all parties in India demand self-government for the country, but they do not all mean the same thing. In fact, they mean very different things. It would be easy for any Government, for example, to endorse Mr. Gandhi's formula that "the freedom of India is necessarily included in the war aims." Of course it is. But with all respect to Mr. Gandhi, the phrase means nothing at all without precise definition. Mr. Jinnah, for his part, has declared as regards India that "in such a country, comprising different nationalities, a democratic system of Parliamentary Government is, in my view, an impossibility." That again I hold to be nonsense, but possibly Mr. Jinnah has in his mind the kind of democratic government envisaged by Mr. Subhas Bose in "The Indian Struggle"—a most valuable document for the enlightenment of Indian opinion which the Indian Government, with traditional unwisdom in such matters, has placed on the index of forbidden volumes.

"DICTATORIAL POWERS"

Mr. Bose tells us, as a "bare outline" of the policy of his future party in India, that "it will stand for a Federal Government for India as the ultimate goal, but will believe in a strong Central Government with dictatorial powers for some years to come, in order to put India on her feet," and, further, "it will not stand for a democracy in the mid-Victorian sense of the term, but will believe in Government by a strong party bound together by military discipline." Mr. Bose has the almost unique quality among Indian leaders of avoiding circumlocution in setting down his aims, and it is not surprising that Mr. Jinnah and all the Muslims should shrink from the Hitlerian dictation that he promises them

once the Hindus come into power. Whatever else may be said about British war aims we can state precisely now that they do not contemplate the setting up in Delhi of a Government modelled upon that of Berlin.

Had the Viceroy and the British Government any Machiavellian purpose, they might at the very beginning of negotiations have accepted the demand for a Constituent Assembly to frame the future constitution of India, with the two provisos that it should be thoroughly representative and that its unanimous conclusions, when reached, should be subject to the same endorsement by the British Parliament as has been given to every other constitution of a country within the Empire. Such an endeavour at constitution-making would have been faced at once by the Muslim demand for full safeguards for the community, by the fear of the Princes that Congress would give them short shrift, by the strong objections of the many other minorities. We may judge of its chances of successful deliberation by the fact that in the conversations with the Viceroy the leaders of two parties alone found themselves in hopeless antagonism upon the first clauses of a pact of understanding.

Nothing is so unreal in this controversy in India as the repeated declarations of Mr. Gandhi and Dr. Rajendra Prasad that the political crisis "is not related to the communal issue in India," when it becomes more apparent with every day that the communal issue is the focal centre round which every political movement revolves. We may deplore the fact, but we cannot close our eyes to it. The intensification of communal tension under the working of the existing constitution is, in particular, a disappointment to those of us who believed that in the new order in India there might be some fresh orientation of parties, ignoring the differences of religion and recognizing that the ryots, the industrial workers, the landowners and the large mercantile classes had common interests unaffected by one religious faith or another. Not until there is some such complete recasting of political ideas, separating the things of this world from the hopes of the next, giving each its appropriate place in life, will India, whatever the nature of its Constitution, have attained the freedom that it claims. In that field those of us who are outside stand helpless. India must

work out its own salvation. That will be a process far more lengthy than we had hoped; it remains the only true pathway of advance.

THE GOAL OF BRITISH POLICY

When, however, the British Government is asked for a definition of its future aims as regards India, it can be answered that there is no ambiguity whatever about them and that they do not depend upon the outcome of the war, unless that outcome should be defeat, in which case India with all else of the Empire would go down to darkness and eclipse. It is true that were I an Indian idealist, with memories of the controversy over the India Act and the conviction that Mr. Winston Churchill will have a considerable voice in the settlement after the war, I should have doubts whether his passion for democracy would burn as brightly in the East as in the West. But the promise to India is altogether apart from the political convictions of any one man or any group. It is contained in the Act itself and in the many declarations that have amplified the plain meaning of the words of that Act.

The intention of Parliament is in the words of Lord Halifax, "The natural issue of India's progress is the attainment of Dominion Status." That declaration is amplified in the instructions to the Viceroy, which, as Lord Linlithgow recently reminded the political leaders, are "to further the attainment by India of her due place among the Dominions." Mr. Gandhi does not go a step further when he defines Indian independence as "Dominion Status within the full scope of the Act of Westminster," for, as Sir Samuel Hoare has said, "There are no two kinds of Dominion Status." India will have, for what it is worth, the full protection of the Statute of Westminster. I say "for what it is worth" advisedly, for the power of contracting itself out of the British Empire given to a Dominion by the Statute of Westminster could only conceivably be exercised by Canada, which is the least likely element in the Empire to avail itself of the privilege.

For any other Dominion to deny itself the protection that the British Empire gives would be suicide. The dissentient country would fall an immediate prey to the aggressive forces that are loose in the world. For India, vulnerable by land and sea, with

jealous eyes watching her from the East and European Powers seeking new colonies to exploit, or for Burma, with a frontier coterminous with that of a China that may presently be under Japanese domination, the Statute of Westminster can have no meaning whatever. For good or for evil these countries are inescapably bound up with the future of the British Empire.

So let us be done with all this hair-splitting about war aims as they affect India. We can offer no more than we have done—the full freedom to rule itself internally, to make treaties with other countries, to decide for itself whether it will share or stand back from the greater enterprises in which the Empire may engage, which is enjoyed by Canada, South Africa, Australia or New Zealand. Such attributes of Dominion Status as can be given without a Dominion constitution have already been conferred on India. For years her representatives have taken an equal part in the deliberations of the League of Nations. At this moment there is in London an Indian sitting in the war councils of the Empire with equal standing and an equal voice with the delegates from the other Dominions. All has been done to accord India full stature as a Dominion that can be done without the whole-hearted co-operation of the Indian peoples.

THE SEARCH FOR UNITY

Every obstacle to a further swift advance is to be found in India itself: none exists so far as the British people and the British Parliament are concerned. In this matter our consciences are clear. Before now, had there been the spirit of accommodation in India, had Indian politicians proved capable of ridding themselves of doubts, suspicions and hesitations, a Federal constitution would have been in full operation. No man could have worked harder or more devotedly for the achievement of that end than Lord Linlithgow, both before and during the years of his Vice-royalty. None could be more determined, as he affirmed after the failure of the last Delhi conference, to “try again for unity.”

Are we to abandon hope of that unity, to admit to ourselves that the quarrel between Hindu and Muslim which has intensified in the years of self-government in the provinces is incapable of settle-

ment? The whole history of the Empire forbids any such weak surrender to pessimism. In Canada two peoples of different races, different languages and different religions, once locked in a death-grip, are today willing partners in a common rule. Within our own life-time two races in South Africa have fought almost to a standstill, and today a brilliant commander in the field of those who sought to resist British rule is the head of a Government pledged to the last of its resources to support the British Empire in the present conflict.

No such recent bitter memories prevent a union of interests in India. Admitting the historical background of the Hindu-Muslim differences, there has been no recent war between the two faiths. They are held by men who, whatever their original differences of origin, have been welded into one people, by men who everywhere mingle in their work-a-day lives. When so much is at stake it would be a denial of statesmanship in Indian political leaders of all parties if they could not, with all the assistance that is offered, find the means of accommodation. Once that is achieved the door stands wide open to Dominion Status.

In the latest of many resolutions, Congress affirms its intention to continue non-co-operation, but to spare no efforts for an honourable settlement, and adds that "the British Government has banged the door in the face of Congress." Perversion of the actual situation could go no further. Congress leaders give little credit to the intelligence of the world in believing that it can be so misled as to the facts, or that it will fail to contrast, on the one side, the attitude of the Princes willing to throw all into the struggle and the full co-operation of the Muslims with, on the other side, lip service to the principle of freedom and, in practice, cold calculation of the highest price that can be exacted before striking a blow in its behalf. That is not the spirit in which the other Dominions have won their way to liberty, nor is it the pathway to peace in India. I do no more at this moment than throw out the suggestion that, when the time comes for counting the gains of the war for India, those who have made the sacrifices while others sulked may not be more content than before with the allotment of power by a counting of heads.

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NEGLECTED OPPORTUNITIES

Dominion Status cannot be conferred by a wave of a wand. It comes, not as a gift from others, but as something that a people must themselves achieve. In India as elsewhere it requires, first, the willing assent of the people, then their union in a federal system, next their agreement upon the form of their future constitution, and, finally, the full acceptance of responsibility for internal and external defence. When the British Government is asked to state some definite date at which Dominion Status will be reached, the answer can be no other than another question, "When will India have prepared the ground?" Our regret is that so many years that might have brought substantial advance have been wasted, that at this moment Indian politicians instead of preparing themselves for their future task are casting India back to forms of rule that we hoped had been abandoned for ever.

Yet I conclude on a note of hope. Indian politicians, when one establishes actual contact with them, are for the most part reasonable men. They cannot rest satisfied with a position that is a defeat of common-sense. When all parties alike profess their abhorrence of the threat to liberty against which they, in common with ourselves, are fighting, the largest party of all presents a pitiable spectacle in denying democratic rule to their own people. The growing consciousness of that fact may presently enable negotiations to be resumed and carried forward in a more tolerant atmosphere. At least one fact has been made clear beyond all misunderstanding or misrepresentation. Political discussions in India have too often been conducted under the assumption that Great Britain was the obstructionist; in the present instance the debates in Parliament and the activities of the Viceroy in India have removed every doubt that the British desire nothing more than that Indians themselves should make it possible for India to realize its vision of a full and equal partnership within the Empire. Far from offering obstruction the British have tendered their services to bring about a communal settlement. That offer holds good. Its acceptance is the only doorway open to orderly and progressive government in India.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Friday, December 8, 1939, when a paper entitled "India's Constitution and the War" was read by Sir Alfred Watson. Sir Edward Campbell, Bart., M.P., was in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: I suppose that most attention and consideration is paid today to the winning of the war, which is more important than anything else that we know of, because if we did not win the war—of course, we shall win it—it would be a finish to all that we hold so sacred and so dear.

Notwithstanding that, there are other considerations which we must bear in mind, and one of the most important of all these considerations is India. Most of you, I have no doubt, have been in India. Perhaps you have lived there many years. I have been there, and I still remember when I had the honour of being one of those who went to India to arrange for the air mail service to India, which today under normal circumstances would be working extraordinarily well. I said to Lord Willingdon, on that occasion, "Well, sir, if you have any difficulties, you have the satisfaction of knowing, owing to the air mail service and the wonderful development of the air mails, you will be able to get home, discuss matters in England, and be back again in a week's time." When many of you went to India, you found probably that it took you two, three or four weeks to get there and just as long to get back again. Therefore, that is a great development.

This afternoon we are to hear an address by Sir Alfred Watson. I do not think he needs any introduction. If anybody needed an introduction, it would be myself, because I have no doubt you are all wondering why I am in the Chair today. Well, they tried everybody else but could not get anyone, so at last they said, "We will get hold of Campbell. He is always willing to take on an extra job, especially if he is well paid for it." (Laughter.) My payment this afternoon will be the pleasure of hearing this address by Sir Alfred Watson. (Applause.)

Sir ALFRED WATSON then read his paper.

Sir HARI SINGH GOUR: I have read and heard with very great interest the address delivered by my friend, Sir Alfred Watson. I may tell you that his views are very largely shared by many a European gentleman in India and elsewhere; but may I be permitted also to say that they are not shared by the bulk of the people of India. I am not a Congress man and I do not voice the sentiments and feelings of the Congress. I am a sort of a man-in-the-street, who looks at the people of India and at the people of England and thinks for himself. I may be wrong in my judgment, but I give it you for what it is worth.

I feel that the people of India generally, irrespective of parties, whether they are Hindus or Muslims or belong to any other community, are decidedly in favour of the grant of self-government, which may be paraphrased as Dominion Status for India. A very recent resolution passed

in the Legislative Assembly of the Punjab shows that that Province, largely Muslim, is equally strong with the other Provinces in demanding Dominion Status. This is not a war cry. It was a demand made on the eve of the Great War of 1914, and was in Mr. Montagu's declaration of 1917, which was transferred as a preamble to the Government of India Act of 1919, and still stands unrepealed. The Government since that day has been pledged to the progressive realization of responsible government.

I ask you one question. Has there been progressive realization of responsible government during the last twenty-two years? (Cries of "Yes, yes.") I hear cries of yes, but if you were in India, your cries would be drowned by the voice of the people of India, the Constitutionalists, the Liberals, with cries of a different character. Let me, therefore, assure you that that must not be taken as a truism. According to the views of the bulk of the people of India there has not been the progressive realization of responsible government for which the Government of 1917 stood.

The growing discontent amongst the moderate thinkers, moderate politicians like myself, has led to the attitude of the Indian National Congress, from which I had to break away, because I stand for the unity of England and India along the lines of constitutional freedom and constitutional government. But I feel and have felt for some time that the people of Great Britain have now to realize that in order to bring peace and contentment in that vast land, some step must be taken to translate that long-standing promise by giving to India a measure of real self-government at the centre.

Sir Alfred Watson and a great many of us have been asking questions as to how it can be done. The present Viceroy of India, when he presided over the Joint Parliamentary Committee, asked one of us this question: "Are you united upon a demand which the Government of Great Britain could consider?" I happened to be one of the few who said, "My Lord, you will have it within a week." And within a week a memorandum was prepared, signed by every adviser from India who was then present, including my friend Sir Zafrullah Khan, now a representative of the Government of India in this country. That was a unanimous recommendation of the Indian delegates. Has it been given effect to? No.

I ask why that memorandum cannot be now unearthed from the shelves of the Government of Great Britain and translated into action? I am certain that, if that is done, it will pacify at least the bulk of the people of India and will quieten the demands of the National Congress. (Applause.)

Sir MICHAEL O'DWYER: I would like to begin by saying, on behalf of this audience, how grateful we all are to Sir Alfred for the very lucid and comprehensive exposition of the present state of affairs in India. I only wish the Congress High Command, whose errors he so fully and fearlessly exposed, were here to listen to him, because we all know the present grave situation has been created solely by the Congress High Command, a self-elected and irresponsible junta, which refused to accept the generous offers of the British Government for co-operation in the war, and dictated the resignation of eight Provincial Governments. That is what they have done so far.

Fortunately, their decision has been condemned universally throughout India outside the Congress Party—by the Princes, by the Muslims, by the Sikhs, by the great body of orthodox Hindus and by the depressed classes. All those communities have emphatically repudiated the claims of Congress in this matter to be the voice of India, and have rallied with enthusiasm to the support of the King-Emperor in this war.

Similarly in this country the Congress action has been condemned almost universally outside the small Communist section. It has been condemned in quarters which hitherto have been most sympathetic to Congress aspirations. Even that great organ of public opinion *The Times*—which up till lately has placed such pathetic confidence in the capacity of the Congress Ministers to govern—has now had that illusion rudely shattered. You will have seen that in the editorial article which appeared a few days ago. Someone asked me if I had written it!

The fact is that this very anti-British and unpatriotic action of the Congress has not come as a surprise to those of us who had been following the Congress acts and declarations over the last ten years—ever since the Congress of Lahore in 1929 declared for independence and civil disobedience. We foresaw what was likely to happen. We were told we were diehards and croakers, but, unfortunately, nearly all of our forecasts have already been fulfilled. Take Federation. Federation has been shelved. Why? Because Congress has alienated the Princes and antagonized the Muslims, two necessary parties to Federation. Again, take the much-vaunted safeguards in the Act. They have been proved to be completely illusory. Why? Because the Provincial Governors in their anxiety to keep the Congress Ministries in office have not carried out their duty to protect the Princes and the minorities. The Hindu-Muslim antagonism has become more acute. Why? Because the Muslims complain, and with reason, that they are not receiving fair play in the Congress Provinces.

Again, the masses are now dissatisfied in those Provinces. Why? Because the Congress made extravagant promises to them at the time of the elections, and now is unable to fulfil them. Hence growing social, agrarian and industrial discontent, while financial mismanagement is leading straight to bankruptcy.

Our final forecast that the newly-gained power of the Congress would strengthen their resolve to achieve independence and severance of the British connection is being fulfilled today. That is the record of the Congress High Command within recent years. Today they have played into the hands of our enemies, and are the favourites of Dr. Goebbels; you will see it from his broadcasts. They have wiped out self-government in eight of the eleven Indian Provinces—a nice achievement for a party claiming to be democratic! Finally, they have, as Sir Alfred has shown, set back the clock of Indian progress by at least twenty years.

What are we to do? As he has told us, the Governors have now, as the Act provides, taken control with the aid of a certain number of official advisers. I do not think we should be content with that. We do not want to go back to purely bureaucratic government however efficient. I would like to see that, in addition to the official advisers, the Governors should

associate with themselves an equal number of unofficial advisers drawn from the loyal and patriotic parties who are willing to help us in the war. That would strengthen the Government and put heart in those loyal communities whom so far we have unfortunately ignored.

Within three years we must have fresh elections, and Congress will probably come back to power again in some Provinces. Congress may then decide to ask to be taken back to office. If that position comes round, I would make it clear that no Congress minister shall be eligible for office until he takes the oath of allegiance to His Majesty the King-Emperor as a reality, not, as hitherto, a formality, and that is clearly inconsistent with the Congress oath of independence and severance of the British connection. Congress ministers and legislators now take *both* oaths. They cannot honestly serve under two flags.

As for the future, as Sir Alfred has said, our promise of Dominion Status as the goal stands. No one wants to go back on that. But Dominion Status has to be reached by stages, and as Sir Alfred has told us, you cannot confer Dominion Status as a gift; it must be achieved by the people themselves. That is the lesson we want to bring home to the people of India. If you want to see how it can be achieved—I would end on a note of hope—look to the non-Congress Provinces of the Punjab and Bengal. Are they not raising the position of India in the Empire and its progress to Dominion Status? Are they not helping us in the war? There is an example for the Congress leaders to follow, and I hope they will. (Applause.)

MR. A. YUSUF ALI: The burden of the paper of Sir Alfred Watson was the need for unity and co-operation, and at no time are these two things required more urgently than during the war. The question is, How are we to attain them. Can we attain them by quarrelling about the future Constitution? Can we attain them by criticizing the course of events during the fateful years since the last war? Can we attain them by putting forward claims, however just and reasonable in normal times, but claims which require a great deal of consideration to give effect to in actual practice? My belief is that these methods will not help us in achieving the unity and the co-operation that we all so desire.

It is quite true that a sort of Constitution is working in India at the present day, but the arch of the Constitution is wanting. You had in the first place full provincial autonomy in eleven Provinces. Eight out of those eleven were governed by Congress Governments. They have resigned, and now in seven the Constitution is not working. The arch of the Constitution is the Central Government. It never worked. We never got to the stage at which we could agree to the principles upon which the Central Government could carry on its executive powers.

Is this the time then for us to wrangle about things which even in normal times we have not been able to consolidate and give definite form to? I think the better policy for us now at the present time is to put all our resources, all our money power, man power, every kind of power into the common pool, so that when the war is won we shall then be able to sit

together, not as rivals, not as enemies, not with suspicion of each other in our hearts, but rather with the full understanding that comes out of real co-operation. (Applause.)

My plea, therefore, is that, whatever our individual views may be, we should for the present concentrate on the one great thing that we are all out to achieve, and with a strengthened and saved Empire, we shall then be able to achieve the very best of our ideals both for India and the Empire. (Applause.)

Mr. F. G. PRATT: My remarks are going to be a little critical, so I give notice that I shall resort to passive resistance if there should be any motion for my expulsion from the room. (Laughter.)

It is very difficult in a few minutes to pick out the important things that have to be said, but there are a few points I would like to begin with, and perhaps the most important is the time factor. Sir Alfred Watson says he is quite confident that in the course of time India will attain to full nationhood within the Empire. But it makes a great difference whether he has made up his mind as to whether that will come in this generation or the next, in the lifetime of those seasoned political leaders and ministers in India who have given their lives to this cause and who, many of them, came out of prisons in order to take up their portfolios. If it is going to happen in this generation, it must be in the lifetime of those men. It is no use saying to them, "Seven or ten years hence you will be wiser and may be able to take up these portfolios." If it is going to be done in this generation, it must be done quickly. Do you really contemplate saying to those men: "It cannot come in this generation. When you are dead and buried, your children will have the satisfaction of hearing Englishmen say that they look forward with complete confidence to the attainment by India of full nationhood"? Can you imagine that it is possible to speak in terms like those to the ministers and political leaders of India in this generation?

The position would, I think, have been very different if our Government had been able to say, "We intend to give India full self-government, in other words Dominion Status, at the end of the war. We intend to take up that matter at the end of the war, and we invite all political parties now in India to come and discuss with us the difficulties. We all know there are great difficulties. We invite political parties to come now and discuss with us, not a rambling, roving, abstract discussion, but a consultation with a view to facing those difficulties and finding how they should be surmounted."

Such a clear-cut invitation, coupled with a visible determination to take substantial action now at once towards implementing that promise, would have done more than anything else to ease and solve the communal tension of which we hear so much now.

Then, again, are there any Muhammadan or Hindu leaders now who consider that this is a matter that cannot be settled in this generation, in the lifetime of those now alive? If they think that, then they are themselves destroying the hopes for which they have been fighting for the whole of their lifetime.

There is one other thing I would like to say, and that is to meet the

charge of political bargaining. If you will allow me, I will just read out a few words from the resolution of the Imperial Conference of April 16, 1917. In that resolution the Dominion ministers in the middle of the Great War insisted on the full recognition of the Dominions as autonomous nations of an Imperial Commonwealth, and of India as an important part of the same, and also on recognition of the right of the Dominions and of India to an adequate voice in foreign policy and in foreign relations. No one then accused the Dominion ministers of "political bargaining."

Mr. K. K. LALKARA : On October 26, during the debate in the House of Commons on India, Mr. Wedgwood Benn observed : "It has been said that the definition of Dominion Status is obscure and out of date, but I do not agree with either of those propositions. The Declaration of 1929, which is now accepted and propounded by the Government themselves, came three years after that March Conference in 1926. At that Conference the meaning of the words Dominion Status had been set out by a master of clear statement, Mr. Balfour.

"I would like to refresh the memory of the House," said Mr. Wedgwood Benn, and I should say I also would like to refresh the memory of all here, by reading those words.

What was the status of the Dominions? Mr. Balfour said, "They were autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though"—mark the words—"though united by a common allegiance to the Crown and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations."

Now let us consider, when we are so persistently talking about Dominion Status in India, the Congress oath of independence, which every Congress man, including members of the Working Committee known as the High Command, and even every Minister in those eight Provinces where they have deserted the call to duty and laid themselves open to the charge of perfidy and ingratitude, has to take. What is this oath that every Congress man is bound to take? Mark these words. "We believe that it is the inalienable right of the Indian people, as of any other people, to have freedom to enjoy the fruits of their toil and to have the necessities of life, so that they may have full opportunities of growth. We believe also that if any Government deprives the people of these rights and opportunities and oppresses them, the people have the right to alter it or abolish it. The British Government in India has not only deprived the Indian people of their freedom, but has based itself on exploitation of the masses and has ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually. We believe therefore that India must sever the British connection and attain *purna swaraj* or complete independence."

I ask you, ladies and gentlemen, how far are we going to be deluded by this madness? What is the use of talking of Dominion Status with people who use such language? For the last several years we have been told that Congress says these things, but does not mean it. Who is there amongst us who can deny now that the Congress has not been good to its word? Step by step there has been deterioration in the Indian administration. Step by

step, instead of having democracy, we have introduced totalitarian rule in India in the Congress Provinces which bears resemblance to the Soviet régime.

We have been told all these years, "You cannot put back the hands of the clock." Even though the time factor may be an arbitrary one, there is something like a tempo. What happened was that we tried to run in India by British time, with the result that the Wardha Express in eight Provinces out of eleven, instead of keeping to its course, ran over the rails to Moscow.

At a time like this, when the very existence of the British Empire is threatened, there is no time for mere academic discussions; there is no time for the sophistries of the builders of a brave new world, no time whatsoever to indulge in ideals which run counter to and even threaten to wreck a glorious and mighty Empire. Let those who would ignore this counsel ignore it at their peril. (Applause.)

Mr. BASIL MATHEWS: While I have been listening to the paper and to the discussion, I have been wishing that a copy of it—that is, both the gist of the discussion and the paper—could find its way to the desk of every journalist in the United States of America, in the neutral countries of Europe and the different parts of the world. I have been studying the Press of the world in its relation to this whole debate on India and the Constitution; and if the winning of the war does mean the winning of the sympathy of neutrals, and especially the great neutral across the Atlantic, this is a vital thing for our future.

I am free to say that two newspapers in the U.S.A. seem to understand the implications of the problem. They are the *Christian Science Monitor* and the *New York Times*. Across the length and breadth, in the Middle West and on the other side, you find a kind of feeling of Britain trying to clamp down its exploiting domination upon a people. It is no use giving a rubber-stamp approval to everything the British Empire says. For that reason I was sorry Sir Michael O'Dwyer did not refer to the very crux of the paper—that is, the blame applying to our Government in the very first step of the war in not bringing into consultation before committing India. All the rest would have been entirely different if that initial step had been taken.

Sir MICHAEL O'DWYER: When war was declared the whole Empire was at war. India was not a Dominion, and with the rest of the Empire—that is, the Colonies—was automatically at war on September 3.

Mr. LALKAKA: There is one important point to which I would like to draw the attention of the lecturer. The Viceroy did communicate beforehand to the leaders of the Congress party what his intentions were; but he could not make his plans public for the sake of the safety of the Empire. That fact has not been brought out.

Mr. MATHEWS: I leave Sir Alfred to answer, since it was he who made the point. The most important thing about American opinion is that it has soft-pedalled its attack on Britain in relation to India mainly through the approach of Moscow towards the frontiers of India. That has brought even the Hearst Press to feel that they would rather see, so to speak, a

Chamberlain with a strong hand in India, than a Stalin with a fiercer hand in the same place.

I move on to Moscow. In the last two weeks there have been very long articles, both in the Trade Union paper *Trud* and in the *Pravda*, on the Indian Empire and its immediate problem. It is pointed out that the National Congress attitude, coming at the time it does and when British prestige has been weakened and British troops have been withdrawn from India, is a very serious weakening of the British position in the country. For all these years we have been keeping a jealous watch over 350,000,000 colonial slaves, and for these reasons Britain is in a serious dilemma. The peasant householder is the defenceless victim of constant bad harvests and climatic disasters, causing appalling famines with tens of millions of victims. That is the main line of these long articles, ending up with a quotation from Lenin, showing that in India already the first imperialist world war converted millions of colonial slaves "into an active factor for world peace and a revolutionary destruction of imperialism." Such views are vigorously expressed from week to week in the U.S.S.R. papers.

These last two weeks there has been a tremendous attack in Germany. They are giving a serial story of Warren Hastings. Then they say that Russia is no longer minded to be the satellite of the British Stock Exchange and British Imperialism, if only because of the close relations between Iran and Russia, and they emphasize the pressure of Russia towards the frontiers of India.

Headlines are as follows: "India in Effervescence: Everywhere Resistance against England's Bloody Rule: 23 Dead at Sukkur: North-West India in Revolt against England: State of Siege in Karachi: Bloody Encounters with British Oppressors." That runs a great deal through the German Press, and, of course, there is nothing at all put in to contradict it. They have this sentence: "Not for nothing have young Indian students at Oxford been taught to imbibe the principles of democracy; they are tired of watching millions of rupees being extracted annually from the country in order to strengthen the British Treasury. There is more tension in India today than at any time since the Mutiny."

The Press of the neutral countries of Northern Europe, notably of Norway, has some very balanced articles, but the main thing that one finds is a weakness. They say, "There is no real difference of opinion between Muhammadans and Hindus on questions of Indian freedom." On the question of the push to Indian freedom, there seems to me a considerable difference.

Spain has one article in *Ya*, giving a whole column to the statement that the Aga Khan's stable is being moved from Britain to the United States, with a caricature of the Aga Khan in grey top-hat and striped trousers, mounted on a racehorse. Portugal emphasizes the enormous development of armament production in India.

I will end with an important article from Turkey, where you get a quite different attitude. It says that the differences between the Congress Party and England have given birth to the mistaken idea that India is not at one with England, and that Germany has gone in for a big Press campaign based on this illusion. It then emphasizes the solidarity of India against the Nazis and says, "Should Germany be victorious, the freedom of all the

Eastern peoples may become precarious. Nazi racial theories are known : these theories do not accept the principle of equality of peoples. After refusing equality of status to such European peoples as the Czechs and Poles and others, it is obvious that Germany will not give equality to Semitic peoples such as the Arabs and to Indians, a noble race, but, in the eyes of the Germans, backward and primitive."

Without going into any further details, I think it would be a good thing if we could plan some way in which the records of this Association might find their way on to the desks of journalists. There are, for instance, no less than a hundred American journalists operating in London alone. In that way we might get a more balanced picture of the whole problem.

Sir ALFRED WATSON : One of the great difficulties in all Indian controversy is that we have no precise definition of the meaning of words like self-government and Dominion Status and independence. So far as India is concerned, I hold that they all mean the same thing, and that practical considerations in a world threatened by aggressors prevent them meaning anything else.

Sir Hari Singh Gour has assured us that all parties in India demand self-government. There is no controversy about that. The only doubt is whether Indians will so organize themselves that they are prepared to accept the full self-government which is offered.

Mr. Pratt asks about the time factor. That depends wholly on Indians themselves. Whenever this war ends, there will be a demand for some change in the constitution of India. If, in the years of war, Indians get together, prepare for Federalism, draft a Constitution upon which they can agree, then it will be possible to attain Dominion Status within a measurable period after the war, always with the proviso that India in taking Dominion Status must accept the same obligations as the other Dominions in respect to defence. The real tragedy is that these leaders who want Dominion Status in their own generation are wasting their lives in futile bickerings.

I am sorry that Sir Michael O'Dwyer has had to leave, because I confess I was frankly disappointed in his speech. I had expected more disagreement. Sir Michael and I have crossed swords on many occasions, and this is the first time, I think, that we have found ourselves in substantial accord. I should have liked to acknowledge that in his presence. But I do not wholly accept his view that if his opinions had prevailed during the passage of the Government of India Act, everything would have been right in India today. (Applause.) On the contrary, I feel that instead of having the full support of the Muslim population, since the Muslims with the Hindus demand self-government, we should have had trouble with the Muslims from Calcutta to Egypt, and we should have had many of their leaders in concentration camps. We have been saved that by the great advance we have made in self-government in India.

I repudiate altogether Sir Hari Singh Gour's notion that there is no advance whatever. I wonder what he has been doing during the last fifteen years. He must have been living in a world different from that in which I live.

There is one other point raised by Professor Basil Mathews. He agreed

with me that it would have been better to have previous consultations with the leaders of all political parties in India before India was definitely committed to a part in the war. I agree with Sir Michael that India, not being a Dominion, was committed to the war from the moment the Empire made a declaration of war. But that fact, the fact that India was committed without the full consultation which would have been possible, is merely an example of the perils of formalism in government. It would have been no disadvantage to India, no disadvantage to this country, to delay for a few days until there could have been open consultations with the leaders. India might then have gone into the war committed not by an unelected Central Government but by the will of its own leaders. (Applause.)

LORD LAMINGTON: Before we separate I would just like to say a few words, first of all as regards my own apparent dereliction of duty at four of the meetings that have been held; but owing to the dislocation of life in general, it has been impossible for me to be present here before. I only arrived late last night from Scotland. But I congratulate myself on two facts: first, that I have come here today and have had the pleasure of listening to a well-reasoned address, setting forth all the salient points connected with the controversy going on at the present time in India. I think the short-sightedness of the Congress Party is very great, and leads to a position which, as the lecturer has said, is a defeat of common sense. However, I was pleased to see in yesterday's *Times* an article with an extract from the daily *Hindu*, setting forth the methods which might lead to a solution of this vexed controversy.

I should like to express my own admiration of the work of the head of the administration at the present time, Lord Linlithgow. He has shown admirable qualities of perseverance in establishing Indian unity, and we ought to be thankful that he is the Viceroy.

We are grateful to Sir Alfred Watson for having prepared his paper. There is no man more capable, having seen Indian life from the point of view of a skilled publicist. His able editorship of the *Statesman* established his reputation for knowledge of Indian affairs, for which he very nearly paid the penalty of his life at the hands of terrorists in Calcutta. We are very grateful to him for preparing this valuable paper this afternoon, which sets forth clearly the main issues at stake.

The second reason for my congratulating myself on being here is because the Chair has been occupied by an old friend of mine, Sir Edward Campbell. We have been together, and his father before him, working on the Board of Governors of the Royal College of the Blind. I have often relied on his good advice and sound judgment. Further, he is a good cricketer and can be counted on always to play the game. He is the right-hand man of Sir Kingsley Wood, the Minister for Air, and has very responsible and tremendously heavy duties, which might have excused him from coming here this afternoon. Therefore we have to thank Sir Alfred Watson and Sir Edward Campbell. I beg to put this motion of thanks to these two gentlemen. (Cheers.)

THE ARABS AND DEMOCRACY

BY SIR E. DENISON ROSS

ISLAM is essentially democratic in its outlook, recognizing the equality of all men irrespective of race. (It is interesting to recall that the first Muezzin was an Abyssinian.)

This same equality is recognized by the British and French, who give equal chances to all men under their rule, whatever their race or creed.

The British, being Christian, naturally regard Christianity as the best of faiths; but this does not make them intolerant towards other religions. They do not, like the Nazis, make any boast of belonging to the finest race in the world, although they also belong to the Aryan stock, of which the Nazis claim to be the only true representatives. The tenets of the Nazis are in direct contradiction to the principles laid down in the Holy Qur'an, especially in their intolerance towards other races and creeds. It is inconceivable that the Nazis could hope for any sympathy from the Muslim world. The Nazis have almost ceased to belong to "the People of the Book"; they have, it is true, become the people of the book of their own, and now it appears *Mein Kampf* has been taken away from them. The Soviet has abandoned Christianity still more thoroughly than the Nazis; they have even thought it necessary to make public propaganda against God, but they have not attacked Islam, and Allah may still be called on in the U.S.S.R.

If the Jews, the earliest "People of the Book," and the Catholics, the next in date, are treated in the manner we have seen, the question arises, How would the People of the Muslim's Book be treated under Nazi rule? Nazi propaganda in the Near East has always been clumsy, and when we recall the eminent services to Oriental studies rendered by many famous German scholars in the past, we are surprised to find the German Nazis displaying so little understanding of the spirit of Islam.

In considering the past, present and future of the Arabic-speaking peoples, it is important to remember that the Arab sprang originally from the Bedouin type of civilization. Only in rare towns of the Hejaz did the early Arabs mix with other men.

With the rise of the Prophet many changes were brought about in these towns, but the life of the Bedouin was in no way affected, and, apart from the duties imposed on him by his religion, there

can be little that distinguishes the Bedouin of today from the Bedouin of the jahiliyya. It was they who, having accepted Islam from the townspeople, maintained in strength the armies of the Arab conquerors until such time as the conquered peoples came forward to fill the gaps in the ranks.

Nothing could be more false than to imagine that the Arabs of the jahiliyya were a rude or ignorant people—they then were, and still are, a pre-eminently open-minded race with a receptive intelligence. The Bedouin, in spite of his somewhat rough exterior, can never be mistaken for a man of primitive or barbarian stock. Given favourable conditions, he is able to assimilate every kind of refinement and to adopt foreign civilizations. We have only to recall what they learned from the Syrians in Damascus and from the Iranians in Mesopotamia. Nor did these Bedouins bring with them merely their new creed in their hearts and the sword in their hands. They carried in their heads the poetry of the desert and their wonderfully rich and flexible language.

For some centuries after the rise of Islam the Arabs showed a readiness to accept every kind of idea from other races, provided these did not clash with their newly acquired religious tenets. The town dwellers became almost a new race, but the Bedouin continued to live his old life.

The simplicity of the Muslim creed binds all Arabs together, however divergent their views on doctrines which have grown out of that creed. These divergences—which were political—were not so fundamental as those which split the Christian Churches, which were doctrinal. The split in Islam turned mainly on the succession to the Caliphate, a question which has no longer its former meaning; for whereas the Sunnis today in general feel no need for a visible Caliph, the Shi'a remain unaffected since their Hidden Imam is inviolate. The Prophet himself is said to have foretold that seventy-three sects would arise in the Muslim fold, and with the entrance of so many different nations into the congregation of the Faithful, this was perhaps inevitable.

But there are many hadiths which go to show how simple and liberal were the Prophet's notions on piety and morality. Let us take merely the famous saying *اغادعطل بالقياس* ("Good works are only a question of good intentions"). Two outstanding features of primitive Islam were the equality of man and toleration.

We must remember that out of the seed sown by the Prophet—seed scattered in his day only over his own land, Arabia—the harvest was carried far and wide, and the seed sown was affected by the soil of each country into which it was transplanted. In purely Semitic lands such as Syria and Mesopotamia the harvest was the same as in Arabia, but when it grew in Iranian soil it produced something very different, and from the early days of

Islam we note the tendency in Iran to produce a change in the form of their religion.

There is a native pride of race that fills the soul of every Arab. This pride is stronger among tent-dwellers than among townsmen, but both possess it. This national pride is based partly on their heroic past and partly on their language. The connecting-link between the two emanations of the national spirit was the heroic poetry of the desert: the mu'allaqat and the hamasa, which glorified simultaneously the valour of the Arabs and the rare richness of their language. When with the expansion of the Caliphate the leading Arabs became town-dwellers, the life of the desert was forgotten and remained only a tradition; but the love of the language grew in inverse ratio, and the pride in their language was increased a hundredfold when the intelligentsia of Iran and Egypt paid it the tribute of adopting it as the object of profound study and as the only literary medium. In Iran, however, the vernacular was never forgotten, and modern Persia grew out of a mixture of the two languages. But the prestige of Arabic never faded even in Iran. The importance of the rôle played by the Arabic language in binding together the Muslims of all lands cannot be over-estimated, not only on account of the prestige which attached to a good knowledge of this language, but more especially because it was the only tongue in which the Holy Qur'an could be read and studied. The Christians had actually no sacred language. Jesus spoke in Aramaic, the earliest Gospels were in Greek, and Latin became the Catholic medium. And though the Jews attached the greatest importance to the Hebrew original text of their Bible, it was found necessary to produce in Alexandria a Greek version for the large local Jewish colony. The text of the Holy Qur'an is inviolable, and some of the greatest scholars in Islam became famous solely by reason of their knowledge of the possible variants in the reading of the text. *Qira'at* formed a separate branch of science, which had little or nothing to do with *tafsir* or *tahwil*.

Now, though it is indisputable that something other than the Arabic language holds the Arabs together, it is not so easy to discover what that something is. Let us look elsewhere for a parallel case of a common bond between peoples speaking the same tongue. For example, England and America. There is a language common to the two countries, but though this has never been found to have a binding value politically (for in America the speakers of English represent many different countries whose nationals have settled in the United States), yet there exists undoubtedly a mutual sympathy between the English and Americans of English ancestry. We must therefore look for the link elsewhere than in the language, and it is possible to be found in

English traditions which the Pilgrim Fathers carried with them across the Atlantic. These are the ancient traditions of the golden age of Shakespeare and Milton. Thus to the Americans Stratford-on-Avon, the birthplace of Shakespeare, has the same significance as to the Englishman. It is a place of pilgrimage for both nations. It is common property to both; and herein is to be found that underlying feeling which has survived all revolutions and dissensions. Shakespeare is a universal figure, and he is read either in the original or in some other language by the whole intelligentsia of the world. Even the Germans have been known to talk of "our Shakespeare"! But Stratford-on-Avon is only shared by the British and American peoples. Now what corresponds to this sentiment among the Arabs is the Spirit of Islam.

The Arabs of today, though far more conscious than ever in the past of their common racial origins, can hardly be said, divided as they are politically, to be united in their interests and ambitions. The one thing that does bind together the component parts of their world is the Spirit of Islam, and this, of course, includes in its Freemasonry all Islamic countries. It is not precisely the Pan-Islam of pre-war days, for this centred in the Caliphate—and for the time being at any rate the Caliphate does not exist. Moreover, Pan-Islam of this kind made no appeal to the Shi'a, whereas the Spirit of Islam is a sentiment shared by all Muslims alike, and it is certainly a sentiment which is growing in self-consciousness.

Cairo is the intellectual centre of the Arabic-speaking world, both on account of its two universities, al-Azhar and the Egyptian University, and of its great activity in the publication of Arabic books. Although the revival of Arabic letters began in Syria, the real renaissance came about in Cairo. For long, the printing presses in Bulaq were busy with the reprinting of the great classics of the Arabic literature; but not much attention was given to modern literature, which is of comparatively recent date. It was the presses of Beyrout which led the way to the classical revival and instituted a revolution in the editing and printing of texts. In 1862 American missionaries who had been working in Syria for forty years founded in Beyrout a college which was actually the first centre of education on Western lines in the Levant, and in 1875 the Jesuits founded the French University of St. Joseph. British and Italian missions followed later; then Protestants and Catholics belonging to four different Western nations began to compete in educating the youth of Syria, and the intellectual influences soon spread to the fields of politics and economics.

The French University devoted special attention to the study of the Arabic language and Islamic history, and among its professors have been some of the greatest Arabic scholars who, together with other great Orientalists in Europe, laid the foundation of scholarly

research among those who had been for centuries content with the advancements of the early Islamic scholars.

Ibn Saud's rule has been the turning-point in the history of the Bedouin Arabs. With it has begun the transition from the rough life of the desert and the poverty of the nomad life to the establishment of order and more productive economic life. Ibn Saud aims at the creation in the desert of an Arab kingdom which will acquire a permanent nature through the adoption of modern principles in State organization. The settlement of the Bedouins as agriculturists around the wells in the desert, the development of irrigation, and the introduction of mosques and schools in these settlements, represent the first attempt in their history to combat the appalling poverty and worldly ignorance of the Bedouin. This Bedouin is today rapidly becoming a citizen of the world. He no longer relies on or dreams of raids and feuds, but feels he enjoys all the benefits of the law of the country under its pious and enlightened ruler. Already he has the motor-car, the aeroplane and the radio, and ere long he will have much else that goes to make up a modern state.

Civilization in its manifold form is merely the development of those gifts which distinguish men from the animal world. No one can say where a line can be drawn in any given direction. It cannot, however, be denied that certain forms of civilization bring about rapid changes in the lives of men, while others tend to remain static. It is not a question of which form of civilization is the most desirable, but it is quite certain that when a static civilization is brought into close contact and intercourse with a progressive form, the latter is bound to exercise the stronger influence. The Western progressives, while they were working out their modern civilizations, had but little direct intercourse with the civilizations of the East. When, however, this intercourse first became close and constant, the static civilization failed to realize the reasons for the great difference between themselves and the Westerners; and it occurred to none of them that behind this difference lay a long period of struggle and development which, whatever its results, could never call a halt. When at length it was discovered that intercourse with the West was not only inevitable but actually desirable, then means must be found for dealing with the West on equal terms, and since no time was to be lost, an effort must be made to adopt or imitate what seems the essential basis of Western civilization—namely, education and political institutions.

The strange thing is that until recent times the only results of attempted reforms within Islam have been the formation of separate sects or even new religions such as Bahaism. The modernist crisis, a struggle of ideas and principles, only brought

dissension into the ranks of the faithful and raised them up one against another. In the Islamic East modernism owes its birth to contact with European civilization, which taught Muslims how backward they were, chiefly in the domain of technique and the natural sciences, and this brusque revelation wounded the intellectuals' self-esteem and shook the confidence they had hitherto reposed in traditional knowledge. It seemed to them inconceivable that God had shut the door of progress in the face of His people. The more advanced held that the Muslims had made the mistake of attributing absolute values to details of secondary importance, and of establishing as immutable and eternal laws and rules inspired by the temporary necessities of a particular period. It is not altogether easy to explain how, when progress within the religion of Islam came to an end after three centuries of this state of static orthodoxy, thinkers within the fold decided that the door of *ijtihād* must be opened. In several countries it was felt during the nineteenth century that something must be done to remove Islam from stagnation. Two views were taken, one that there should be a return to primitive Islam, the other that a new interpretation be given to the teachings of the Prophet. Thus it has come about that those races which feel impelled to emerge from their long period of stagnation wish to adopt Western models and institutes, and there is the crux. For they are not prepared by their past to manipulate these foreign tools, which had only been brought to their present state of efficiency by long periods of experiment and trial. If all nations feel that they would sooner govern themselves in their own way than be ruled, even much better, by strangers, then according to modern democratic views they should be allowed to do so; but now that each nation's concerns are the concern of the whole world, it is inevitable that they should all, as it were, "speak the same language," and there are very few races that are still able, thanks to their remoteness or to the inhospitality of their country, to live their own lives.

The discovery of oil in the Near East has changed the attitude of the Western world towards the lands of the Arabs. But there is no reason why the development of oil-fields by strangers should affect the autonomy of the dwellers in the land. It is only when international rivalry appears on the scene that the question of occupation of spheres of influence arises. And as a result old civilizations which have been content hitherto with their own mode of life are brought up against the most modern nations who have sacrificed traditions and ideals on the altar of scientific progress.

Modern science aims at the discovery of fundamental truths, and these truths have come but slowly; and it must be confessed

the world got on very well without such truths, as we have been able to discover, excepting only in the science of hygiene and medicine.

The fact that the sun neither rises nor sets has had no effect on man's language, and to the end of time all men will probably feel at sunset that the sun is sinking behind the horizon. No knowledge has made men feel the motion of the earth in everyday life. The law of gravity took ages to discover, but the first man must have learnt that heavy objects if dropped fell to the ground. The steam engine did not seem to do the world any harm; it was the internal combustion engine that changed the face of the world and ultimately landed us in the present state of distress; no sooner were the wings of the Avion grown to full size than the wings of diplomacy were clipped. It must be admitted that as far as regards education it has been very difficult to reconsider modern research with the strict tenets of the orthodox. Many attempts were made to bring the courses in al-Azhar up to date, but opposition was always met with, and ultimately it is highly probable that religious and secular education will be separated; not so drastically as in Turkey, where religion has been relegated to the background, but more on the lines suggested by Shaykh Muhammad Abdu and more recently by Abdur-Razik.

In India it has been found possible for young Muslims to study history and science on the Western lines while remaining orthodox. No nation can really have things "both ways." And there can be no doubt that without modern science no people can compete with those that have long since accepted it.

The English are, of course, among the most advanced Western nations, and they have by their destiny been thrown in contact with many Oriental peoples. In their intercourse with these peoples they have always displayed a profound respect for other religions and customs. Of this, India offers an outstanding example, for there every race and creed is treated with the utmost impartiality, and the two great religions of Hinduism and Islam have been openly practised without let or hindrance, and the Muslim minority has been accorded every facility for educational and occupational progress consistent with impartiality towards all. The same is true of British rulers in every land. There is no racial prejudice, and every effort is made to train subject-peoples to rule themselves without interference with their habits and customs. In their intercourse with the Arabs, the English have always been guided by a deep respect for the religion of the Prophet and a profound admiration for past achievements of the Muslims in literature and art. There is no educated Englishman who is not thrilled by the mention of some of the great names in Islamic history, such as Harun ar-Rashied and Saladin. There is

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nothing today closer to the heart of the British than the emancipation of the Arab peoples. They would help in the realization of this aim, not by imposing conditions, but by lending aid; not with the idea of dictating the form of government, but only of helping them to secure independence.

It was reserved for Ibn Saud to show what an Arab could achieve if given a free hand. In spite of the extreme orthodoxy of the Wahhabi sect, to which he and his followers adhere, he has instituted reforms on the most up-to-date lines and has even aimed at making out of Bedouin nomads a settled people, just as Shah Reza Pahlavi has done with the nomads of South Iran.

In the stress of the last war things occurred which prevented the full realization of Arab ideals; it should be remembered that only by reason of the war could a real beginning be made of that emancipation which has come to full flower at any rate in Saudi Arabia, and Ibn Saud was actually the first Arab leader to raise the flag of revolt against the Ottoman Empire.

THE NATURE OF JAPANESE POETRY

BY OSWALD T. TUCK

OF all the arts in Japan, perhaps that of poetry has had the longest continuous existence. Certainly to one well-known poem we can give a date 1,500 years ago, and many others belong to prehistoric days. The ancestry of the poets today in Japan is thus a very long one.

This is scarcely a matter of wonder. Anyone who has lived familiarly among the Japanese has soon realized the delight they feel in recognizing the beauties of Nature. It is obvious at every turn: the names given to children and to villages, to wayside inns and fine hotels are often most poetic: Japanese destroyers have such names as *Rosy Dawn*, *Gentle Rain*, *The Lightning Flash*, *Morning Mist*.

In a famous essay we read that not only does man find solace in the beauty of the moon, of flowers and birds, the snow, the hail, and the wind, but also in giving expression to the feelings they excite about the vicissitudes of life, love and hate, the joys of youth and the sorrows of old age; and that in the making of poetry the mind of man finds consolation. So wrote, a thousand years ago, Ki no Tsurayuki, the first philosophical enquirer into the nature of the origin of his countrymen's poetry. A thousand years later another thinker has said: "To a Japanese, poetry means the breath of life and the voice of the soul, in which the spiritual heritage of the whole race is expressed in the rhythm of words."

In essence, both these writers say the same thing. They explain that the poets give vent to the emotions called up by what they see and hear. A Japanese poet does not, or should not, write of imaginary or fantastic things. He writes of the moon, the frost, the call of birds, the dragonfly, even the snail. The subjects of the poems are real things, and the emotions they call up are real emotions, truly felt by the poet, and by his art communicated to us so that we too feel his joy and share his sorrow. Though at first sight the poems may seem to be objective—that is, about things—a little reflection leads to the conclusion that they are about the poet's feelings. If the poet can make us feel what he felt, he has written true poetry.

Is it possible that we, in this populous, mechanical age, can feel the same emotions as a Japanese poet a thousand years ago in the quiet, silken times of the ancient Court at Kyoto? Let us try.

Here is a poem from that period for a test; it is a poem of early spring:

White blossoms falling, falling from on high
 Before the bitter winter has gone past,
 Can it perchance be that beyond the sky
 The Spring—the longed-for Spring—has come at last?

I think this well illustrates the communicability of Japanese poetry. The idea is a charming one which might occur to any of us, and will, I hope, now always occur to all of us when we see the snow. The poet has opened a magic casement for us and has shed a new light on the falling flakes.

The version above is by Mrs. Charlotte Peake, who has published charming translations of many of these poems.

Although Mrs. Peake's version has only four lines, even so it is considerably longer than the original. A few of the earliest poems known to us have, perhaps, as much as twenty lines, but the great majority are in a fixed form of five lines—the rhythm being an alternation of lines of five and seven syllables. The original of the 'snow and blossom poem above had only thirty-one syllables. How is it possible to write a real poem in only thirty-one syllables? In English we have many monosyllabic words, but Japanese is a language of long words connected by short particles, so that to limit a poem to thirty-one syllables is a severe handicap to a Japanese. But it is in this very restriction that the poet shows his art. It is not in the luxuriance of diction of a Shelley or in the galloping anapaests of a Swinburne or in the golden length of Milton and Browning that a Japanese poet shows his art. It is rather in compression and economy. Even the thirty-one syllabled poem is felt by many poets to be too long, and in the last 400 years poets have been writing *haiku*, which are the tiniest of tiny poems, just three lines of five, seven, and five syllables.

On this cool eve
 Is the moon asleep
 Down there in the water?

In the original, leaving out the particles, which in other languages are mostly represented by case-endings, we have only five words. But the poem gives us a whole idea: of a calm, clear summer evening, of peace, of a mind at rest.

This poem serves to give some inkling into the intentions of Japanese poets—in fact, into the root idea of Japanese artists of all kinds. The artist shows us something perfect and beautiful; but he is not content with that: he suggests more than he shows. It is what he does not tell us that we are to feel: the appeal is not so much to our senses as to our imagination. He opens for us magic

casements and directs the eyes of the soul to share his vision. He makes us poets ourselves. Probably, for this reason, the Japanese poet shuns prolixity. The little poem about the moon on the water would most probably be expanded by a Western poet into a long soliloquy about the calm of the evening, the quiet sky, the pool so smooth, so free from ripples as to reflect the golden effulgence of the great harvest moon. He might even tell us about the companion with whom he shares the beauty of the scene. But would this expansion really tell us more than the five words of the original? I think it would tell us less; for it would leave little for the listener to fabricate from his inner self, and would degrade him from his rôle of imaginative poet into nothing but a dull recipient of information.

The moon is perhaps the favourite subject of Japanese poets, but next to that comes the cherry blossom. Among the very first poems to be recorded in writing is a poem of the cherry blossom :

The time of the cherry blossoms
Is not yet past,
Yet now they ought to fall
While the love of those who look on them
Is at its height.*

It is pain to the poet to think that the beauty of the flowers may wane : how much better to remember them only in the pride of their prime. It is this feeling that has resulted in the adoption of the cherry blossom as the symbol of the armed forces of Japan : soldiers have it on their buttons and naval officers on their caps. They are like the cherry blossoms, ready to die and fall in the bloom of their youth. Our own poet has said : " They shall not grow old. As we who are left grow old."

Another favourite subject, especially of love poems, is the bird called *hototogisu*, a species of cuckoo, whose cry to the poet has in it the anguish of unsatisfied love. Remembering the objectionable habits and unlovely associations of the word " cuckoo " in English, it seems better to translate the Japanese bird by " nightingale," to whom the English poets have given much the same character as the Japanese have to the *hototogisu*.

Dawn; and I have not slept
Thinking of her I love,
How can it be endured—
This nightingale, which sings
Continuously?

A certain young would-be poetess, about the year 1720, hearing that a celebrated poet was staying in her town, visited him and

* Translation by Aston.

begged him for instruction in the art. He gave her "*hototogisu*" as a theme. It must be very difficult to be original with that bird as your subject, and it is not surprising that her first and second efforts were rejected by the master, who rudely went off to sleep. But the poetess, undaunted, sat up and pondered on her theme all night. Awakening, the poet asked: "Is it day yet?" The girl replied:

Hototogisu
Hototogisu tote
Ake ni keru

Hototogisu
Hototogisu, I murmured,
But lo! the dawn.

In four words she had told the poet that all night long she had striven, until at last the red flush in the sky had told her that her task was done. The poem that she had written conveyed all that the earlier poet suggested in his longer effort, and the master, astounded, acclaimed her as a past-mistress of the art, beyond the need of an instructor. These two poems, even in the hideousness of the translations, illustrate well the aims of Japanese poets—to say much in few words. As the Chinese say of their own poetry: "The words stop, but the sense goes on."

And now another *hototogisu* poem. A murderer condemned to death heard, as he bent his neck for the executioner's sword, a cuckoo crying overhead. He glanced up and said:

The rest, on the road to Hades,
I shall hear,
Hototogisu

No one knows the criminal's name. Even his deeds are unknown. But the Japanese, who respond to courage in the face of death, will never forget his verse.

It will be seen from the examples given that rhyme has no part in Japanese verse. The only essential in the language of a poem is the five and seven rhythm. There is thus little difficulty in composing a verse, though a new idea and a poetic expression for it are difficult to find, and when found are the mark of a true poet. The Japanese, who have for so many centuries been nurtured in the atmosphere of poetry, easily express themselves in verse on any and, indeed, on every occasion.

Today poetry is produced in vast quantity: volumes of verse, anthologies, and poetic magazines are constantly being published. Though it would seem impossible, after a continuous stream of poems for 1,500 years, to say anything new about the cherry blossom, every year the trees in the famous groves where the flowers are to be seen have hundreds of poems attached to their trunks by visitors who cannot remain silent in the presence of so much beauty.

The late Emperor Meiji is accepted as a poet of outstanding merit. In the sixty years of his life he wrote one hundred thou-

sand poems. Towards its end the Russo-Japanese war broke out, and it was during this war that he wrote :

The foe that strikes thee, for thy country's sake
Strike him with all thy might;
But while thou strik'st
Forget not still to love him.*

* Translation by Arthur Lloyd.

THE FRENCH COLONIAL CONTRIBUTION SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE WAR*

BY GEORGES MANDEL

(French Minister for the Colonies)

It has been said, and I myself, having learnt it under a great teacher, have repeated it, that as far as government is concerned, especially in wartime, actions speak louder than words. Yet out of a general distaste for propaganda we must not run the risk of encouraging defeatist theories by leaving the country in ignorance of her own strength.

Now our Colonial Empire constitutes one of the staunchest contributors to this strength, as much by its immense resources in men as by its raw materials, and it would—to say the least—be committing a serious injustice towards our peoples overseas if we failed to make known the important assistance which they have given to the metropolis in the last two months.

You are shortly to hear about the magnificent effort made by North Africa. I should like for my part to talk to you about those possessions which are under the control of the Ministry for Colonies, and this will be all the easier as the best way of doing so is to quote some figures.

I should like you to note first of all that between 1914 and 1918 the colonies sent to France the very respectable figure of 3,441,000 tons of produce and various commodities. Well, since the beginning of last September we have been able, in accordance with a previously prepared scheme, to ask the Colonial Governors to set apart from the crops on hand the following supplies: 1,600,000 tons of cereals, 1,100,000 tons of oil-yielding products, 800,000 tons of wood, coal and rubber, and as many tons of meat, cocoa, tea, sugar and rum—that is to say, a much higher total for the current year alone than the entire amount supplied during the 50 months of the last war—and in spite of the difficulties of freight which must accompany mobilization, we have already received more than 80 boats carrying cargoes of about 270,000 tons. Meanwhile the colonies are still maintaining their normal export trade abroad. The following goods, for example, have left Indo-China bound for destinations other than France: 90,000 tons of maize, 147,000 tons of rice, 6,900 tons of rubber, 218,000 tons of coal.

* Broadcast of November 8.

This trade, you may be certain, will result in our obtaining foreign currency with which we could make purchases from abroad. But in no direction would these purchases reach the proportions of those which Germany would make if once she succeeded in breaking through the blockade, for it cannot be too often repeated that our colonies supply us with coal, cotton, chromium, iron and gold, and with the total amount of nickel, wood, rubber, manioc, vanilla, maize, rum and rice required for the consumption of the nation; as well as a third of the coffee and the greater part of fatty products which are needed as much for the feeding of the army and civil population as for the manufacture of war supplies.

So you can see that it is not in our country alone that one has to choose between guns and butter. France is secure from any such tragic alternative; but however important the economic assistance of the Empire, its military contribution is even more strikingly decisive. I shall not dwell on that aspect. I should just like to be allowed to recall that eighteen months ago, when the present Cabinet was formed, it immediately turned its attention to the problem of increasing the colonies' share in national defence. It was already evident that Germany, who had just annexed Austria, was preparing for a war of domination, but it was not enough to sound the alarm. To announce that a danger exists is always comparatively easy, what was necessary was to get ready to face it.

The first care of the Government, therefore, was to increase the colonial forces by nearly 50 per cent. The result, as you know, has been that in a few weeks we have mobilized more soldiers in our possessions overseas than we were able to do during the whole of the war of 1914-1918, in spite of seven successive recruitments. In this way we have succeeded in forming 100 infantry battalions composed entirely of native troops.

The same source has been drawn on to provide the artillery with the necessary complement, and at the same time instructions have been given for the transfer home from Tonkin of a first contingent of 70,000 workmen. Thousands of others will follow, for this is only a beginning, and it will be very easy to raise new contingents of soldiers or workmen as the need arises. It has often been said, and with reason, that France embodies an empire of a hundred million souls. Up to now this has been a topic for speech-making, but it will become a reality, and that very soon, when for the protection of our country a heavy call is made upon the potential supplies of the colonies.

Besides, the peoples in question want us to do so. They insist eagerly upon it. It is in tens and tens of thousands that natives of Indo-China, encouraged by their Emperor Bao-Dai, others from

Madagascar and Western and Equatorial Africa, not to mention Réunion and the West Indies, have tried to join up, though all were free of any military obligations. But it is chiefly in native Africa, especially in Senegal, the Ivory Coast, the Sudan, the Niger, in the region of the upper Volta and in the mandated territories of Togoland and the Cameroons that there has been an amazing mass levy of native troops. In the majority of cases the chiefs went to the French authorities and begged them, as one of them wrote to me, to grant them "the favour of fighting under our flag with all the young men of fifteen upwards," and when one ventured to congratulate them they replied: "It is natural. France so good and just . . . and Germany the enemy of the niggers."

Yes, here is the explanation of this amazing crusade. The colonial peoples know very well that our country which has brought them security and justice has not for many years made any religious or ethnical distinction between them, and that having bettered their existence it aims at incorporating them more and more in the life of the nation.

But it is thanks to German propaganda, let us give it its due, that they have learned to appreciate to the full the humane and understanding policy of the French. This propaganda works on behalf of a doctrine which is founded on the conception of racial superiority. It was the Leader of the Reich himself who, in the master-book in which he drew up his programme, described the niggers as "half monkeys" and accused of "criminal folly" the nations of white race which have "sinned," as he says, "against the Creator" in granting them political rights. After this, how can the natives feel otherwise than directly menaced by Germany's colonial claims?

It is worth giving some thought to this highly significant fact: the black peoples of the world consider that a German victory would expose them to the greatest danger they have encountered since the abolition of slavery.

A foreign statesman has made the cynical remark that words "must have changed their meaning if there are still people who dare to talk of French colonial Imperialism." To prove how wrong they were one has only to appeal to the peoples from all the different corners of the Empire. In the words of a famous phrase, "the vote has been taken," and so much to their advantage that of a common accord they offer their enthusiastic co-operation to France at war. Her war is their war, a holy war for the freedom, the dignity and the respect of every human being, and to help accelerate the issue they are sending to the Mother Country, with important gifts of money, all the raw materials and foodstuffs that they can possibly spare, and have offered more men than can as yet be taken.



THE SULTAN OF MOROCCO AT THE MUSEUM OF MOULAY-IDRIS, ON SEPTEMBER 21, RECEIVING GENERAL DILLION, WHO IS BEING INTRODUCED TO HIM BY GENERAL NOGUÈS.

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FIG. I.—CLOISTER AND GARDEN OF THE MONASTERY OF SAN LAZZARO
AT VENICE.

(Reproduced by kind permission of Mr. George Michael.)



FIG. 2. —SIVAS: MOSQUE OF ABD-EL-WAHAB, BUILT ON THE SITE OF THE ARMENIAN CHURCH OF ST. JOHN.
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 Travels in the Ancient Province of Armenia Minor.

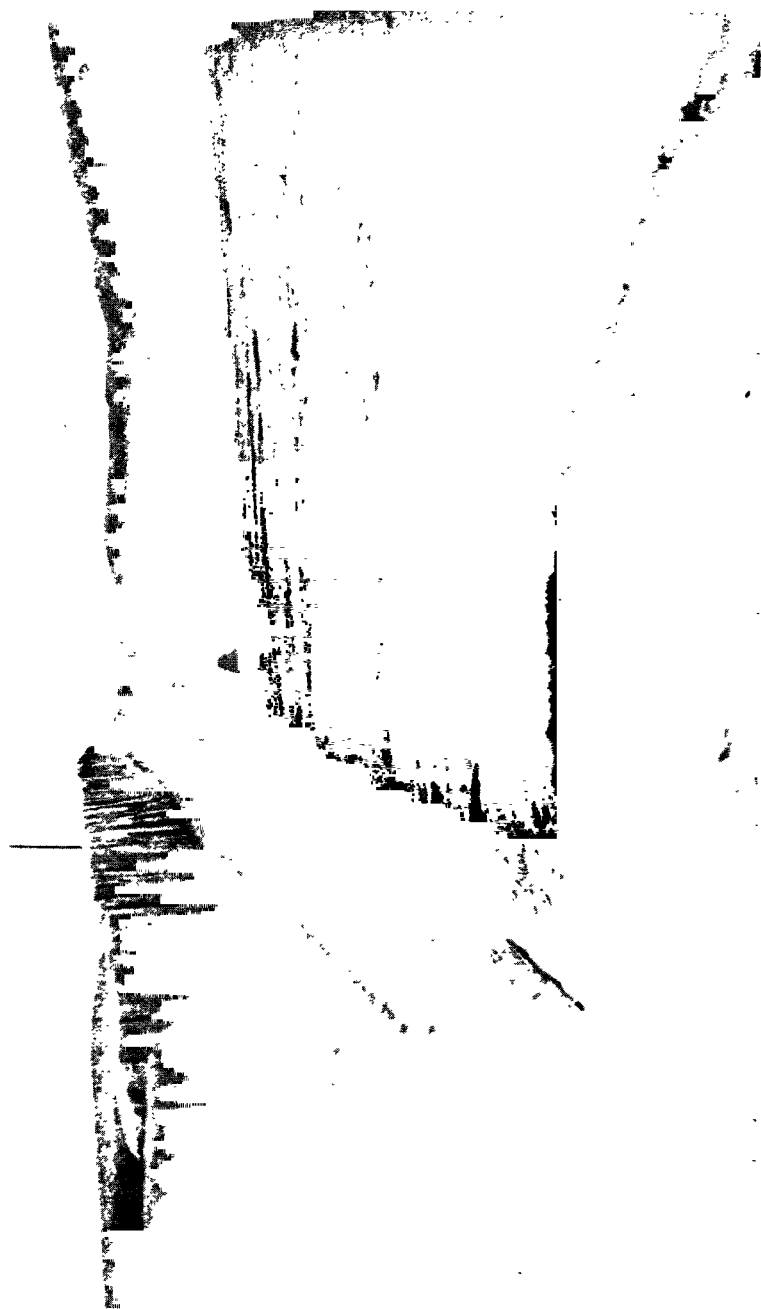


FIG. 3.—IGRI KEUPRI, OR "CROOKED BRIDGE," BUILT BY THE ARMENIANS IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

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Travels in the Ancient Province of Armenia Minor

What more, I ask you, do we require for victory? In any other country than ours it would probably be said that this is a question of will. But France—the France of Richelieu, of Danton and of Clemenceau—has never failed in a test of will.

(Translated.)

TRAVELS IN THE ANCIENT PROVINCE OF ARMENIA MINOR—I.

By E. H. KING

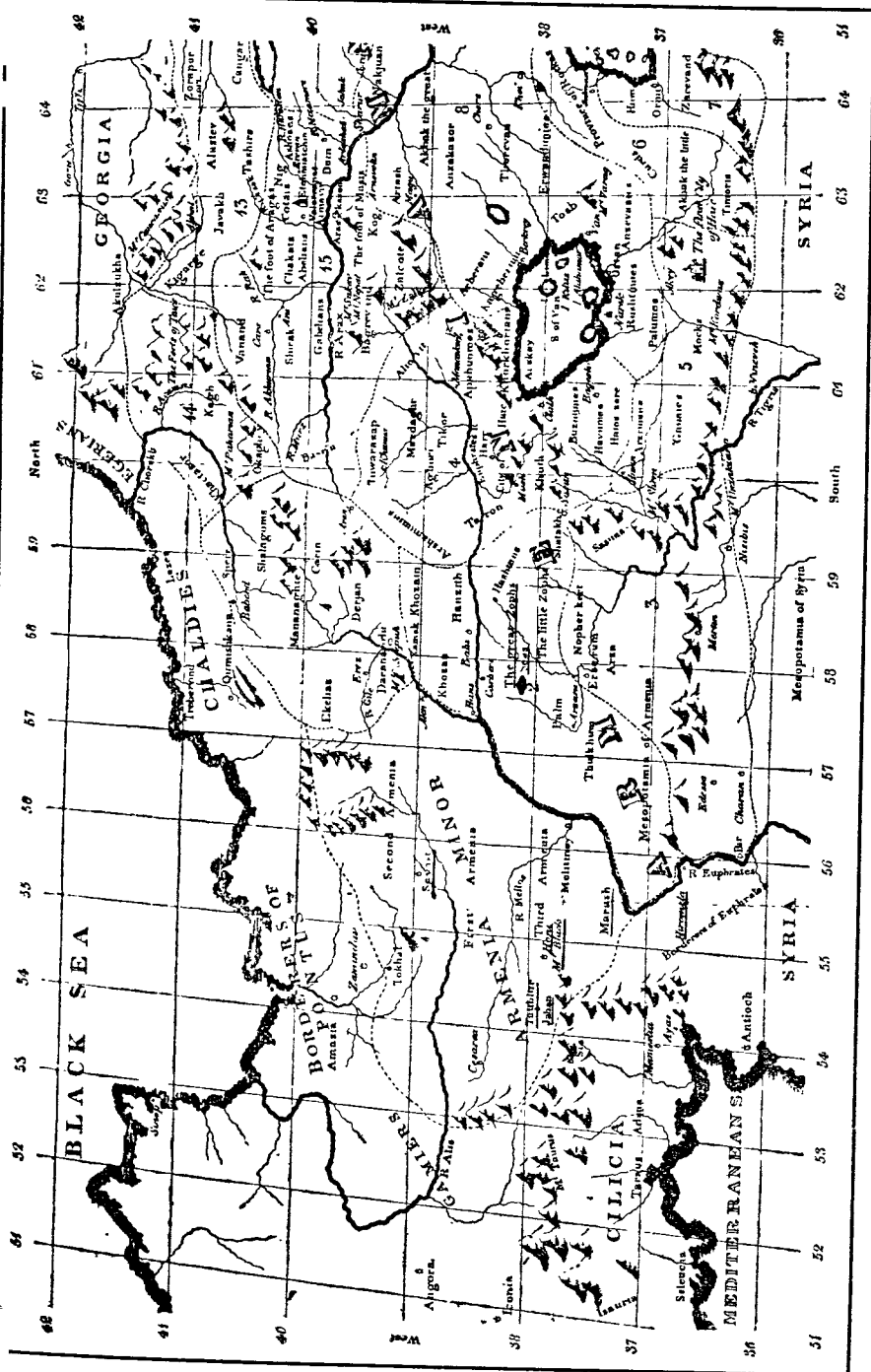
[The illustrations for this article face the previous page.]

AN ARMENIAN MONASTERY IN VENICE

I HAD hoped last year to have resumed my wanderings in the Soviet Armenian Republic and to have continued and extended my investigations as related in the issue of the *ASIATIC REVIEW* for the month of January, 1939. International conditions, however, deterred me from journeying so far afield, and I therefore decided to confine my activities to an inspection of certain ancient remains to be found in the erstwhile province of Armenia Minor, of which the confines are indicated in the early map reproduced here, and of which the Turkish town known as Sivas, lying some 230 miles to the east of Ankara, constituted the capital during the reign of Diocletian under the name of Sebastea, and was, in fact, long so regarded by the Armenians. At the close of the nineteenth century the population of the city amounted to 55,000, of which 18,000 consisted of Armenians, but today the most reliable accounts place the population as not exceeding 35,000, and the proportion of Armenians probably stands at approximately 2,000 souls.

My association with the town of Sivas, or as it is spelt on the map "Sevast," commenced upon my arrival at Venice on August 11, whence I was to sail for Istanbul by the M.V. *Rodi* belonging to the Adriatica Line. A delay of thirty-six hours in the vessel's departure (officially attributed to mechanical defects), however, enabled me to pay a visit to the picturesque Armenian Monastery of San Lazzaro, standing upon an island on the lagoon not far distant from the Lido.

Now in the year 1676 there was born in this city of Sivas one Mekhithar Mamuk, an Armenian, who contributed in no small measure to the intellectual culture of his downtrodden race. He it was who founded the Order of the Mekhitarists, and in the year 1712, together with his fellow-monks, seceded from the Armenian Gregorian Church in order to embrace the Roman faith, his Order conforming with the Benedictine rule. Settling, in the first instance, in Constantinople and Morea, he was, in the year 1715, allowed to establish himself in Venice, where he built the existing Monastery of San Lazzaro and where his remains are interred before the High Altar of the monastic church. It was here that the monks set up a printing press of their own, whilst in the year



EARLY MAP SHOWING ARMENIA MINOR.

1811 another monastery was established in Vienna. Though they may have forsaken their national Church, the Mekhitarists nevertheless displayed immense zeal on behalf of their compatriots, printing and publishing even to this day in the Armenian tongue many important works, both in the original and from translations, thus giving rise to a renaissance of Armenian civilization, thought and self-consciousness, developing the modern literature of their country and raising the standard of popular culture.

Upon my arrival at the monastery I immediately sought out the custodian of the library, which is justly famous for its wealth of early manuscripts. In company with the elderly but highly intellectual monk who fulfils this office, I spent nearly a couple of enthralling hours examining the monastic treasures. Some of the manuscripts are displayed in show-cases, but the most priceless examples are to be found upon the bookshelves. Unquestionably the *pièce de résistance* of the collection to my mind consists of a massive Book of the Gospels in its original binding and in excellent preservation, written in the year 902 by the Queen of Kagig I. of the Artsruni Dynasty of the Kings of the province of Vaspurakan. The paintings of the Evangelists are of the highest order of artistic merit, and I do not recall, even amongst the renowned collection formerly housed in the library of the ex-Patriarchal Seat at the Monastery of Echmiadzin which I visited in 1934, a more noteworthy example, having regard to the period, of the art of the compilers of ancient Armenian illuminated manuscripts. A personal annotation is inscribed by the queen, in which she records that this work was accomplished whilst she was in "retreat" at the Monastery of Varag, standing upon the slopes of the mountain of that name lying some 15 miles to the north-east of the town of Van. Van formed the capital of the ancient Armenian province of Vaspurakan and the seat of the kings of the Artsruni Dynasty from the period of the coronation of the first monarch Kagig I. in 908 until the cession of the kingdom of Vaspurakan to the Greeks in the year 1021, of which event more anon. I shall also shortly have occasion again to refer to the Monastery of Varag in a different connection.

Another volume of outstanding merit consists of a Book of the Gospels compiled in the year 1184 by Nierses IV., otherwise known as "Nierses the Graceful," Archbishop of Tarsus, whilst he was residing at the Fortress of Lampron, today known as that of Namrun, an Armenian castle situated about 15 miles to the north of that town. Nierses, who occupied the Patriarchal Seat between the years 1166 and 1173, became one of the most brilliant figures who ever adorned the Armenian Church, both from the point of view of his piety and of the extent and depth of his learning.

Quite apart from its priceless collection of manuscripts, this retreat boasts numerous examples of richly jewelled ecclesiastical vestments and embroideries, and, in fact, since the recent appropriation by the Soviet State of the contents of the library and sacristy of the Monastery of Echmiadzin, that of San Lazarro today stands unrivalled as a repository of Armenian works of art. The community number at the present time about forty monks whose activities extend amongst their numerous compatriots in Venice and its environs. Their most recent acquisition consists of an up-to-date linotype printing machine, provided for their use by wealthy Armenians resident abroad. The cloisters surround a picturesque garden (Fig. 1), and it would indeed be difficult to imagine a more peaceful abode than this seat of learning and industry which has rendered such signal service to the down-trodden and persecuted Armenian race. It was to this monastery that the poet Byron resorted in the year 1816, when he was engaged upon the study of the Armenian language.

Upon my arrival at Istanbul I was glad to avail myself of the daily 'plane service to Ankara, the journey being accomplished in two hours and twenty minutes from door to door in extremely comfortable machines of British construction handled most efficiently by Turkish pilots. The country traversed is practically entirely mountainous or wooded and far from inviting from the standpoint of a "forced landing"!

IN THE TURKISH CAPITAL

On reaching the Turkish capital, I immediately sought out the Director of the Press Bureau at the Ministry of the Interior, by whom I was most kindly received, and who in turn passed me on to the Director of the Ministry of Education and Public Culture. To these officials I outlined my itinerary, of which details were duly telegraphed to the authorities in Sivas with instructions that I was to be accommodated in the school buildings (at that time of the year vacant) in preference to the local hostelry. I cannot sufficiently express my appreciation of the entirely disinterested kindness and help which I have invariably encountered at the hands of the Turkish Government officials and to which I paid tribute in the course of my former article contributed to the *ASIATIC REVIEW* in July, 1937, entitled "Through the Taurus Mountains and the Armenian Cilician Kingdom." Without the invaluable assistance afforded by these patient, efficient and hospitable gentlemen the difficulties of travel in this romantic and picturesque land would be increased a thousandfold.

The daily train from Ankara to Sivas leaves the capital at 9.30 a.m. and arrives at the latter town at 2.30 a.m., an unholy

hour at which to be deposited in a strange town where one's powers of self-expression are of an extremely qualified description! However, thanks to the forethought of the authorities at Ankara, I was met at the station by a representative of the school, who conducted me to my lodging, a large and airy dormitory which served to recall past memories now, alas, growing painfully dim!

SIVAS

Before entering upon a description of my journey to the south, I am anxious to acquaint the reader with the history of the ancient city of Sivas, mainly in so far as the Armenian race is concerned.

In the year 1021 the Armenian King Senekherim II. of the Artsruni Dynasty, which governed the province of Vaspurakan, embarked upon a course of action which earned for him the undying contempt of many of his compatriots. Dreading the growing power of the Seljouks in Persia, who had already, under their leader Tughril Bey, engaged his forces in a brief encounter, Senekherim bethought himself, and sending for his chiefs proposed that he should make over the entire province of Vaspurakan (with the exception of the monasteries and the lands appropriated for their support) to the Greek Emperor Basil II. and to solicit from him by way of compensation the city of Sebastea or Sivas, together with its dependencies as far as the borders of the River Euphrates. This plan finding general favour, the king sent his son David as negotiator to Constantinople, together with 300 mules bearing gifts of great value. The emperor readily agreed to the proposition, and, in due course, Senekherim transferred to him 4,000 towns and villages, 10 cities and 72 castles in his kingdom. He then assembled his family, his troops and about one-third of the population, amounting to some 400,000 souls, and proceeded to take possession of the city of Sebastea and the surrounding country, including the important centres of Divrik, Arabkir and Egin lying to the eastward, which he was to govern in the capacity of a Byzantine viceroy. Senekherim also conveyed to his new domain the Holy Cross of the Monastery of Varag, a deeply venerated relic traditionally said to have been set up on the site where this monastery now stands by the martyred nun St. Hripsime, when she was journeying through Armenia towards the close of the third century in order to escape from the persecution of the Emperor Diocletian, who is said to have become obsessed by her ravishing beauty. She, together with St. Guiana and thirty-five others of her community, ultimately reached the Armenian capital, the city of Vagharshapat, where King Terdat the Great, equally smitten by her charms but failing to gratify his lust, after a desperate struggle in which, with Divine assistance,

she is said to have overthrown him, caused her flight and that of her companions to be arrested by his nobles. They were thereupon butchered in cold blood, and the Church of St. Hripsime, standing close to the Monastery of Echmiadzin, which I visited in the year 1934 and later described in the pages of the *ASIATIC REVIEW*, marks the site of her martyrdom, her remains being interred in a vault beneath the east apse of the church. Senekherim caused a church to be erected near Sebastea as a repository for this relic, known as that of Sourp Nischan or the "Holy Sign," which still stands to this day, together with the later monastic buildings by which it is surrounded.

I first discerned this monastery from a height to the east of the town on which stands the Mosque of Abd-el-Wahab (Fig. 2) built on the site of the old Armenian Church of St. John. The view across the plains surrounding the town from this point is quite remarkable. My gaze was immediately arrested by the sight of the familiar conical cupola of an Armenian church just discernible above the rugged surrounding monastic walls standing upon elevated ground about a mile distant. Within this monastery, which constituted the seat of the Bishops of Sivas until at all events just prior to the Great War, was until that time preserved the throne of King Senekherim, as also some notable early Armenian manuscripts. When later visiting the ancient fane I found a stalwart Turkish sentry guarding the entrance, for the buildings are now converted to use as a military depôt, and consequently I was debarred from access and, I may add, in no uncertain terms! The church which, of course, dates from the eleventh century, faced with ashlar, is of extremely massive construction and appears, so far as I could judge, to remain in an excellent state of preservation.

Upon his death, which occurred in the year 1027, Senekherim's remains were removed to the Monastery of Varag and interred within the monastic church, where stone slabs bearing inscriptions are to be seen within the pronaos marking the resting-places of the king and his queen Khoshkhosh. A wooden canopy was formerly erected over the tombs, which, however, was removed, together with the royal insignia, by the Katholikos Khrimean at the close of the last century in order to record his contempt for so cowardly and unworthy a monarch. He was succeeded by his eldest son David, who died in 1037, and thereafter by his younger sons Adom and Abusahl, who, however, were forced to flee for their lives when the hordes of Toghrul Bey appeared before the gates of Sebastea in the year 1050. At first, observing from afar the whitened cupolas of the churches, the Seljouks imagined them to be the tents of the enemy and paused; shortly, however, the city was put to the sword. Nevertheless, despite this ferocious

raid, it did not finally fall under the domination of the Seljouk banner until after the signal defeat of the Greek Emperor Romanus IV. near the town of Melasgherd in the year 1071 by the forces of Toghrul Bey's successor Alp Arslan, which paved the way for the cession, under treaty, of the lands then in his possession by the Emperor Michael VII. to Melik-Shah in the year 1074. Sebastea had remained nominally a capital and the seat of an Armenian archbishopric until about this period, but shortly afterwards a Turkoman chief of the Danishmund family established himself in Cappadocia and eventually founded a kingdom of which the town of Malatia formed the capital and which comprised within its borders the cities of Sebastea, Cæsarea (Kaisariëh) and Amasia. This kingdom was extinguished about 100 years later by the Seljouk Sultans of Rûm, and Sebastea was largely rebuilt by Ala-ed-din Keykubad I. (one of the most renowned rulers under this dynasty) in the year 1224. I was glad to observe that a number of the beautiful mosques and medressehs (religious colleges), dating from the Seljouk period, have been carefully preserved and restored under the present régime, the most notable examples comprising the Geuk Medresseh erected by the son of the Sultan Kilinj Arslan Key Husruf in the year 1273 and the Chiftieh Minareh or double minaret medresseh built by one Shemsettyn Mehmet bin Juveyni in the year 1242. A circular "türbe" or tomb of most unusual form, rather resembling in shape a miniature gasometer, is ascribed to the Sultan Alaettin Erdana, within which is to be seen the sarcophagus of his son Hasan. This singular erection was completed in the year 1347. The lovely old mellow red brick, combined with the shaded blues and greens of the faïence by which it is encrusted, can never fail to evoke the admiration of the beholder.

The city passed from Seljouk to Osmanli domination under the Sultan Bayezid I. towards the close of the fourteenth century, but in the year 1400 it was besieged by Tamerlane. In urging the inhabitants to surrender he sought to induce them to do so with these words: "If any of my army raise the sword against the citizens of Sebastea may it be guided to his heart." Deluded by this solemn oath, the city capitulated, whereupon the most horrible barbarities were perpetrated. Women were tied to the tails of young horses which were then lashed into a frenzy, tearing and trampling the wretched victims to pieces. Four thousand Armenians, who had displayed conspicuous bravery, were buried in pits dug without the city walls, the plot of ground becoming subsequently known by the name of Sev Hogher (black earth). I was informed by the Vali of Sivas, a most enlightened man, that during the course of certain digging operations carried out a few years ago the bones of many of Tamerlane's Armenian victims

were discovered. Yet it will be noted that the rapacious Timûr remained true to the terms of his oath, for despite the wholesale massacre of the population not one single victim perished by the sword.

Most of the churches of the city were destroyed, including that dedicated to the "Forty Martyrs of Sebastea," which was adorned by forty cupolas, each erected over the remains of one of the Armenian saints who perished at the hands of Roman soldiers for their adherence to the Faith in the fourth century.

Although the city was rebuilt by the Sultan Muhammad II. in the fifteenth century, it never regained its importance and prosperity since the devastating incursions of Tamerlane. Even to this day the inner walls of the "Chiftieh Minareh" medresseh stand blackened and scorched as a result of the all-consuming elements whereby such wholesale destruction was perpetrated.

The main object of the very brief journey I proposed to undertake to the south consisted primarily in locating and inspecting the mediæval seat of the Armenian Patriarchate, formerly known as Taublur or Thauvplur, which lay about 150 miles distant, and to traverse en route the lands allotted in the year 1045 by the Greek Emperor Constantine IX. to Gagig II., the last of the kings of the Royal House of Armenia, in exchange for his capital, the city of Ani, a transaction to which I referred in the article I contributed to this journal a year ago entitled "Further Exploration in the Soviet Republic of Armenia."

Through the kindness of the Turkish Consul-General in London I had been provided with a letter of introduction to his brother-in-law, Mehmet Ali Bey, who resided in Sivas. Unfortunately, he was indisposed at the time of my visit, but he placed me in touch with a youthful friend of his, a Turkish student at Robert College, the well-known American institution at Istanbul, who was well qualified to act as my interpreter and of whose assistance I was very glad to avail myself. It is true that when travelling through the Taurus Mountains in 1936 I was obliged to dispense with the services of an interpreter, but on that occasion I was following a pass with which the natives were more or less familiar, whilst this time my objective lay in such a remote locality, its existence completely unknown to even the police officials in Sivas who are generally familiar with the surrounding country, that it would have doubtless proved utterly impossible of attainment without the combined assistance of my interpreter and of the first-rate driver of the hardy Ford car by which I travelled.

I am bound to confess that the food definitely did not agree with me! Even the soups were oily to a degree and the dishes frequently cooked in sheep's-tail fat, which I found intensely unpalatable. I unfortunately partook of what appeared to be a fairly

innocuous dish in Sivas the day before my departure for the south, which caused me such violent internal havoc that I was rendered utterly incapable of touching any food, with the exception of a few grapes, for the space of nearly a week !

EN ROUTE TO THE SOUTH

However, sped by the cordial good wishes of the Vali or Governor of Sivas and of the police officials, we set off on the morning of August 21 at an early hour, and shortly after we had passed the outskirts of the town we reached the banks of the Kizil Irmak (Red River), the largest and most important of the rivers of Asia Minor.

It is at this point spanned by an ancient bridge known to the Turks as "Igri Keupri" or the "crooked bridge" (Fig. 3), so called on account of its peculiar construction, expressly designed to resist the pressure of ice in both winter and spring. Here large numbers of logs, floated down from the upper waters of the river, are hauled ashore and sawn up into planks. This most interesting Armenian bridge consists of 18 arches, of which 13 are discernible in the photograph, here reproduced. Its construction is originally attributed to a daughter of King Senekherim. Whilst it has, of course, been strengthened from time to time since the eleventh century, most of the rugged old blocks of sandstone clearly bear the stamp of originality, and I have no hesitation in pronouncing this notable relic of the period of the Armenian viceroys as being in all essential particulars a survival of that epoch; long may this bridge so remain !

The type of country through which I was now destined to travel is but sparsely cultivated and of wild and barren aspect. To the east and almost at our feet as I proceeded southward lay the small salt lake known as Ulash Geul, close to the village of that name and dominated by the spurs of Tedjer Dagh, a limestone range rising to a height of 6,200 feet, whilst to the west I discerned in the distance the slopes of Tanus Dagh. We reached about midday the village of Menjilik, which lies some 50 miles distant from Sivas and stands at an altitude of 5,350 feet. It is somewhat sheltered by hills from the arctic winds which sweep across these desolate wastes in winter, when the snow lies in parts to a depth of 15 feet. Not infrequently the lonely peasants lose their bearings and perish from exposure to the merciless blizzards, though I am glad to learn that police posts have now been established in some of the villages, where bells are sounded and whence lights shine forth to beckon the weary wayfarer to shelter and safety. Menjilik lay within the confines of the territory allotted to the exiled King Gaghiik, and this centre formerly constituted the seat of an

Armenian bishopric. The monastic church stands at the upper end of the village, surrounded by the ruinous remains of the episcopal residence and other buildings. The church itself, of cruciform design, is said to date from the year 1061 and is of extremely solid construction, having successfully weathered the ravages of time. It is built of hewn stone in massive blocks, possesses no cupola, while, with the exception of a large but simple cross, appearing upon the western façade, the walls are devoid of decoration or inscriptions. Formerly the village was largely inhabited by Armenians and Circassians, but the population is now almost entirely Turkish, only a few Armenian families still remaining. The Mukhtar, or head-man, informed me that some twenty-five years have elapsed since the church was used for public worship, but he is hopeful that some day it may be possible to demolish it and erect a mosque in its stead! Unfortunately, this practice is not uncommon, as has already been exemplified in the case of the Mosque of Abd-el-Wahab at Sivas. However, the church still stands to commemorate the occupation of this territory by the exiled King Gaghik, who, having been tricked by the Greek Emperor into ceding to him his capital, the city of Ani, was compensated by the gift of a palace in Constantinople, and a pension from the Greek Government, together with the cities known as Piza, Khorzen and Likandia and lands upon the frontiers of Cappadocia, with which latter are immediately concerned.

Thus, in that eventful year 1045, was the kingdom of Armenia Major utterly extinguished, whilst its exiled sovereign, consumed by care, mourned over the downfall of his nation and his house. After residing for some time in Constantinople he retired to the city of Pizu, where he built a monastery, whither it is said that he often resorted to weep in secret over the woes that had befallen his beloved land. Of the ultimate fate which befell the king in or about the year 1080 I have already written in detail at the commencement of the article contributed to this journal in July, 1937.

No trace today exists of the cities of Pizu (which probably lay close to Cæsarea), Khorzen or Likandia, or rather if remains still stand they have not been identified. My readers will appreciate, therefore, that records regarding the Armenian occupation of a territory allocated to a mournful exiled monarch appear to be extremely meagre, since no historical events of importance presumably occurred in these regions during his thirty-five years of enforced banishment.

From Menjilik I resumed my journey in a southerly direction and reached the large village of Gürün as night was falling, where I was tolerably comfortably installed in the local khan. Before retiring I called to pay my respects to the "village committee,"

consisting of about a dozen worthies, to each of whom I was presented in turn and who, upon my arrival, appeared to be either engrossed in the wiles of backgammon or listening to the radio in the heavily smoke-laden atmosphere of the somewhat ramshackle village hall. I was certainly intrigued to learn that Lord Halifax was due to speak from London at eleven o'clock, but in this respect I was doomed to disappointment, for in place of a stirring and moving oration from the Foreign Secretary I was regaled with the monotonous, nasal chant customarily associated with Turkish "music," which is calculated to incite even the most prosaic and placid of creatures to acts of either suicidal or homicidal violence in its nerve-shattering effect! Perhaps I speak forcibly on this topic, but I have been compelled to listen too often and for protracted periods to this strange wail; small wonder indeed that Atatürk strove, though, alas, not entirely successfully, to bring about its suppression!

Gürün corresponds to the Gauraina of the ancients, although no antiquities are to be seen today, with the exception of two very defaced Hittite inscriptions which appear at the mouth of the picturesque Gorge of Gürün. The mediæval town of which no remains exist today either is said to have acquired a degree of prosperity as a result of its colonization by the Armenians "of the exile," since many of his oppressed subjects had followed in the wake of their banished sovereign. Upon his death the more adventurous spirits pressed southward into the Cilician Taurus mountains where the Armenian Cilician kingdom was founded, and which I have described in the pages of this journal. Thereafter, the town of Gürün, together with all the territory bordering on the Ante-Taurus range, passed into the hands of the Seljouk Turks.

APPROACHING THE CASTLE OF TAUBLUR

From Gürün I was now in a position to embark upon the quest in search of my main objective—namely, the Castle of Taublur, today known by the name of Khurman Kalesi (Castle of Khurman). I was aware that the castle stood at the confluence of the small rivers known as the Khurman Su and the Marabus Su, and so far as I could ascertain from the study of a large-scale map which I carried (drawn, however, in the year 1916) it appeared to be a simple matter to proceed in a southerly direction along a track leading to the village of Khurman, which lay at a point about 32 miles to the south of Gürün. I was speedily disillusioned, however, on being informed that this track was quite impassable for motor vehicles, and I was therefore advised to follow an alternative route leading to the village of Yarpuz, which stands at a distance of some 8 miles to the south of Khurman, and from Yarpuz I

should doubtless be able to reach my objective without difficulty. No one, however, with whom I conferred at Gürün had ever heard of the existence of a Castle of Khurman, and although the village and the stream of that name were marked on my map, that of the Marabus Su, which formed the "missing link" as it were, was not indicated and the Khurman Su was intersected by numerous streams throughout its length!

We set out from Gürün at about eight o'clock in the morning of August 22, but so variegated and so conflicting were the directions afforded us by the Mukhtars or head-men of the numerous villages which lie scattered amidst the plains that we did not succeed in reaching Yarpuz until about two o'clock in the afternoon. These villages, which consist of clusters of flat-roofed dwellings, constructed of the ubiquitous dried mud-bricks, appear as veritable oases in the desert, so fertile are the gardens by which they are surrounded. Water of excellent quality abounds, and most forms of fruit grow in profusion. The grape is largely cultivated, and these regions contribute in no small measure to the considerable export trade, in its dried form, today carried on between Turkey and various other countries.

The village of Yarpuz, as I was informed, is particularly noted for the quality of the products of its vineyards, but if the truth must be told I found that they compared unfavourably with the luscious fruit which I have frequently tasted when travelling beyond the eastern frontiers of Turkey, in the Armenian Soviet Republic. Yarpuz is synonymous with the ancient important Byzantine road-centre known as Arabissus where once stood the fortress guarding the great pass leading to the city of Germanicia, corresponding with the site of the modern Turkish town of Marash.

The Mukhtar of Yarpuz informed me that the track marked on my map as leading to Khurman certainly existed, but that the bridge spanning the Khurman Su had long since collapsed! The stream would prove quite impassable by car, and he therefore suggested our proceeding by an alternative route, which necessitated retracing our footsteps for a distance of about four miles and then crossing the river at a point where the water was sufficiently low at this time of the year to admit of our doing so without mishap. He assured me, however, that no castle existed in the vicinity of Khurman, and I was beginning to wonder whether, after all, I had not embarked upon a wild-goose chase!

However, it was a case of being "in for a penny, in for a pound," and I was absolutely determined that even if I had to pass the winter amidst these wilds I would set foot within the walls of the Castle of Khurman, if indeed they actually existed at all in this year of grace 1939!

In the absence of any guidance as to the point where the Marabus

Su joined the main stream, we adopted the Mukhtar's suggestion and reached the village of Khurman at about four o'clock in the afternoon. Here indeed my misgivings were, to a large extent, allayed, since the existence of the castle which formed the object of my quest was at least affirmed! The Mukhtar of Khurman, a most intelligent and agreeable fellow, advised us to follow the course of the Khurman Su, travelling in a north-westerly direction over a distance of some four to five miles until a bridge was reached, from which point we should be able to discern the nearby village of Tanir, and from whence it would doubtless be possible to reach the castle itself.

Thanks to the reliable directions we had received, we arrived at this village without mishap; no actual track existed and we were compelled to submit to a fairly severe jolting in order to avoid the boggy land lying close to the banks of the stream.

The Mukhtar of Tanir, a Circassian, accorded us the hospitable welcome so characteristic of the villagers and expressed astonishment at the sight of an Englishman travelling in these regions. "For twenty-five years," he remarked, "have I lived in this village and no foreigner has hitherto passed this way to seek shelter beneath my roof." When I acquainted him with the objective which I sought he appeared somewhat downcast! "I know where that castle stands," he observed, "but it is difficult of access; it would be impossible to reach it by car, and, moreover, plundering bands of Khurdish tribes are said to roam the wild country which lies between my village and the object of your search." After considerable parley, carried on with him through my interpreter, it was agreed that horses should be saddled at an early hour on the morrow in preparation for the journey. The sum agreed upon amounted to the equivalent of about three pounds sterling to cover the cost of the hire of the horses and of the Mukhtar's invaluable services. This figure was arrived at after the customary bargaining procedure had been completed, during the course of which I pointed out that I was not desirous of buying the horses outright, at which remark he burst into a hearty guffaw of laughter which communicated itself to his entourage. Gladly would I have paid double the sum agreed upon, but I think the Mukhtar was well satisfied with his compact! I was inclined to suppose that he had perhaps "drawn the long bow" a trifle in regard to the possibilities of robbery and violence for obvious reasons, but I was informed by an entirely disinterested party that, whilst within recent years the territory in question had possessed an evil reputation, attacks appeared to have now become less frequent, presumably owing to the lack of potential victims, a viewpoint which I am glad to be able to relate was borne out by our own experience! Our host had slaughtered a lamb in honour of my visit, but unfortunately I

was feeling far too unwell to do justice to the lavish spread with which we were regaled. Persistent neuralgia, coupled with a perpetual feeling of sickness which no medicinal remedies seemed to allay, served as a constant reminder of that thrice accursed dish of which I had partaken at Sivas! I slept heavily on a divan in the Mukhtar's "Salaamlik" or guest-room, but awoke tired and unrefreshed. Personally, I was not unduly troubled by the vermin, but my interpreter, Bayezid, who lay on a mattress on the floor, was distinctly less fortunate and was almost devoured alive.

We set out at about seven o'clock on a glorious summer morning (August 23), not a cloud in the sky being visible; Bayezid, who had never sat astride a horse before, had particularly requested to be supplied with a docile mount. Docile his horse undoubtedly proved itself to be, and bone idle to boot, for hardly had we passed the outskirts of the village when, hearing some commotion taking place behind me, I turned round and beheld my interpreter's steed about to enter the lowly hovel of a wretched peasant, who, not unnaturally, strongly resented this social outrage! Amidst a volley of violent oaths showered upon it by both the parties immediately concerned, the recalcitrant beast was once more induced to follow in our wake, but it was continually trying to stop and graze so that eventually I decided to bring up the rear myself, and by dint of administering periodical blows across its buttocks I was enabled to maintain the cavalcade in some degree of order!

Upon leaving Tanir we passed through a picturesque rocky gorge, emerging, in the space of about half an hour, into open hilly country of that monotonous aspect frequently encountered when travelling in the interior of Asia Minor. In fact, the reddish stony soil, dotted here and there with patches of scrub, the undulating hills and the almost complete absence of foliage, combine to present a picture somewhat reminiscent of the northern tracts of the Sahara Desert as I recall them. At one point during the course of the journey the Mukhtar cheerfully observed that not long since it was here that the Kurds were wont to intercept their victims by converging upon the hapless wayfarers from the surrounding hills and rifling them of their possessions. Provided no resistance was offered their lives were spared, otherwise they were promptly dispatched without further ado. I explained to him that this method at least compared favourably with that practised by the Caucasian tribes, who believe in taking no chances, but, being expert marksmen, shoot down their victims from a place of concealment, thereafter descending like vultures upon their prey.

In the next issue I intend to discuss the history of the "Castle of Taubluur," and with the aid of illustrations to describe its appearance today.

(To be continued.)

HOUSING IMPROVEMENTS IN BRITAIN AND INDIA: A COMPARISON

BY B. S. TOWNROE

THE latest report of the working of the Improvement Board for the year 1347 Fasli (to 1937-38) shows how steadily and wisely schemes for the general improvement of the City of Hyderabad, including the clearance of congested areas and the promotion of well-planned housing is proceeding. Since the Board was constituted in the year 1912, excellent progress has been made and high praise is due to the nineteen members. The Board is at present presided over by General Walashan Prince Nawab Muazzan Jah Bahadur. The members include three non-officials, representing jagirdars, sahu-kars and merchants. It is included in the political portfolio of the Executive Council.

The actual executive work is conducted by an officer of the grade of Superintending Engineer. The compensation work is being done by the Collector of the City and Suburbs. Appeals against the decision of this Court are filed in the High Court and awards of this latter Court are final. To facilitate and expedite compensation, special rules have been framed under the Land Acquisition Act, and these are being followed by the Board. The annual State grant from the Government is Rs. 6 lakhs, but extra funds are provided by the Government for schemes which cannot be financed from the funds of the Board.

It is interesting to compare what has been done in improving housing conditions in Hyderabad in the last twenty-seven years with the history of British slums during the past century. The latter were largely the growth of the age of prosperity after the Napoleonic Wars, when our forefathers, freed from the financial strain of the campaigns on the Continent, and inspired by a misguided philosophy of individualism run wild, allowed towns to become swollen and overcrowded without any control. Factories and mills, equipped with machinery driven by the strange new power of steam, absorbed thousands of peasants from the countryside. Families grew rapidly, for a child of nine years of age was allowed to work sixty-nine hours a week, and was a profitable wage-earner. The workpeople in the new age of machinery were huddled together in slum dwellings, some of which were pulled down only within the past few years. Not until 1842 was a practical interest taken in the housing of the working classes, and a Society created by Lord Shaftesbury, of which the Prince Consort became the first President.

Hyderabad has indeed been fortunate as compared with Great Britain. The inspiration of His Exalted Highness the Nizam was responsible for the original establishment of the City Improvement Board. Since then he has allowed money to be spent freely and liberally in order that finance might not impede the most important work of the Board, that of slum clearance. In the social history of Hyderabad the name of that great philanthropist and statesman, Sir Akbar Hydari, will also take a most honoured place, like those of Shaftesbury and Disraeli in Great Britain. The Nizam and Sir Akbar in a few years have achieved what took half a century in England.

For, in spite of the keen and personal interest taken by the Prince Consort in social issues, years went by with congestion increasing in English industrial towns before Disraeli, as Prime Minister, brought in the Artisans' and Labourers' Dwellings Improvement Act of 1875. In the same year was passed the Public Health Act, one of the landmarks in the history of British housing legislation. This gave powers of inspection to sanitary authorities and enabled them to exercise a certain amount of control over insanitary property. But conditions continued to be a scandal. Following the Royal Commission on Housing, of which the Prince of Wales, afterwards King Edward VII., was a member, and which reported in 1885, there was passed into law the Housing of the Working Classes Act of 1890.

Looking at the uneven housing advances in England as compared with the consistent progress made by the City Improvement Board of Hyderabad, the blessings of peace and the evils of war become only too apparent. The South African War in 1900 distracted the British nation's attention from housing reform which up to then had been quietly moving forward. After that war concluded, and in spite of a new Act of Parliament and the setting up of a Select Committee on Housing, builders erected fewer houses and the output of the operatives decreased. Mr. John Burns brought in the Act of 1909, prohibiting the building of back-to-back houses and strengthening the law dealing with cellar dwellings. It is worth noting that the present British Prime Minister, Mr. Neville Chamberlain, then a member of the Birmingham City Council, used this Act to help in the reconditioning of some six thousand houses which were unhealthy, and let new light and air into narrow courts. On the same lines in the Darush-Shafa slum clearance scheme in Hyderabad, narrow lanes were broadened in order to provide ventilating shafts to a congested area.

The Great War stopped all activities in England, while in Hyderabad the work proceeded cautiously. The stoppage of building in Great Britain from 1914 to 1919 completely changed the outlook of the English slum problem. Between the date of

the Armistice until the outbreak of the war on September 3, 1939, over twenty Acts of Parliament were passed. At last in the summer of 1939 there seemed to be in sight the final sweeping away of all English slums. Many millions of peaceful citizens were living in healthy and modern homes, built either with the help of subsidies taken from the pockets of the taxpayers and rate-payers or by private builders who had erected houses as a commercial speculation.

During the same twenty years Hyderabad was being transformed. The latest report gives an excellent idea of the main schemes carried out or in progress, and its admirable illustrations show how fetid slums were disappearing and new housing colonies erected in their place, while public gardens and new boulevards have beautified the city.

The problem of rats in warehouses has practically been solved in Great Britain, owing to vigorous sanitary measures. But rats in India spread disease and are one of the causes of epidemics. The grain markets in Hyderabad are now being protected against vermin by means of the construction of rat-proof go-downs. There is also a scheme, now partially completed, for the widening of the Pather Ghatti Road, which passes through the heart of the business centre of the city and also constructing shops partly with arcades and partly with open pavements. The public and other Government gardens in the city have been placed under the Director of Gardens, and are controlled by the Board. Another communication scheme worthy of note is the Bashir Bagh-Narayanguda Road, which serves as a short cut from the north-western part of the city to the Osmania University. The construction of this road has improved the malarious area behind Hyderguda, and has opened up a large area for building purposes.

Methods of building low-rented houses in Hyderabad appear to be on a more business-like basis than in Great Britain. The housing programme from 1919 to 1939 in Great Britain has cost many millions of pounds to carry into effect. There are municipal flats, for example, at South End Close at Hampstead, where the loss on public funds still amounts to about seventeen shillings a week in spite of the rents charged being comparatively high. This loss will continue till about the year 1980, and this is by no means a unique case. For example, another Slum Clearance Act, introduced by Mr. Arthur Greenwood with the words, "All babies born in slums from now onwards will enjoy a dowry such as no State has ever conferred before," offers, in fact, an annual prize of from forty-five shillings to seventy shillings a year, to continue until 1970, upon the head of every person in an unhealthy area for whom alternative accommodation is found.

The Hyderabad Improvement Board decided to deal with

similar problems, some of which were intensified owing to the condition of poverty and climate, in a business-like way. The report publishes details of the proceedings of the ninety-second meeting of the Board, at which the proposal of Sir Theodore Tasker to construct low-rented houses on a paying basis was sanctioned. A loan of Rs. twenty-five lakhs, repayable in sixty years, was obtained from the Government at an interest of 4 per cent. per annum. The task of erecting certain types of houses was entrusted to co-operative housing societies, while the City Improvement Board agreed to erect lower types of houses intended for the less desirable type of tenant. At the same meeting the rules relating to the hire-purchase of houses were reconsidered. There had been cases of speculators in Hyderabad purchasing the houses outright and afterwards charging exorbitant rates. Under the new proposal it was decided to let the houses on a long lease of ninety-nine years, and also to raise the limit of income of persons to whom the houses might be rented. It is clear from the report that sound common sense is directing the Board in their operations.

Another interesting scheme described in the report is the provision of quarters to be rented to the staff of the Residency. These new homes were built on the site of a former slum at Sultan Bazar. Various properties were bought; proper roads laid out; and then blocks of three different types were erected. "A" Class blocks of the Residency staff quarters are let at the rent of eighteen rupees a month. Of the other two types, Class B is let at thirteen rupees a month and Class C as low as four rupees a month. This has proved to be a most popular scheme and is to be extended when the remaining properties have been acquired. So much for the material aspect of social progress in Hyderabad.

There is, however, one important aspect of housing for which one looks in vain for details in the latest report, with the exception of a housing scheme at Dabirpura. A colony of fifty buildings at this place has been constructed on low-lying land near the railway station. It has been placed under the control of the Temperance Association on the condition that the houses are let only to those persons who agree to observe temperance. The site near the Dabirpura railway station was selected because it was in close proximity to the quarters of the depressed class who are usually addicted to over-indulgence in alcohol. This is the only hint of the existence in Hyderabad of similar slum-minded tenants to those who have been, and are ever present, in the minds of those trying to find a solution in Great Britain of the slum problem.

A destructive tenant ruins even the best municipal house, and in Glasgow and many other British cities special officers have been appointed, sometimes men inspectors, sometimes women managers, who endeavour to help the thriftless slum maker to

respond to better surroundings. It is a regrettable fact that practically in every nation there is a class of persons who are dirty and destructive. If they come of rich parents they are looked after in childhood by nurses, governesses and tutors, and in later life by valets and private secretaries. If they are poor they segregate themselves in slums without any attempt to improve their condition, and gradually slip downhill. In the tropics these are the "beachcombers." The Dutch with their independence and initiative have faced up to this problem by forming special colonies for undesirables. In Great Britain this was considered to be too drastic and too Prussian in its austerity, and methods of peaceful persuasion and tactful managing have been adopted.

Certain housing reformers indignantly deny the existence of this sub-species of the human kind. They argue that given a better environment, slum makers will become home makers. The examples which occurred during the evacuation of thousands of children from the congested urban areas of Great Britain during the autumn of 1939 have brought home to their hosts in the reception areas, including quiet country towns and rural villages, the regrettable fact that a percentage of our slum population is sadly degraded. It would add greatly to the interest of the next report of the Hyderabad Improvement Board, if it indicated in some detail how this sociological aspect of the slum problem was being dealt with. Evidently the Board after twenty-eight years of work recognizes that money by itself without skilled management will not ensure that all the population is well-housed. It appears to be realized that the slum mind as well as the slum dwelling requires to be converted. What exactly is being done in Hyderabad to help those whose spirit has been sapped by the daily struggle to survive? It would be useful to have a reply to this question. The successive reports issued by the Board have shown with what wisdom and foresight the Hyderabad reformers have been carrying on their work. The reports are so comprehensive and so admirably produced and illustrated that a new section might well be devoted to this highly important subject of management, which has been well described by Mr. Neville Chamberlain as the "key" to the housing problem.

The future for social reform in Europe in the winter of 1939 is dark. No one can foretell what the issue of the war with Germany will be, or what may be its results upon European civilization. Already the evacuation and the danger of air raids has produced gross overcrowding in areas which at the beginning of 1939 had been full of decent homes, where the sexes were properly divided and families lived in decent sanitary conditions. Today in London there are houses in which there are ten refugee families living under the same roof. Furthermore, the building industry,

instead of creating houses, is now devoting its energies to erecting factories in which are made instruments of destruction, and creating encampments for sailors, soldiers and airmen. The whole resources of peace have been turned, under the tragic compulsion of the menace from Germany, to the work of war.

In this era of madness which has swept over Europe from Moscow to Madrid, it may be permitted to an Englishman to appeal to those who are now responsible for the social services of Hyderabad. They have done admirable work since the Improvement Board was established in 1912. It is to be hoped that there may be no flagging in the work of social reform in Hyderabad, and that, in spite of the inevitable repercussions of the war, the Board will continue to face the problem boldly in the spirit of Robert Browning's poem :

“The common problem, yours, mine, every one's
Is—not to fancy what were fair in life
Provided it could be—but, finding first
What may be, then find how to make it fair
Up to our means; a very different thing!”

THE SACRIFICES OF THE SON OF HEAVEN

BY ALAN HOUGHTON BRODRICK

"THE Emperor of Annam commands that the sacrifices offered up in honour of Heaven and Earth shall take place in the Southern Suburb on 14th April. The officiants and the co-celebrants must fast for three days before the solemn ceremony in order to purify themselves, and, so that they may be fit to perform the duties imposed upon them by the Regulations concerning Rites, they must practise chastity. Respect to the Imperial Edict."

Thus ran the proclamation affixed, at the beginning of April this year, to the walls of the Edicts Pavilion within the citadel of Hué. The capital of Annam is really an over-grown village set among gardens and surrounded by wooded hills which, to the west, merge into the mountains of the Chain of Annam, the great spine of French Indochina. Annam is nowhere broad and in most places it is just a strip between the serrated ridge and the China Sea. Within thirty miles of Hué, as the crow flies, the hills are full of wild tribes who do not hesitate to blow down poisoned arrows on to adventurous explorers. While I was in Annam this year, a French subaltern who was reconnoitring with a handful of men, owed his life not only to his presence of mind but also to the fact that the poison was stale.

There are few towns in the East, nevertheless, which have more charming environs than Hué. Within the radius of a few miles lie scattered about in woods and groves the extraordinarily beautiful Imperial tombs. Planned with all the traditional attention of the Chinese to "Fêng-Shui,"* their gardens and courts are abodes of ancient peace, almost unknown to foreigners and rarely visited.

Hué owes its position as the ceremonial and political capital of the Annamese Empire, to Nguyen-Anh, who early last century recovered with French help the semi-independent principality of his ancestors. In 1802, Nguyen-Anh extended his rule over all the Annamese lands from Tongking to Cochinchina.

In the year 1806, Nguyen-Anh proclaimed himself Emperor of Annam, with the Throne Name of Gia-Long, and in the preceding year he had erected in the southern suburb, or "Nam-Giao," of his city a triple terrace, modelled upon those of the Altars of Heaven and Earth in Peking, in order that he might the more

* That is, literally, "Wind-water," or the geomantic significance of landscape.

magnificently celebrate his sacrifices to Heaven, to Earth and to his ancestors and predecessors.

The Annamese have been subjected to the cultural influence of China for two thousand years. For nearly half of this time "Annam," or the "Pacified South," was a province of the Chinese Empire, and even under the Annamese Emperors the vague suzerainty of the Court of Peking was recognized since the treaty whereby the French protectorate over the Annamese lands was established received its signature and conformation at the hands of the Emperor of China. The French have in Indochina what has been called "*une ancienne Chine à domicile*," so that it is in Annam that we must seek the living image of Chinese tradition, since in China itself traditional ceremonies have disappeared.

* * * * *

Our ideas of early Chinese history have been so profoundly modified in the last few years that it would be rash to make definite statements about things which seemed certain only ten years ago. It is, however, probable that in Shang-Yin times, apart from the prevalent ancestor-cult, the principal sacrifices—some of which were almost certainly human—were offered up rather to Earth than to Heaven. "Ti," the word which under the Chou dynasty became a synonym for Heaven and still later on, in Imperial times, part of the Imperial title, does not appear to have meant, for the Shang-Yin, Heaven as a supreme deity. An ingenious theory has been advanced that "Ti" was originally nothing more than a specific sacrifice to ancestors and that, little by little, the name was applied to the semi-deified ancestors themselves and then, finally, to the concept of deity in general. A possible parallel is to be found in India, where Agni became a great God by a somewhat similar process.

When the Chou rulers superseded the Shang-Yin as the *primi inter pares* of the old Chinese confederacy of states, the newcomers may have brought with them from their home farther west a Sky cult as their main religious manifestation. There is reason to suppose that the Shang-Yin ceremonies took place in permanent temples: the Chous, on the other hand, sacrificed on high places to the south of their cities but in no temples. On the high places were erected tent-like tabernacles (Plate I.), which have survived into modern times as the classical theatres of the Heaven and Earth cults. Since, however, we read, on the oracle bones, of a "Southern House," in about B.C. 1500, the association of the south with an idea of peculiar sacredness seems to date from the beginning of Chinese recorded history.

It is quite probable that under the Chou sovereigns the Earth worship was conducted, not by the Kings, but by the Queens,

and there is evidence that even in early Han times—that is, after the formation of the centralized empire—the sacrifices to the Earth were still undertaken by, or at least took place in the presence of the Empresses in the privacy of the gynæceum. It is certain that in more modern ages ambitious Empresses sought to revive what were held to be ancient customs, for in A.D. 695 one of those imperious and Imperial women that, from time to time, China has known, presided in person over the sacrifices both to Heaven and to Earth.

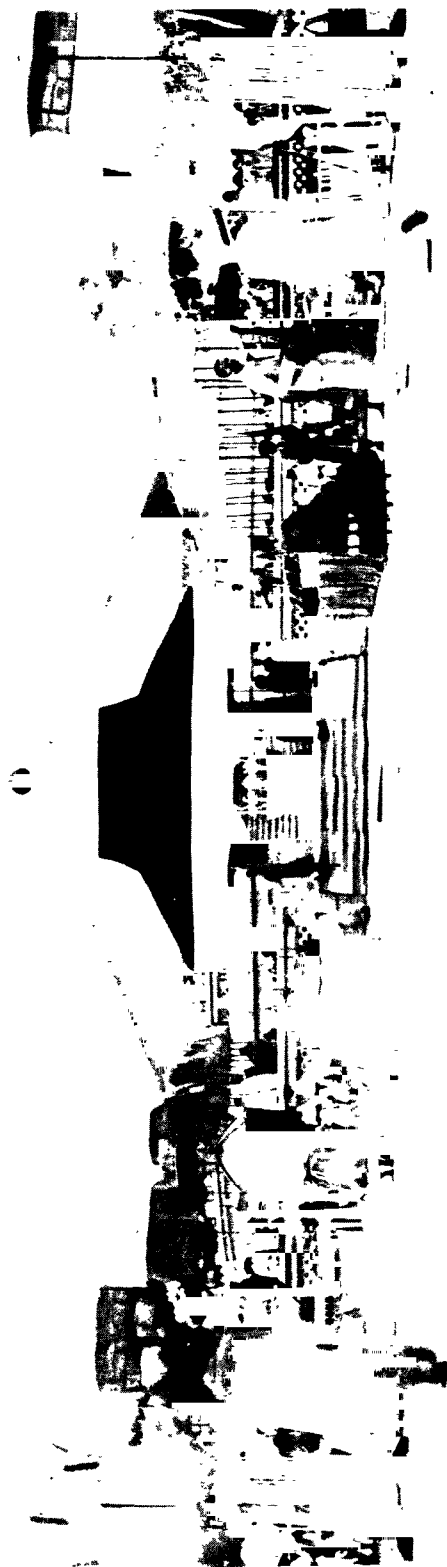
As early as the year B.C. 31, however, the Emperor Ch'eng had erected an altar to Earth in the northern suburb of his capital, where he publicly and in person presided over the sacrifices which until then had been cared for by the consorts. In B.C. 113, that remarkable ruler, the Emperor Wu, had at the time of the Earth sacrifice, taken possession, as Son of Heaven, of all the earth of China. Three years before he had, as Son of Heaven, performed the sacrifice to Heaven; it is from his reign, therefore, that we may date the Imperial sacrifices in the form in which they have come down to us.

The appellation "Son of Heaven" appears during the Chou dynasty, since then the sovereigns of the Chinese confederacy were conceived as standing in some special relationship to Heaven largely because they assumed the responsibility for the onerous expiatory ceremonies which were held to be necessary whenever the combined forces of the league had been victorious in war. The King led the Triumphal Dance at the Sacrifice to Heaven and, before all others, communicated in the sacrificial elements with the Deity.

The Chinese royalty came to an end in B.C. 256. In B.C. 221 China ceased to be a congeries of lordships and became an empire. The Chou sovereigns had not been the high priests of a national religion as the Emperors were to become. The Kings, save upon special occasions, sacrificed, as did the heads of all families, clans and principalities, for their own family and realm.

The Han Emperors retained the title of "Son of Heaven," gave to it a new significance and even sought to accredit the myth that their ancestor had been of divine origin and born of a virgin. The Japanese, who borrowed civilization from the Chinese in T'ang times, borrowed with it the designation "Son of Heaven." "Tenno" is today the official designation of the Japanese ruler. The sceptical Chinese never paid much attention to Han legends, and frequent changes of dynasty served, in any case, to destroy everything of them save the name. Of the Japanese, the Chinese, however, say to this day that they are a very literally minded people since they have made of a title a myth.

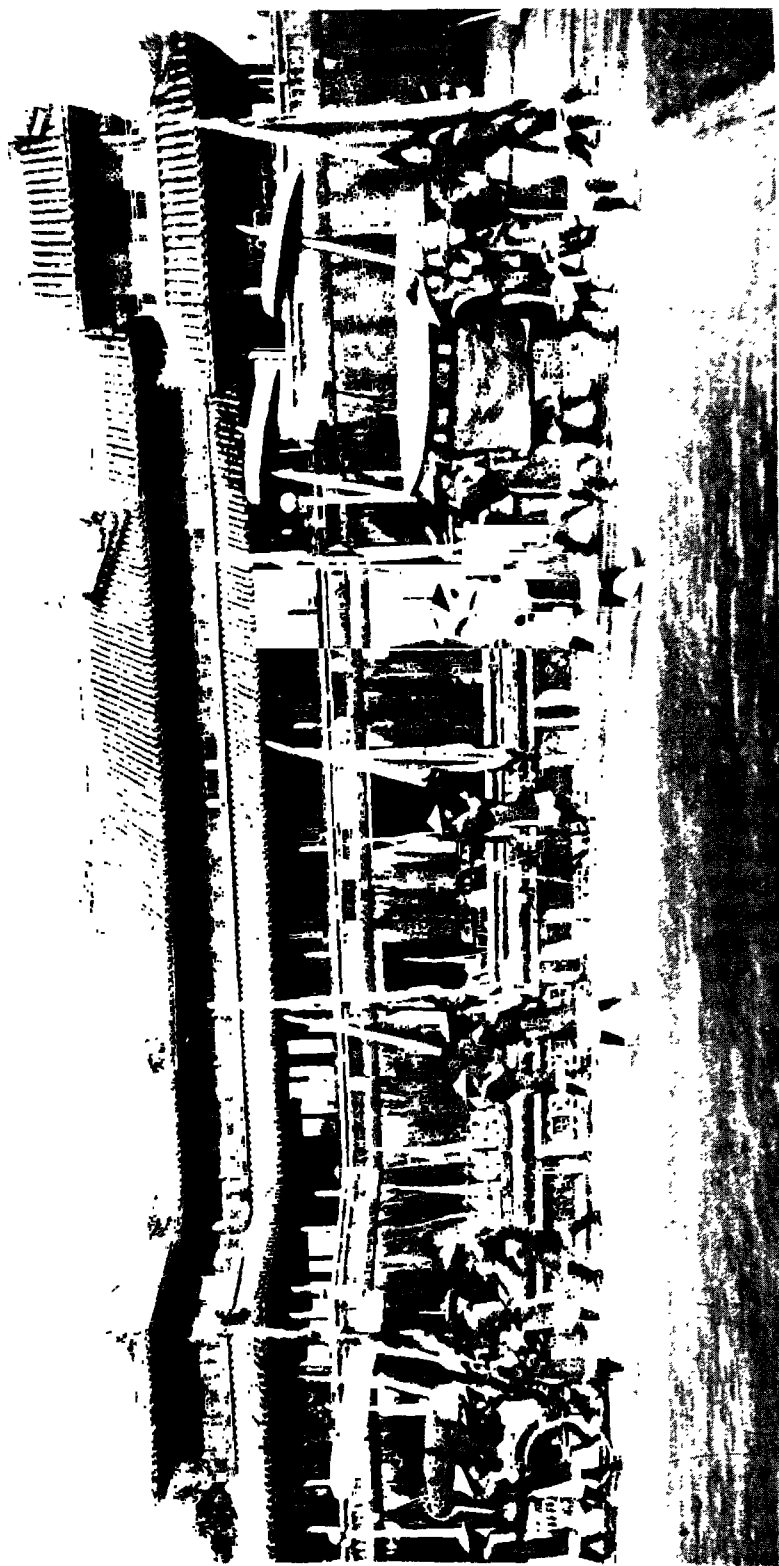
Under the Chou dynasty the different states used different



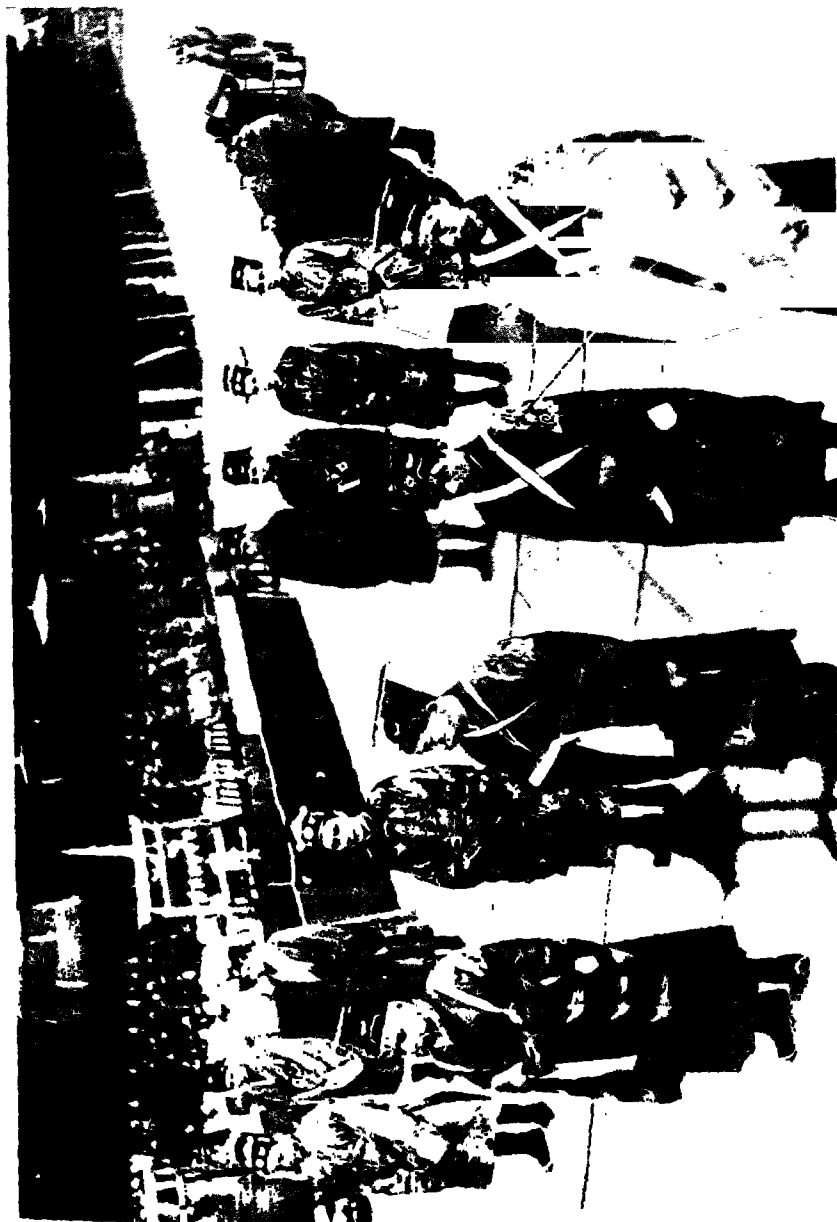
GENERAL VIEW OF THE NAM GIAO SET FOR THE SACRIFICIAL CEREMONY.

The Sacrifices of the Son of Heaven.

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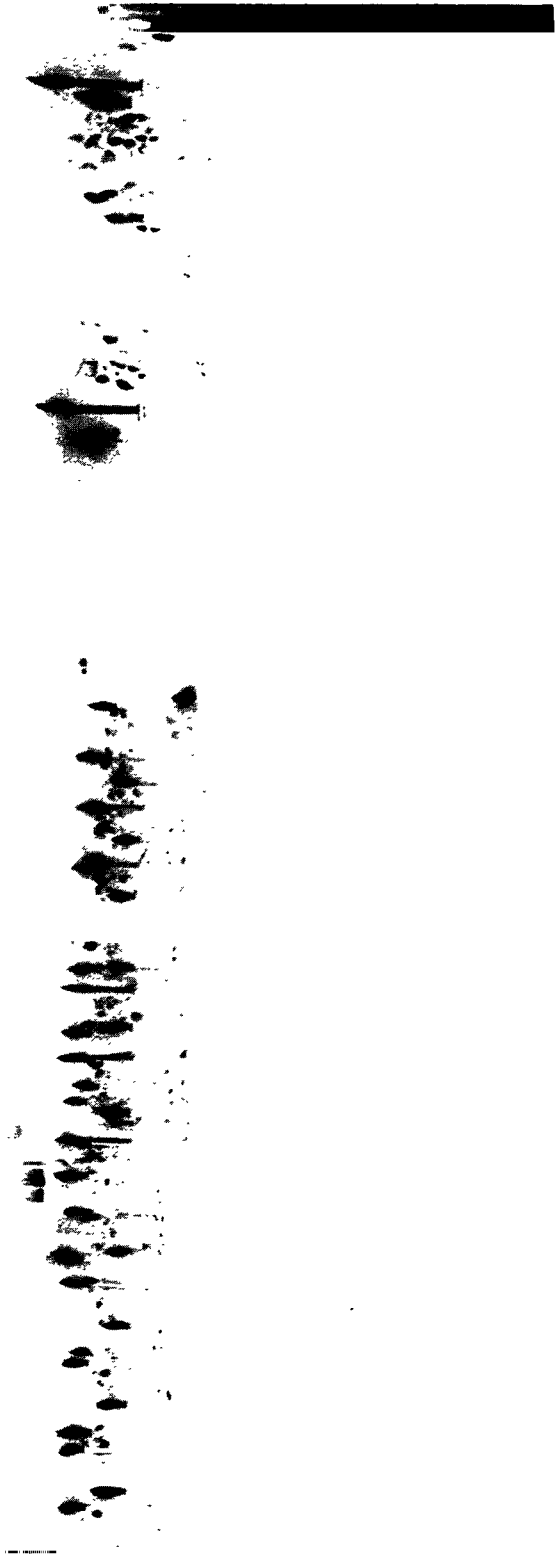
VIEW OF THE NGO MON OR BULL GATE OF THE FORBIDDEN CITY IN HUI.



THE CELEBRANT MANDARINS TAKING PART IN THE REHEARSAL OF THE CEREMONIES.

The Sacrifices of the Son of Heaven.

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INSIDE THE "AZURE HOUSE" LOOKING TOWARDS THE ALTAR OF HEAVEN A FEW MINUTES AFTER THE EMPEROR HAD RETIRED.
This photograph is unique and was taken immediately after the Emperor and his Court had withdrawn.

The Sacrifices of the Son of Heaven.

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calendars. In the Han legends, fabricated to give the impression that the innovations of the dynasty were but a return to the good old times, the Chou sovereigns appear, not unnaturally, as the sole masters of the calendar and therefore as the energizers of all the Chinese earth since a late, but most important, rôle of the "Son of Heaven" is that of the ruler of Time for all throughout all China. The uniform calendar dates only from the reform of the Emperor Wu in B.C. 104.

The title "Hwang-Ti," or "August Lord," which we translate as Emperor, was assumed by the first sovereign to subject all the Chinese states to a centralized authority. The official designation of the present Emperor of Annam is, in Sino-Annamese, Bao-Dai Hoang-Dê. Since we may take it as certain that the Chou rulers sacrificed to Heaven upon High Places to the south of their cities and that they called themselves "Sons of Heaven," the ceremonies performed by the Emperor of Annam last April are, in their essentials, over three thousand years old.

* * * * *

What we call Confucianism is, above all, a literary product. The Han Emperors had chronicles falsified and history books forged on an heroic scale; thus, the documents purporting to describe in detail the rituals of Chou times are certainly not reliable.

Confucianism, which we tend to regard as a religion, is much more a system of government and the philosophy thereof. One Universal Order is thought to control the phenomena of nature and, through the Sovereign, who is Heaven's depositary upon Earth, social phenomena and human relations. Heaven and Earth are regarded as the Father and Mother of all living things which owe their spirit to Heaven and their substance to Earth. Heaven is thus the centre of a Norm which is diffused throughout matter. When the Emperor is virtuous, the heavenly influence passes without let or hindrance, permeates the people and keeps them in an apparently spontaneous state of obedience and honesty.

The power of any dynasty results from a Virtue or Prestige which goes through a period of plenitude, of decline, of temporary revival, of decay and of death. A family can only furnish Sons of Heaven as long as Heaven extends to its members the Investiture, and this celestial mandate is, essentially, fleeting. Heaven is changeable and inexorable. The "Great Happiness" only occurs once. "In jedem Frühling gibt's nur einer Mai." Every dynasty which clings to power when its time is up becomes in effect illegitimate. Hence, the last sovereigns of a race are always tyrants and rebels against Heaven's will. We are a long way from mediæval European conceptions of sovereignty and still farther

from the Japanese newly refurbished legends of an Imperial line ruling "through ages eternal."

Such an eminently scholarly and literary dogma—although based upon a close observation of the rules of human existence—is an excuse for, or at least a mitigation of, absolute rule and, as such, well fitted to satisfy the sceptical and critical Chinese intelligence.

This conception of the State, however, postulates a State cult whereby the Emperor and his ministers may seek to enter into communion with the Universal Order and, for as long a time as possible, endeavour to conciliate its favours. A cult undertaken directly by the people themselves would be contrary to the harmony of things, since subjects cannot with impunity go above the head of their natural intermediary. Such an action would attract stray forces which are present in the universe, and the people would be incited to crime and rebellion.

The Chinese and, therefore, the Annamese, view of "legitimacy" is that if all is well the ruler is "legitimate." If things go badly it is a proof that Heaven's favours have been withdrawn. Of course, the people's idea of what constitutes welfare and that of the sovereign and of his advisers may not always be the same; in most Eastern countries, however, the fact that a ruler rules is good *a priori* evidence that he is the right man.

* * * * *

The High Place built by the Emperor Gia-Long is within a rectangular walled temenos which is surrounded by a great grove of high trees. In the middle of the enclosure are three terraces, each one set within and above the other. The two lower are square and the uppermost is circular.

According to Chinese tradition, the south is the propitious direction *par excellence* and its colour is red. Confucius states that an altar should be set up towards the south in order that the region of the Yang or male principle—that is, that of Heaven—may be thereby symbolized. For many centuries now the eminence mentioned by Confucius has been elaborated into the triple-terraced mound whose terraces communicated with each other by means of flights of stone steps set one at each of the four cardinal points.

When an auspicious date for the sacrifices has been determined by the Court astrologers, about a month before the day set for the ceremony, an Imperial Delegate reads aloud, at midnight, on the second or Earth Terrace, an Imperial Rescript announcing to Heaven and to Earth that upon such and such a day his Imperial Master will offer up to them the ritual sacrifices. The tablet upon which the proclamation is inscribed is then solemnly burned.

Some weeks before the ceremony the ritual victims are chosen.

These should consist of buffaloes, goats and pigs, but with each triennial celebration fewer and fewer beasts are slaughtered. The offerings made within the sacred tabernacle consist of two pieces of jade, one symbolizing Heaven and the other Earth, three bolts each of red, blue and yellow silk, betel, wine, flowers and beeswax candles.

The Chinese Emperors sacrificed to Heaven at the winter solstice, to the Earth at the summer solstice and to the Imperial Ancestors during the first month of spring. Each sacrifice was held at a different holy place. The imposing white marble altars to Earth in the north and to Heaven in the south or Nan-Kiao (the Sino-Annamese Nam-Giao) of Pekin are still today among the most beautiful and moving vestiges of past Imperial splendours.

In Annam the combined sacrifice to Heaven, to Earth and to the Imperial Ancestors and Predecessors takes place generally, as this year, in April.

* * * * *

On the morning of April 13 last, we had to be, by six o'clock, on the north side of the River of Perfumes and within the dull red walls of Hué citadel. No one, apparently, had gone to bed the night before; slender little Annamese in their black tunics and white trousers and pretty girls in multi-coloured robes crowded the streets. The wayside altars set under red baldachins wafted clouds of aloes-wood and benzoin incense among the crowd, while the whole town was gay with bunting, flags and red paper streamers inscribed with messages of good luck. At each corner of the anachronistically named Clemenceau bridge over the River of Perfumes stood a huge elephant, gently swaying, covered with red and gold trappings and long howdah cloths embroidered with dragons.

Within the walls of the citadel, constructed by French engineers for the Emperor Gia-Long, the outermost gate of the Forbidden City gives on to a vast esplanade. The triple-doored gateway, which, like its counter-part in Pekin, bears the name of Ngo-Mon, or Bull Gate, is crowned with a loggia whose roof of yellow tiles and pleasingly *Louis XVI-chinoiserie* appearance is heightened by a number of French gilt armchairs for the ladies of the Imperial family. (Plate II.)

The whole thing formed a good drop-scene for an interminable cortège which extended far to the right and left of the Palace entrance, leaving free only a rectangular paved space before the Bull Gate.

On either side to the right and to the left stretched, in the brilliant morning sunshine, lines and lines of soldiers, standard-bearers, dancers, musicians, mandarins, carriers of portable altars

. . . a dazzling mass of reds, yellows, blues and greens with every now and then a golden umbrella or an astrological flag showing above the mass. There were mandarins in multi-coloured robes, black butterfly wing hats and curly tipped high boots, soldiers in scarlet and yellow wearing limpet-shaped helmets, dancers in dark blue and pale green carrying lanterns and garlanded with flowers, the bearers of the banners of the Planets, of the Sun, of the Moon and of the Constellations, the carriers of hundreds of multi-coloured streamers on high poles, generals in green and violet brocade mounted on shaggy little ponies, the bearers of the Imperial Flabelli, of the Table of the Wine of Felicity, of the Chair of the Nine Dragons. . . .

The procession is composed of three parts, one to the right, one to the left and one which emerges from the main gateway with the Emperor. All three join up and form a long scintillating, serpentine procession from the Palace to the Nam-Giao.

When a salute of nine guns announced that the Sovereign had set out from his palace within the Forbidden City, the heralds shouted in high-pitched "ritual" voices down great long bronze curved trumpets such as are used in Tibetan temples. The drums rolled and, in antiphony, the gongs throbbed; then, to the sound of lithophones and bronze bells, there came through the Ngo-Mon soldiers in red and gold, the bearers of the Tables of the Cult, five Imperial litters, a general in richly embroidered robes, horses from the Imperial stables shaded under yellow umbrellas, bearers of gongs, standards, the Precious Jade, and the Characters of Good Augury. Next appeared a portable table on which was laid out the Emperor's ceremonial costume, carried by six men and shaded by two parasols, then the Imperial gilt palanquin, four ranks of imperial guards bearing the Emperor's own ceremonial objects—incense burners, lanterns, Imperial swords, halberds—then the Imperial coach guarded by twenty soldiers, the Imperial chair, more tables, more ceremonial robes ceremonially carried, and then at last the Imperial Litter of black and gold lacquer with windows on all sides half-way down, in which sits the Emperor, clad in yellow silk robes with a yellow turban on his head. The litter, it may be noted, was presented to the ruler of Annam of the day by Louis XVI.

After the Emperor came the Princes of the Blood, the Court mandarins in full ceremonial dress driving in rickshaws, the Governor-General of Indochina, the provincial Residents and their suite in motor-cars. The ranks on the left closed in: more and more banners, little boy dancers in blue carrying flowers and looking very Indonesian—a vision rather of Bali than of Peking. . . . The Imperial procession moved slowly off.

We cut across the esplanade, got through one of the gates in the outer wall, crossed the River of Perfumes on a sampan, found our car and, moving up by back streets, got to the little platform we had arranged on the Nam-Giao road in time to see the whole procession pass again.

The Emperor makes, of course, no motion or movement to his people. Cheering is unknown in the East, and it is only within quite recent times that the Annamese have been allowed to gaze upon the face of their sovereign. Until the fall of the Empire the rulers of China proceeded to their places of sacrifice through emptied streets.

The cortège of over two thousand people takes more than two hours to reach the Nam-Giao through the narrow, crowded and tree-shaded streets which wind up from the southern side of the river. The sacred space of the Nam-Giao is surrounded by a rectangular wall some twelve feet high with four gates set one at each of the cardinal points. Each gate is adorned with flags of ritual colour, black for the north, red for the south, and so forth. Each flag is embroidered with the characters for its particular direction. Before each gate and some distance from it is a spirit screen of masonry covered with designs of dragons.

By ten o'clock the Emperor had reached the Nam-Giao and, skirting the wall of the temenos, had entered his House of Fasting, where he must remain in meditation until the time of the sacrifice.

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In the afternoon there is an elaborate rehearsal of the actual ceremonies. The uppermost terrace is covered by a great blue circular and tent-shaped tabernacle, with its entrance towards the south. The tabernacle is surmounted by a knop, and the whole thing irresistibly reminds one of the shape of the felt huts of the nomads of central Asia. The form is no doubt very ancient and may go back to Chou times. On the second terrace is a number of subsidiary altars, some set beneath yellow and some beneath blue baldachins.

Ladies may be present at the rehearsal, which attracts a great throng of people since for the actual ceremony very few invitations are issued and women are forbidden to approach so much as the precincts of the holy place.

Meanwhile, the Emperor and his assistant mandarins are observing what is known as the Great Abstinence. No wine must be drunk, no onions or garlic eaten and strict chastity must be maintained. The sovereign is purified with baths, a highly special and archaic diet and prayer.

The rehearsal is rather disappointing; the glare, the dust, the noise, the garish costumes and the theatrical-property character of

many of the instruments of music combined with the atmosphere of a garden-party at Government House are distracting, but only at the rehearsal can photographs be taken. At night during the actual ceremony not only is it forbidden to use a camera but the semi-darkness makes photography almost impossible. In fact, photographers are as unwelcome at the sacrifice as ladies or living animals, for the essence of ritual is that it should be performed in a certain and established way and that the officiants should comply with certain physical requirements. In the older cults it is a graver sin to do a good thing in a wrong way than to do a bad thing in a right way; in fact, it is inconceivable that anything good can be done otherwise than in accordance with the Rites, for sin is not so much moral transgression as ignorance of or failure to observe the Rites.

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On the Night of Sacrifice thousands of lamps are set on the walls of the outer barrier of the Nam-Giao, great lanterns overhang the gates and huge torches burn at each angle of the lowest terrace. In the south-west corner the flames from the pyre of the buffalo victims dance high up and throw long shadows over and from the surrounding trees. The air is heavily scented with aloeswood and benzoin incense. The dancers, the musicians and their instruments are massed in dark rows from the steps of the lowest terrace towards the southern gateway of the Nam-Giao wall. Rows and rows of mandarins are lined up on the terraces and on either side of the stairways. There are hundreds of beeswax candles on the altars and a huge beam of brilliance shoots out from the entrance to the Azure House (as the tabernacle is called), and cuts through the thick velvety blackness of an Annamese night. Within the Azure House are the altars to Heaven, to Earth and to the shrines of the Imperial Ancestors bearing the inscription "Ten Thousand Years, Ten Thousand."

The few visitors—I was the only non-French European present—are massed in small groups on the first and second terraces half hidden in the shadows. There is a great silence.

At the Fifth Watch, that is two hours after midnight, the Emperor leaves the House of Fasting in his golden litter.

Slowly from the far western side and moving round the outer wall of the temenos crawls a flickering line of torches. The Son of Heaven is approaching. The heralds cry out through the night in a piercing falsetto, "Ring the bells, beat the drums."

The sovereign wears the antique traditional costume of the Emperors of China in their rôle as High Priests of the Nation. On his head is a tight-fitting helmet-like headdress surmounted by a flat rectangular board covered with stuff from which hang down

twenty-four pendentives, twelve in front and twelve behind—that is the “number of Heaven” symbolizing the months of the year and the Emperor’s task as lord of the calendar. He is robed in a dark purple long-sleeved robe embroidered with golden dragons and other symbols of majesty, he wears a yellow pleated skirt. Round his waist is a leather girdle studded with precious stones, from it hang long pendants of metal which make, with every movement, the ritual clanging noises. Crossing his breast is a narrow stole. On his legs and feet are thick-soled curly tipped high boots, and in his hands he clasps a long tablet of green jade. The assistant mandarins wear similar robes but of different colours. Throughout the sacrificial ceremonies the Emperor walks with a peculiarly stiff, archaic and hieratic gait, and makes no turns but at right angles.

The mandarins who do not directly participate in the sacrificial ceremonies wear their ordinary state robes—long tunic, high boots, high black bonnet with dragonfly wings and a girdle with pennate projections behind. (Plate III.)

The Emperor, surrounded by his attendants and his mandarins, is carried up the steps into the sanctuary of the Azure House and the long, complicated rite begins.

The silence is only interrupted by the crackling of the firewood on the sacrificial pyre. The impression you get is of something so immensely antique as to be timeless.

Inside the tabernacle three heralds hold up high before them three small ritual books, and from them they sing the rubrics in a high-toned voice that seems to come from very far away in space and in time.

They shriek, “Prepare to enter”—“Strike the gong and the drum”—“Let the Officiant approach, let him wash his hands and wipe them”—“Let His Majesty kneel”—“Let the dancers dance,” and so forth.

Essentially, the ceremony is a communion of a very archaic sort.

Nothing can be heard beyond the shrill and quavering voices of the heralds, the jangling and clicking of the metal pendants, the sizzling of the torches and the wind in the trees.

First comes the washing of hands and then, in order, the cremation of the sacrificial buffalo, without, the burying of its blood and hair after the portions for communion have been removed, the offering of incense, the Advent of the Spirits, the offerings of Jade and Silk, the offering up of the sacrificial flesh and the food of the Spirits, the first offering of Wine, the recital of the Prayer, the distribution of the offerings, the second and third oblations of Wine and then the communion.

From time to time, as the rites proceed, the dancers dance their stately steps, outside, to the sound of gongs, lithophones, drums,

the tiger-piano, bells, trumpets, sistra, cymbals and all kinds of music. The singers sing archaic chants such as the "Song of Happy Augury," "The Chant of the Exquisite" or the "Hymn of Approbation" in minor key and five-toned scale.

The Emperor advances very slowly to the altar—the time spent in the Azure House is a whole watch of the night—three times he advances and prostrates himself before the inscribed tablets of Heaven. After each prostration he returns to his place on the mat farthest from the altar, while new offerings are being prepared: at last the acolytes and co-celebrants fetch from the innermost altar the wine and meat now consecrated and holy.

The heralds cry out, "Compose thy mien" and other directions, which remind one of the *στῶμεν καλῶς* and the *πρόσκωμεν* of the Byzantine ritual. After many genuflections, prostrations and obeisances the Emperor kneels before the altar with a co-celebrant on either side of him. All the celebrants, assistants, acolytes and mandarins without the Azure House at the other altars and shrines kowtow to the ground.

One celebrant cries aloud to the Son of Heaven: "Drink the Wine of Happiness."

The Emperor takes the cup, raises it to his forehead and hands it on. The other celebrant calls out: "Receive the Meat of Felicity," and the sovereign does with the platter as with the cup. For a short moment he enters into direct contact with the Divinity of Heaven. (Plate IV.)

Part of the offerings and the prayer tablets are then burned while the "Hymn of Celestial Succour" is intoned. Not long afterwards the Son of Heaven leaves the Azure House as he came to it, and as slowly, on his way of return to the House of Fasting.

The musicians sing the "Chant of Happiness."

The Imperial cortège fades into the night, leaving streaks of light against the darkness.

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A few minutes later we were sitting in a tent outside the walls of the Nam-Giao, drinking champagne and eating caviar sandwiches with the Governor-General and his suite in full uniform and decorations, while the Minister of Rites welcomed us in the name of the Emperor.

It is pleasing to chat in colloquial rather Latin quarter French with a man robed in the vestments of Han China who has just taken part in rites going back to the beginning of civilization in the Far East.

FRANCE IN THE FAR EAST

BY CHARLES A. KINCAID, C.V.O.

At the request of the Institute of Pacific Relations two eminent French writers have recently published books on the French in the Far East.* Written with the usual Gallic distinction, they enable the English writer to grasp easily the difficulties and the achievements of the French people in Eastern Asia.

In the first of these two books, M. Lévy has described the relations of France with Japan, New Zealand, the Dutch Indies and the Malay Peninsula; but, as is natural, the main part of his work deals with the French connection with China. This goes back to the seventeenth century, when French Jesuits had acquired considerable influence with the Chinese Government. Unhappily the Imperial favour roused against the Jesuits the jealousy of other Catholic congregations. The Chinese Government, weary of their altercations, dismissed the Christian missionaries. Although individual French divines remained, French political influence dwindled to nothing until the signing of the Treaty of Tientsin in 1858, supplemented by the Berthémy Convention of 1865. The Treaty and the Convention conferred on the French Catholic missions the right of protecting not only Catholic converts of all nationalities, but of representing Christian missions of all denominations. Of the high contracting powers—viz., Russia, England, the United States and France—the last was the only Roman Catholic one. It was therefore natural that France should be appointed protector of all Catholic missions. Her nomination as representative of Christians of all sects was a high tribute to her excellence in literature, arms and diplomacy.

Unhappily this privileged position has since been greatly curtailed. The Chinese Government have forbidden foreign missions to acquire land. Germany and Italy have insisted on protecting the rights of their own missions. Nevertheless French Jesuits at Shanghai and Lazaristes around Peking have continued to teach to the Chinese youth the most lucid and flexible of modern languages. Recently, however, the immense growth of English and American commerce in the Far East has made a knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon tongue a necessary part of every Chinese gentleman's education. Still the French Jesuits have the whole-

* *La Politique française en Extrême Orient*, 1936-1938, by Roger Lévy (Paris: Chambre d'Études de Politique Étrangère); *L'Évolution économique de l'Indo Chine française*, by Charles Robequain (Paris: Paul Hartmann).

hearted support of the Vatican; and since their liturgy is conducted in Latin, Catholic Chinese have no great difficulty in learning French owing to the similarity of the two languages. The Jesuits have also risen to the occasion and are now ready to teach their converts English provided they also study French. At the present moment the French missionaries own 6,722 churches in China, while their Chinese followers number 1,817,921.

The financial interests of France in China were at one time second only to those of England. The savings of the French people went in millions to build Chinese railways, canals and public buildings. For many years the Imperial Government paid regularly the interest due to French bondholders. In more modern times the collapse of the Chinese administration has caused the dividends to vanish. Once again, however, French investors are lending money to Chiang Kai Shek in the hope that he may restore good government. Once France supplied the bulk of the weapons and munitions needed by Chiang Kai Shek's armies by means of the Haiphong-Yunnan Railway. Unfortunately, the French Government, "with prudence pushed to extreme lengths," yielded to Japan's demand to stop their transport. This act of prudence or weakness threw the arms trade into the hands of the English. A great motor road has been built across Burma from Rangoon to Yunnan. Thence the Chinese have continued it to their present capital. For the moment, owing to the Germanic peril, no increase in French influence nor in trade can be anticipated. There is, however, no reason why, after the present war, a victorious France should not once more recover the privileged position of the Second Empire.

The work of M. Charles Robequain, although longer than that of M. Lévy, is confined to French Indo-China. Here, again, it was the zeal of the Society of Jesus that first brought the French to China. The most notable of these Jesuits was Father Alexander of Rhodes. Born in Avignon in 1591, he reached Tonkin in 1627, where he made a long stay. He wrote several books that until the nineteenth century remained the chief source of information about the country. After the missionaries came the traders, and in the eighteenth century the French East India Company began to explore the commercial possibilities of Indo-China. In 1787 a French force reinstated an Annamite prince, Nguyen Anh, who had been driven from his country by a revolt. The grateful monarch bestowed on the King of France a seaport and an island.

The Revolution destroyed the good relations of the two countries, and the Annamite emperors began to persecute the missions. In 1859 a joint Franco-Spanish expedition took Saigon, and by 1884 the French were masters of a large part of Cochin China and

were protectors of Annam and Tonkin. In 1893 Siam ceded the district of Laos. Finally, by the Franco-Siamese Treaty of 1907, the frontiers of Indo-China were definitely settled. The administration of the new possession was made admirably efficient. A French Governor-General is in complete control. Cambodia and Annam are his protectorates. Tonkin and Laos have still native princes with limited powers. In Cochin China rules a French Governor under the orders of the Governor-General.

The population of French Indo-China is 72 per cent. Annamite. In the tenth century A.D. this warlike people began to overflow into the rich south. They absorbed from India a high civilization that found expression in the marvellous temples of Angkor so admirably restored by the devotion, energy and learning of the *École Française d'Extrême Orient*. The next largest group are the Khmers of Cambodia, but in addition there are numerous smaller communities—viz., Thais, Muongs, Indonesians, Mans and Meos. The last three are the mountaineers of Indo-China.

The French conquest naturally produced an immigration of Europeans; but their number has never been large and it does not increase. The Annamite takes readily to education, and it has been the French policy to fill the lower grades of the civil services with natives as rapidly as possible, so as to avoid the presence of underpaid discontented Frenchmen, who might tend to lower the repute of the administration. In 1937 the Europeans of both sexes barely exceeded 43,000, and when it is realized that this figure includes Japanese, Filipinos, Pondicherry Indians and half-castes, it will be admitted that the total is not excessive.

The pacification of Indo-China stimulated the immigration of another foreign race—namely, the Chinese. Annam long formed a part of the Chinese empire, and during that period Chinese immigration was considerable. Moreover, the immigrants married as a rule women of the country and were extremely prolific. The independence of Annam checked the advent of the Chinese; but the conquest of the French enabled Chinese immigration to begin again. It increased with the disorder of China. The intellectual superiority of the newcomers over the natives, their industry and their power of combination, gave them a great advantage, and they were for a time preferred as Government clerks in the public offices; but the teaching of the French schools and the example of the diligence and clear thinking of the French have created a supply of young Annamites who are the intellectual equals of the Chinese. Knowing the country and speaking the language as their mother tongue, they are now obtaining, as is only right, a larger share of the public appointments.

One of the most important questions that face a European

Government in the East is that of transport. Transport in Indo-China had been almost exclusively river-borne. The country was fortunate in the number of its navigable waterways. The chief of these is the Red river. After its junction with its tributaries the Clear river and the Black river, the volume of its waters is double that of the greatest river of France, the Rhone, after its junction with the Durance. Another important waterway is the Mekong with its defluents the Vaicos, the Saigon river and the Dongnai. These, helped by the tides, enabled coasting vessels to penetrate far into the interior. The defect, however, of river transport is that it can supply only riverain tracts. At the time when the French became masters of Indo-China, railways were believed to be the forerunners of a new millennium. The French Government therefore built hundreds of miles of metre-gauge tracks; they have not fulfilled the hopes of their builders. They have conveyed millions of passengers to all parts of the colony, but very little heavy goods. For besides the rivers there are other competitors of the steam engine, notably elephants, cattle and men; for portage by animals and human beings is still available and cheap. In more recent times the administration has built motor roads, dug canals and has started air services. It is as yet too early to say whether these enterprises will be commercially successful, especially as the present war has reduced all expenditure on public works.

The crops in which French capital has chiefly interested itself are rice, coffee, tea and rubber. At one time it was believed in Paris that large numbers of French families could profitably emigrate to Indo-China as they had emigrated to Algeria; but the distance, the different climate and the prevalence of malaria have discouraged agricultural settlement. Very few French colonial soldiers serving in Indo-China remain there on discharge, and the account they give of it is not calculated to tempt emigrants. French capital has therefore had to rely on the labour of natives, bound under contract for a term of years. By their toil plantations of rice, tea, coffee and rubber have been successfully created. Of these the most lucrative have been the rubber plantations. The fall, however, in the price of rubber from eight shillings and tenpence in 1910 to elevenpence in 1925 hit the rubber planters very hard. For a short time the Stevenson plan restored to them prosperity, but when that was dropped, complete ruin faced the planters. The French Government saved them by making liberal advances and closing the rubber market of France to all producers save those in her own colonies. The advances have all been repaid; and cultivation has so increased that in 1943 60,000 tons of rubber will be shipped, so it is anticipated, to the port of Marseilles.

One last question remains. How has French rule affected the indigenous population? Have they vanished like the Red Indians, the Caribs and the Tasmanian blacks? Happily, the contrary has happened. The population has grown and not diminished. Are the natives happier than they used to be? Here again an affirmative answer can be given. Yet poverty has not been wholly banished. The misery of the peasantry is still here and there deplorable to the traveller, who leaves the cities and enters the distant villages; and this, too, in spite of the vast increase in the country's wealth. The growth in the population has prevented a proportionate increase in the happiness of the individual. A prolific people, barely able to make headway against the acts of God, or of the king or of the king's enemies, has suddenly found itself protected against famine, foreign invasions and civil turmoil, and it has continued reproduction at a rate suitable to its old conditions. Unless births are artificially restricted, the condition of the inhabitants will fall back to what it was before the coming of the French. Fortunately, the idea that families should be limited is spreading among the more educated Indo-Chinese and will in time reach the peasantry. When birth restriction is universally practised, over-population will disappear and the inhabitants of Indo-China will be able to enjoy to the full the benefits of French civilization.

MALAYA AND THE ECONOMIC WAR

BY E. JAGO

(Deputy Agent, Malayan Information Agency)

IN the economic warfare now being waged against Nazi Germany, one of the most important units in the Empire is British Malaya.

This may seem at first sight an exaggerated claim to make for a small strip of equatorial land barely the size of England without Wales, more than three-quarters of whose surface is still clothed in uncleared jungle, and whose population numbers no more than five million. Of this population, the sons of soil, the Malays, comprise less than half; Europeans serving there number only some 25,000; and, although Chinese of many dialects and Indians of numerous races form the bulk of the remainder, few races are not represented in this most cosmopolitan country. And, as if racial diversity were not a sufficient complication, the area of little more than 52,000 square miles is divided into no fewer than seven separate administrations: the three port areas of Singapore, Penang, and Malacca, which form the Straits Settlements; four States, Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan, Pahang, forming the Federated Malay States; and the five States of Johore, Kedah, Kelantan, Trengganu, and Perlis, outside the Federation.

But in matters economic, trade returns speak for themselves. These plainly show that in years of active world trade the value of Malayan exports and imports exceeds that of the total external trade of the whole of the rest of the colonial dependencies put together, the value of exports per head of the population exceeding that of any other country in the world. Even last year, a most depressing period in commodity markets, Malaya's foreign trade was worth £131,191,000. The year before the value was £183,987,000.

The wealth indicated by these remarkable totals arises from rich natural resources combined with a unique geographical position. It would, however, be an omission not to recognize that these natural advantages drew many races in their turn to the country: the Malays themselves, Chinese, Indians, Arabs, Portuguese, and Dutch, without any great use being made of the wealth lying hidden in swamp and jungle. It was not until British administration put an end to chronic petty warfare and piracy, and large-scale hygienic measures converted one of the least into one of the most healthy of tropical lands, that any real development was pos-

sible. Nowhere is this so well recognized as on the spot; and it is not the least of the Allies' advantages at this hour that such rich resources should be in hands so genuinely attached to the Empire.

Tin was the magnet which for centuries drew the many different races to the Malay Peninsula, and its mines are still the world's chief source of supply. Malaya is also the world's chief producer of rubber. Shipments of these two indispensable raw materials from Malayan ports during the past three years were worth over £173,000,000. Although they are dwarfed by these huge figures, there are numerous other products of considerable value. Copra, iron-ore, palm-oil, coconut-oil, areca nuts, canned fruit, jelutong, are each exported to a value of approximately one million pounds a year.

That the Allies should have virtually unlimited supplies of essential raw materials assured to them is of vital importance. But Malaya produces far more of them than the Allies can use themselves; and by the Finance Regulations operative throughout Malaya all sales to neutral countries will furnish Britain with what will prove of steadily increasing value—foreign exchange. The United States of America alone has purchased Malayan rubber and tin to a value of over £100,000,000 in the last three years, and any prosperity arising as a result of the war will be quickly reflected in an enhanced demand for Malayan rubber by America, which has more private automobiles than the rest of the world put together.

Of considerable assistance to Home exporters are the war regulations in Malaya restricting imports of an exceedingly wide range of goods from countries on a non-sterling basis. Although introduced to conserve foreign exchange, this canalization of imports provides a great opportunity for English manufacturers. Materials and machinery for tin mines, plantations, factories, public works, railways, hospitals, are in constant demand; and the varied requirements of the European and Asiatic populations and of the large garrison in Singapore await the English exporter. Last year shipments of manufactured goods from the United Kingdom to Malaya were worth £12,000,000, not one-third of the total value of this class of import; so that there is plenty of room for expansion in a market eager to buy from the Home Country.

Malaya owes much to its geographical situation. London, opposite the continent of Europe, and Hong-Kong, facing China, enjoy exceptional advantages for trade. But the position of Malaya, and particularly of its great port of Singapore, is unique. It stands at the intersection of several of the main waterways of the world. It is the trade centre of the richest archipelago on the globe. Its connections stretch eastward to China, Japan, and America, southward to Australia and New Zealand, and westward to India, Africa, and Europe. Ships of every nation call at Singa-

pore, which has probably a larger transshipment trade than any other port. The same strategic advantages which led to Singapore being chosen as the Empire's greatest combined fleet, air, and army base operate in the economic war; trade tentacles from this long-established banking and trade centre extend all over South-East Asia, and enemy trading operations are severed over an immense area eight thousand miles away from Europe, before the goods can even begin their homeward voyage.

That Malaya cannot fail to benefit from the increased demands that war may bring for her products is obvious. But she will not be the only beneficiary. As Sir Shenton Thomas, the Governor and High Commissioner, said a few days ago in a speech warmly received by his audience, "Malaya did not desire to profit from the war, and everyone wished to relieve the fearful burden of taxation carried by those at home." The occasion was the announcement that special war taxation would be introduced, the proceeds of which would be offered to the Imperial Government as a contribution to the cost of the war. During the period between the two great wars, Malayan gifts to the cost of Imperial Defence amounted to £20,000,000; and the first contribution of £80,000, by the Malaya Patriotic Fund, still heads the list of the Mansion House Red Cross and St. John Fund. Mixed as the population is, and differing as its members do in language, custom, and creed, they have looked round Asia these last few years, and round Europe, too; and they appreciate full well the reason why they, a small people in a rich land, are able to continue living peacefully, each in his own way, while so many other countries have been ravaged by fire and sword. The outbreak of this second great war evoked unanimous and heartfelt expressions of loyalty from the representatives of all the various races in the country. The outlook in Asia is still obscure, and it is impossible to see what lies ahead. But everyone in Malaya knows that all that can be done to make her defences impregnable has been done. Ready as all are to make a more spectacular contribution should it prove necessary, the universal determination today is to devote the whole resources of Malaya to the successful prosecution of the war.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF NETHERLANDS ADMINISTRATION IN THE EAST INDIES

BY CHARLES M. MORRELL, F.R.G.S.

IN order properly to appreciate the Netherlands administration of their Far Eastern Empire, it is necessary briefly to examine the historical events out of which the present-day structure has arisen.

For many hundreds of years the general conception of a colony was a place from which the so-called mother country could extract the greatest amount of wealth in the shortest possible time—the welfare of the inhabitants of the colony in question was of no importance at all. The object of this article is to show how the original quest for wealth which attracted the Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch and British merchant adventurers of the sixteenth century to the Far East, coupled with their commercial rivalry (which generally meant war), has, through tortuous stages, gradually led to the Netherlands administration of the present day, which is universally admitted to be a model of good colonial government, labouring unceasingly for the welfare of the natives.

The opening of the sixteenth century marks a long series of struggles between the above-mentioned European Powers and the various native inhabitants of the Malay Archipelago, which did not finally cease until the nineteenth century. Sometimes these powers fought amongst themselves for the natural wealth of the Archipelago, sometimes against the natives, but it was always the natives who suffered.

The Portuguese appear to have been the first on the scene; in 1511 they captured the town of Malakka on the mainland of Asia, after which they sailed further south-east and arrived at Bantam in West Java. The following year the Portuguese reached the Celebes and settled there. They also settled in North Sumatra.

In 1521 the Spaniards arrived in the Moluccas under the leadership of Magellan, who had previously successfully penetrated the Straits which now bear his name. It was not until 1529 that the Spaniards actually established themselves in the Moluccas, and three years later they were bought out by the Portuguese, and, it is stated, renounced their claim against a payment of 350,000 ducats, but not before friction had taken place which resulted in fighting and finally the forcible expulsion of the Spaniards.

In the Philippines, however, the Spaniards had more success, and captured Manilla in 1571. The first English to visit the Archi-

pelago were Drake and his companions in 1578 during their famous voyage in the *Pelican*. In the meantime Portugal had become a dependency of Spain, and the close of the sixteenth century seems to mark the decline of the Spanish-cum-Portuguese power in the Archipelago, and today the only piece of territory which remains Portuguese is a portion of the island of Timor many hundreds of miles to the east of Java.

The Dutch arrived under Houtman in 1596, and the struggle for supremacy became mainly a three-cornered one between the Dutch, British and the many native races. The Spaniards—based on the Philippines—occasionally joined in the hostilities, and although, with the Portuguese, they occasionally achieved some successes, their final decline was only a matter of time, and it was Van Dieman who finally delivered what seems to have been a mortal blow by capturing Malakka in 1642. Possibly the fact that Portugal had previously been separated from Spain and had become independent contributed to her downfall. It is recorded that various British commercial missions visited the Archipelago, notably those sent by Queen Elizabeth and James I. of England. One of them visited Makassar and concluded a commercial treaty with the local king. About 1680 the British sent a mission from Madras to Achin (North Sumatra) in order to obtain permission to build a factory there; they failed to do so, but then turned their attention to South Sumatra, and finally succeeded in establishing a settlement at Benkoelen on the south-west coast.

Generally speaking the whole of the period under review—*i.e.*, up to the end of the seventeenth century—was characterized by a series of intermittent wars, massacres and other atrocities, which continued into the eighteenth century and caused great misery amongst Europeans and native (including the Chinese) inhabitants, but the sufferings of the latter were immeasurably the greater. Nevertheless, it was during the latter part of this period that Holland's power gradually increased, and by the beginning of the nineteenth century she was the predominant power in the East Indies.

The last decade of the eighteenth century witnessed the rise of one of the world's greatest and most picturesque figures—Napoleon, whose dynamic energy and ability subjugated the whole of Europe (with the exception of Great Britain) in an incredibly short space of time.

Britons may thrill with pardonable pride when they remember that it was Wellington who first demonstrated to the world that Napoleon's troops were not invincible, and that the "nation of shopkeepers" possessed men—led by a man—who knew how to protect their shops. The story of Wellington's (at the outset, Sir Arthur Wellesley) exploits in the Peninsula is an epic. He had a

small army, feeble support from the British Government, and unreliable allies who were always quarrelling with him and each other. In spite of these and other almost insuperable difficulties, and faced by the hardened fighters who had conquered a continent, Wellington's patience, perseverance and extraordinary military skill had their reward; the French were finally driven over the Pyrenees and French territory invaded. The writer hopes he may be pardoned for this digression.

By 1811 Holland's East Indian colonies, following the fate of the Netherlands, had become a part of the French Empire. It was then that Thomas Stamford Raffles started his great work, the beneficial results of which exist in the East Indies today. Thanks to Raffles, Java was successfully invaded by the British in 1811, became a British colony and remained so until 1816, when, after the removal of the Napoleonic menace, the East Indies were returned to Holland by the Congress of Vienna. Raffles was Lieutenant-Governor of Java, 1811-1815, and in those few years accomplished an immense amount of work in the interests of the natives. It is recorded that "the native population—chiefs and subordinate people—with accord hailed the new order of things as a boon." Space does not permit even a short review of the many and varied reforms which Raffles introduced, but his primary aim was (to quote a well-known authority) "to use the opportunity of bestowing on a whole nation the freedom which is everywhere the boast of British subjects." He was brilliantly successful, and his reforms and institutions covered a vast range—mainly legal, social and agrarian. Many are substantially operative today—in fact, some of the present methods of Netherlands government in the East Indies are based on Raffles' original conceptions. In fairness it should be recorded that Raffles was ably and loyally assisted by the Dutch officials and very little friction took place.

Under the decision taken by the Congress of Vienna, Java was handed over to the Netherlands authorities on August 16, 1816. Raffles had left Java before they took possession.

The Raffles era had been brought to a close, and the Dutch, in 1816, had again become rulers in the Archipelago. Their task was by no means easy, especially in view of the fact that, whilst prior to the advent of the British, the Dutch rulers were representatives of a commercial company—*i.e.*, the Dutch East India Company, whose sole object was the accumulation of wealth for its shareholders—they were now Government officials representing their sovereign.

Past events had undoubtedly shaken their prestige, and their first and most obvious duty was to restore that prestige—a task in which they were ultimately brilliantly successful, although it naturally took many years to perform.

Raffles had been succeeded in 1816 by John Fendall, who remained at his post for a few months and automatically retired when Java came once more under Dutch rule. His successor was Godert Alexander Gerard Philip Baron van der Capellen.

Of this period a historian writes: "Both Daendels (a former Governor-General of the Indies) and Raffles had learned from experience how difficult it was to break away from old institutions. They had, nevertheless, through their personal energy, set out in the right direction, and the Commission which took over the colonies from the British, conscientiously intended to continue in this direction until one of its members, Baron van der Capellen, went right back to the old methods, and thus automatically prepared for the 'culture-system' epoch, which meant a complete return to the era of the Company in its most evil form."

The good work of the Commission continued until the end of 1818, when it was dissolved, and Baron van der Capellen remained as head of the Government. Then were quickly perceived his leanings towards the old basis of the (Dutch) East Indies Company, the basis of force and monopoly, which at one fell swoop nipped in the bud all the good intentions of the Commission.

Van der Capellen's intentions may have been good; he may have had in view the clearing out of the foreigners—probably Chinese—who may have been taking advantage of the natives; but be that as it may, it soon became apparent that trouble was brewing, and finally an edict relative to land tenure, issued by the Buitenzorg authorities, seems to have been the spark which started the Java war (1825-1830).

The natives, ably led by Dipo Negoro, proved themselves to be first-class guerilla fighters. Vast damage was caused in Middle Java, and it was not until Fls. 20,000,000 had been expended and 15,000 Europeans killed that peace and order were restored. Dipo Negoro died in exile in Makassar in 1855. The good results of the Java war are stated to be as follows: A great number of abuses were brought to light and rectified; the boundaries between the two *Vorstlanden* were better defined which brought to an end the innumerable differences which the former complicated boundaries had caused. The taxation system was revised and improved, and duties were abolished; also the edict concerning land rent contracts (one of the causes of the war) was withdrawn.

Johannes Van den Bosch became Governor-General in 1830, and high hopes were entertained that his ability would rectify the desperate financial plight into which the East Indies had fallen. It was he who put into practical operation the much discussed, criticized and abused, but nevertheless highly successful Culture System. Van den Bosch started off from the basic theory that the principle of enforced cultivation justified its adoption in prefer-

ence to the free-cultivation principle. Amplified, the principle of the Culture System laid down that the only means of obtaining the greatest possible quantity of cheap produce for the motherland was to force the people to raise crops for the Government at low prices.

It is more than probable that the King of the Netherlands appreciated the disadvantages of what amounted to systematically enforced labour, but he undoubtedly felt that this was the only means by which the Archipelago's finances could be put on a sound basis.

It is impossible and unnecessary to set out here the full details of the System, but the following may be of interest :

Governor-General Van den Bosch defended the principles of the System by showing that under the former Javanese regime the native rulers had, by way of taxation, the right to certain portions of their subjects' crops. Obviously, the productivity of the ground, and consequently the proportions of the crop, varied according to the district, but Van den Bosch estimated the average at one-fifth; this fifth was stated to be equal to a fifth part of the time and labour of the agriculturalist, so that the ruler could demand sixty-six days' labour in lieu of the fifth of his crop.

As the kingdom of the Netherlands had become the rulers, Van den Bosch decreed that, with the exception of the *Vorstenlanden*, each *desa* (village) should hand over one-fifth of its harvest to the Government, whilst those who had no share in the communal *desa* land were obliged to work sixty-six days in the Government estates.

In order to avoid the production of crops which were of little or no value to the European trade, Van den Bosch also decreed that the Government should choose the crops which each *desa* should cultivate on the fifth portion of its land, and the amount to be paid for the same.

The Culture System remained substantially operative for some forty years; in spite of its ethical shortcomings and the hardships it inflicted, it was certainly most beneficial to Java. It is estimated by Dutch historians that it yielded some Fls. 832,000,000, and it certainly saved the financial situation. Incidentally, it was the means of teaching the natives to work and cultivate scientifically.

The Culture System was undoubtedly one of the most important economic events in Netherlands Indies history, and paved the way for the twentieth-century prosperity of both European and native. The story of how the Outer Possessions (*i.e.*, the *extra* Java islands of the Archipelago) gradually came under the administration of the Dutch is an interesting one, which, however, is too long to be related in these pages.

Let us now briefly examine present-day methods and their benefit to the natives. The fact that the present population of the Netherlands East Indies is no less than 70,000,000 will convey some idea of the magnitude of our Dutch friends' never-ending task.

The Netherlands East Indies form an integral part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, so that the supreme seat of legislation is in Holland—that is to say, the Queen and States-General constitute the highest legislative power. Nevertheless, in accordance with modern conceptions, a transfer of authority from the Motherland to the Indies is gradually taking place so that it is possible to visualize complete autonomy in the future. The time which must elapse before this actually comes into being very largely depends upon the capacity of the heterogeneous inhabitants of the Netherlands East Indies to develop those many and varied qualities which are essential to a self-governing country. The Governor-General of the Netherlands East Indies carries out his administrative duties in the name of the Queen, and in both his legislative and executive capacities he seeks the advice of the *Raad van Indie* or Council of the Indies, of which he is automatically the president. He is also assisted by the heads of Government Departments and the Commanders-in-Chief of the Army and Navy. The General Secretariat conducts official correspondence and executes decrees.

In 1918 a representative body was created and is known as the Volksraad or People's Council. It was originally designed as an advisory body, but its power has since been increased so that the Governor-General is obliged to bring before it various governmental matters. The Volksraad, as at present constituted, consists of twenty-five European members, thirty native members and five of other origin—mainly Chinese.

Politically, the Netherlands East Indies are divided into the islands of Java and Madoera and the Outer Possessions. These are re-divided into directly administered territory and self-administering territories. The self-administering territories, in which the highest authority is vested in native executive bodies, are subject to a certain measure of control by the Central Government to which they are bound by contract or by treaty. Their executive bodies have a more or less extensive right to self-administration (with their own budget, their own legislation, their own judicature, etc.). The best-known self-administering regions are the so-called principalities in Java (Soerakarta and Jogjakarta), and in the Outer Provinces: Deli, Langkat, Serdang, Asahan and Koetei. There are further sub-divisions into governorships, residences or assistant-residences, according to the importance of the locality; and the general—and very wise—policy is that as far as practicable the native population is governed by the natives them-

selves, and guided by the Dutch. This form of beneficent colonial government works admirably, and is, *inter alia*, an instrument by which the evolution towards autonomy is observed and its tempo regulated.

Sanitary conditions in the Netherlands East Indies contrast very favourably with other Asiatic countries. This is due to the unremitting vigilance of the Government, which especially became prominent when, in the year 1911, a special service was organized, which in later years was called the Public Health Service, administratively belonging to the Department of Education and Worship. As it appeared that the number of European medical doctors was by no means sufficient to supply the needs of the extensive population, a beginning was made in the way of training a native medical staff. Gradually medical education extended, until finally a medical university was established in Batavia. A considerable share of the task done by the Public Health Service is actually carried out by native doctors, while a large part of the lower staff is likewise recruited from the native population. Thus the opportunity exists of following a course, enabling a candidate to obtain the position of assistant nurse (male or female). When this certificate is obtained, he/she can continue his/her studies and obtain the diploma of assistant in the laboratory, accoucheuse or assistant nurse, Grade I., which latter category is placed on the same level as assistant doctors. This training is done in hospitals with favourable results. Furthermore, courses may be followed for becoming dentist, chemist's assistant, analyst, inspector of public health and vaccinator.

The pivot of medical research work is the Central Medical Laboratory, Weltevreden (Java), which is sub-divided into the following sections: hygiene, bacteriology, parasitology and tropical physiology, as well as sections for chemistry, pharmacology and toxicology and malaria.

Excellent work is also done by many laboratories and other institutions, including the Government Vaccine Institute, which provides vaccine for many million vaccinations annually, and the Pasteur Institute. In addition to three large Central Government hospitals, there are at least 8 provincial hospitals, 5 municipal hospitals, 85 small Government hospitals, 84 subsidized hospitals, 3 sanatoria for tuberculous patients, and 219 private (mostly estate) hospitals.

The problem of native education is complicated as can be appreciated from the fact that the system must be adapted so as to satisfy the widely divergent needs and conditions of life of a heterogeneous population—spread over a vast area—whose civilization ranges from the most primitive to the European standard. Roughly speaking it is graded as follows: Municipal *dessa* schools,

kindergartens, secondary schools, professional schools and universities. The last named are technical, law and medicine.

The complicated question of labour is of vital importance to the welfare of the natives, and an immense amount of work has been devoted to it. It is no exaggeration to state that nowhere in the world are the interests of the masses in this connection better catered for than in the Netherlands East Indies. Innumerable rules and regulations exist which are rigorously enforced under the supervision of lynx-eyed Labour Inspectors, and woe betide any employer, be he European or Asiatic, who transgresses them. Naturally the employers are also protected by law as in non-Asiatic countries.

A failure of the rice crop would be a calamity of the first magnitude. Vast irrigation programmes have therefore been carried out by the Government and municipalities and by the natives themselves under the guidance of the Netherlands authorities. Native agriculture is encouraged and assisted in every possible way; in fact, the export of native produce forms a not unimportant factor in the economic structure of the Archipelago. Native fisheries and industries such as textiles, batik work, hat making, tin utensils, etc., are similarly assisted. Savings banks encourage thrift, natives learn to play football and other European games in schools and estates, and they enjoy complete freedom in the observance of their innumerable feasts and ceremonies—religious and otherwise. This last named is quite a problem in itself, and more often than not involves the payment of wages in advance in order to provide funds for the merriment which inevitably ensues. The Government monopoly ensures adequate supplies of salt and many other amenities have been established for the natives' benefit.

Thus the natives of the Netherlands East Indies are taught to work and play, and their health, education, prosperity and general interests are furthered by colonial government at its best. Nevertheless, the Netherlands Indies Government is continually striving to effect further improvements—beneficent colonial administration can never stand still.

INDIA AND THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR PROBLEMS OF THE FUTURE*

BY SIR FIROZKHAN NOON

THE East, and more especially India, has workers' problems which are quite different from those of the West. We were all very happy to remember that last year Mr. Harold Butler paid a visit to India, and I sincerely hope that the present Director will find an early opportunity of going there and to other countries in the East. Unless he has first-hand knowledge of our peoples and of our problems, we feel that the East may not receive that application of his mind which it deserves. In the West the workers are engaged mainly in industry. The vast majority of our workers are engaged in agriculture. If we have been doing things to improve the lot of the worker in industrial concerns, our provincial Governments have not neglected the agricultural workers. Much legislation has been enacted to ameliorate the economic distress of our agriculturists, who form 80 per cent. of our workers. We have problems of our own in the East which may seem quite strange to the people of the West. Nevertheless, no international organization can close its eyes to the suffering of the vast population of the world's workers who live outside Europe. We know that the lot of the agricultural worker cannot be improved easily or quickly, but, as in the case of the industrial worker, so in the case of the agricultural labourer, this International Labour Organization can enormously assist in providing material on which reforms can be based in the future.

We realize in the East that no country which depends almost entirely on agricultural products for its wealth can easily raise the standard of living. The Government of India have for many years consistently followed a policy of encouraging industry in our country with a policy of discriminating protection. I shall give two examples. During the last ten years we have built up the sugar industry, which now supplies the country with its entire demand—originally met completely by imports from abroad—a million tons. We are also producing today 85 per cent. of the cloth that we wear. But why is it that the prices of agricultural products continue to remain low? In the Director's Report we find little material to assist us in drawing conclusions. We have an International Agricultural Institute in Rome which supplies us

* Based on an address delivered at the 25th Session of the International Labour Conference at Geneva, June, 1939.

with some useful statistics. I hope that in the future greater use will be made of those statistics in the Director's Report to give an indication to the member countries of the manner in which they can plan their agricultural economies so as to raise the standard of living amongst the villagers.

Economic planning has been successful in industry, and there is no reason why it should not succeed in agriculture. We have already instances in the case of rubber, tea, and tin where international regulation committees have influenced the world prices in these articles. During the outgoing year two more international committees have been set up in London, for sugar and wheat. Personally I have always held the view that the setting up of an International Raw Cotton Control Committee is desirable. Cotton is the chief money crop of the peasants of India, the United States of America, Egypt, and the Argentine Republic, and the condition of the millions of people who depend on agriculture in those countries can be bettered enormously if the price of cotton can be raised above the low level to which it has fallen. That the price can be raised there is no doubt. America had done so, but eventually failed to keep it up because the other countries did not co-operate. The world should heartily welcome the move by the United States of America for international consultation on this subject, and I hope sincerely that some good will materialize as the result of this move.

On the other hand, I should also like to suggest to Governments that are represented here that they should consider whether it is not worth while controlling artificial substitutes which compete with agricultural products, but which can compete only under the protection of high tariff walls and at the cost of the consumer. There are countries producing synthetic rubber at high cost, while natural rubber—much more effective than the synthetic article in its service to man—is lying idle and worthless in other parts of the world. There are people producing goods out of milk which ought to be drunk by their workers' women and children; and again, but for the use of wood and glass for the production of artificial silk, more cotton would be consumed. I am a great admirer of economic planning and control and of equalizing production with consumption in industry. But such a happy state of affairs can be acceptable only under one condition—namely, that the profit taken away from the producers is to be returned to them for their benefit. I should like to see this share of the profits taken away by the State and spent on providing better education, houses, roads, food, and clothing for the workers and the poor. If, on the other hand, this share of the profits were to be spent on war materials and implements for the destruction of those who have produced that wealth, I fear that all economic planning and

gathering of information and statistics would have been wrongly used. But no country in the East can achieve this while certain countries in Europe continue to use force as the sole arbiter of our problems, and we must all continue to make every sacrifice till democracy and freedom are safe in the world. We seem to have achieved no appreciable rise in the standard of living of the workers throughout the world. It is in view of this that we appreciate all the more the sense of responsibility and spirit of sacrifice shown by workers' delegates in this Conference in dealing with the question of hours of work.

In conclusion I would like to stress that there are people in the West who suffer ignominy and oppression for differences of religion and race. The peoples of Eastern countries have suffered equally and for long for similar reasons, and we can appreciate their position and our hearts go out to them full of sympathy and friendliness. If there are any people in Europe who are not wanted there today, the East is willing to open its arms to them and welcome them as equals and brothers, provided they go there as peace-loving friends. The situation in Europe may throw workers, technicians, and scientists into the heart of Asia. The loss to Europe may prove to be the gain of Asia. In my country you will find that we never wish to turn anybody out of his home. But let those who seek social justice rise out of their misery with clean hands and entirely disassociated from force, which is inhuman, no matter what the cause for which it is exercised.

Today the world is crying for a new morality, a morality under which ethics, the higher instincts of man, his noble emotions, stand no longer repressed by fear and force: a world which may be made to realize that the space in Europe, as in other parts of the world, is limited and fixed. If one nation conquers another for a certain number of years, only to lose that country again to a stronger nation, it seems to me a waste of human effort, life, and wealth. The sooner we realize the right of everyone to live freely and happily in his own country undisturbed and unthreatened by outside influences, the more shall we save the unnecessary waste on armaments and wars, and the happier will be the lot of the worker. But this spirit of self-determination has to be universal. Just as people in the West feel that they have the right to live freely in their countries, we in the East have the same feelings for ourselves, and we are all glad that today the relations between the East and the West stand, on the whole, so happy and pleasant.

We are told that there are nations in Europe which cannot live without colonies. Does it mean that the interests of the non-European workers in the colonies are of no consideration and that their economic resources, which hardly provide a bare living for themselves, are to be sacrificed in favour of European nations?

Have you ever tried to fathom the feelings of these people on this question? We who come from the East feel that if ever in the future any country has to change hands, the interests of its people should be the sole criterion for determining such a change. There may be backward peoples who need protection, assistance, and guidance. If ever there is a question in future as to who should render such assistance, I hope it will be realized that the most appreciated assistance will be that given through an international organization like the League of Nations and not through individual nations. Antagonism, ethical or practical, among the peoples of this earth, must cease. It is true that there are people in the world who have defied the League of Nations and got away with it. It is true that the League of Nations has no sanction behind its verdicts. But let us not forget that the League of Nations, as well as the International Labour Organization, is based on truth and social justice. They provide a means of solving our problems, difficulties, and differences of opinion through peaceful means and not by force. Let us not give up hope in the eventual triumph of right.

It is only through League ideals and international gatherings on practical lines such as this Conference that we can hope for the solution of our troubles and for the bridging of gulfs which at the moment appear so wide, but the fruits of success are sweetest when they are most difficult of achievement. Through hope we shall live and through mutual goodwill we shall succeed.

MYSORE: A LAND OF PROGRESS

BY ROBERT PARRY-ELLIS

INDIA, still in the early years of its industrial life, is a country where progress is, perhaps for this very reason, more strongly accentuated than it would be in either Great Britain or America. The State of Mysore has inaugurated an annual exhibition which might rightly be described as the State's "time-keeper of progress." In each successive year this exhibition chronicles the improvement of each State department and many private enterprises. Inaugurated by the Maharaja, His Highness Sri Krishnarajendra Wadiyar Bahadur, and his brother the Yuvaraja, this exhibition coincides with the national Dasara festival to enable more people to see the progress made by the State in the preceding year. In 1938 more than 135,000 people passed through its gates and the receipts totalled many thousands of rupees. No matter, though, what improvements and innovations have been recorded at this exhibition, it is far more important that those branches of progress which quietly and unobtrusively are asserting themselves in the everyday life of the inhabitants of towns and villages should have precedence. This fact is fully realized by the Mysore Government. A speech made by the Yuvaraja when he opened model homes for the poor in Mysore in 1938 is an epitome of the laudable aims of the Government of the Mysore State. "We are told," he said, "that it is the whole business of Government to remove trouble. If we remove the causes of trouble, we prevent troubles coming to pass. Three of the chief causes of trouble in the world are dirt, disease and drink. There is no more potent way of removing these than by enabling the victims of them to establish themselves in comfortable homes, where dirt is easily dispelled, where disease is not fostered by filthy conditions, and where the attractions of the home are such as to overcome the lure of the drink shop."

Model houses for the poor are built out of a fund started more than fourteen years ago by grants of Rs. 10,000 each from Their Highnesses the Maharaja and Yuvaraja, and subsequently supplemented by other charitable organizations and individuals. Although many more such houses are needed to fulfil the objects of the scheme it has already done much to remove the causes of dirt and disease which were the scourge of India in centuries past. Their primary cause was the number of cattle formerly allowed to rove through the streets of the cities and towns. This has now

been removed. Simultaneously with the rehousing of men and women there has been a general exodus of cattle from the towns to scientifically designed Gowshallas on the outskirts. This seemed likely to prevent motorists driving unhindered along the roads, as the cattle would have to be driven far greater distances to and from their new quarters. Now, however, plans to establish milkmen's colonies on the outskirts of every town are well in hand.

Whereas these innovations aim at a general lowering of the death-rate, especially those deaths which occur early in life, it is necessary to have a highly organized and efficient Department of Public Health within the State so that the good work of the new Agraharas, or model houses, shall not be undone by epidemics and other disease not directly emanating from filthy conditions. For this purpose the Mysore Department of Public Health may be divided into seven categories—the Bureaux of Administration, Epidemiology, Laboratories, Health Education, Rural Health, Sanitary Engineering and Vital Statistics. Throughout the year research was being made into the causes of disease and cures, the analyzing of foods and water. Hundreds of thousands of people were inoculated to minimize the risk of being afflicted with the diseases which are more or less the inevitable lot of the East. Two rural Health Departments have also been established, one at Mandya and another at Closepet, which keep a constant vigil on the well-being of those who live in the country districts. In addition, people of every class are being taught that their health depends not so much on the good offices of the State-appointed and State-paid doctors but on the way in which they look after the intricate mechanism of their bodies. This has been effected with the aid of film shows and posters, tending to impress upon the general public the need for care and attention without suggesting in any way that this was being forced upon them. Such a suggestion would aggravate the people without bringing about the desired result.

EDUCATION OF THE PEOPLE

The word "health" in its broader sense, so far from merely meaning freedom from disease, suggests "wholeness." Therefore the mere freeing of the general public from the more virulent plagues which from time to time occur would not make for a completely healthy state. Mental health must also be considered, and this is the province of the Department of Education. Like Travancore, Mysore has a regional University within the State for the purpose of developing its human resources to the best advantage both of the State and the individuals themselves.

Speaking at the opening of the University in 1916 the Maharaja set the institution a noble aim. "Our University will be engaged on diffusing knowledge among that section of my people who, for various reasons, may not be able to participate in the courses and discipline appointed for regular examinations. It is with this object that the University has been provided with extension and publication departments." The University has continually borne this object in mind and among the good work it has done is the issuing of an English-Kannada dictionary and the provision of adult lecture weeks and camps in selected spots near Mysore and Bangalore.

An idea of the value of the University and the other numerous branches of educational progress may be obtained by a study of the literacy statistics for the ten years intervening between the date of the opening of the University and the census in 1931. This shows that the total number of literates in the State increased by more than 50 per cent., while the total English-speaking population is now upwards of a sixth of the total literate classes. Unfortunately this magnificent educational centre is still outside the scope of the majority of the people of Mysore, by far the greatest number of whom earn their living in various classes of agricultural work, and some means of educating these and their children has become necessary. Recent developments in this field have included the opening of adult schools in seventeen villages to supplement the educational value of the libraries and reading rooms already extant in twenty-five villages. In addition, nursery schools and other institutes of primary education are being founded in selected villages and, at Kengeri, nature excursions have been started for the benefit of the pupils, while the value of the scout movement as a strong factor in the education of young boys is so well appreciated that at least forty villages have branches of the movement, which is from time to time encouraged by financial donations from the Maharaja towards the uniform and equipment of the poorer members.

It is the general impression of people in the West that women are excluded from partaking in the educational development of India. In Mysore, as in Travancore, this is far from being the case. All the adult and primary education centres both in rural and urban Mysore have, as befits a State where a high percentage of the female population are wage-earners, separate departments for women. It is patent, therefore, that women, now earning wages to supplement the family income, are no longer following the precepts of Manu, who said that women should never be independent, but in childhood rely on their fathers, in youth upon their husbands, and in old age upon their sons.

THE PROGRESS OF AGRICULTURE

The majority of women who supplement the family income are, like their menfolk, agricultural workers living in the many small villages surrounding the great cities of the State. The good earth, a noble heritage sentimentalized by poets all over the world, has become, in Mysore as elsewhere, a commercialized and important undertaking on whose scientific planning and maintenance the financial security of the State largely depends. Extensive propaganda has been started by the Department of Agriculture to show farmers the new and better methods which modern science has devised. Demonstration plots of the current crops of paddy and sugar-cane have been laid out in many villages and the farmers have been shown new ways to control the blights attacking tobacco and sugar-cane plantations. New and more comprehensive experiments in this direction are being systematically carried out in the State's entomological laboratories, where they also hope shortly to issue apparatus for forcing new sugar-canes from buds by means of X-ray irradiation.

It is generally acknowledged that Mysore possesses the best cared-for and finest cattle in India, and many first prizes have been won in the All-India Cattle Show at Delhi by bulls, cows and heifers from this State. This is largely due to the vigilance and modern equipment of the Mysore Serum Institute which, in addition to catering for the needs of the Mysore Civil Veterinary Department, has also been able to cope with the serum requirements of many other States, including Hyderabad, Baroda, Bhopal and Indore. Many important experiments are still being made and two new products, tetanus anti-toxin and tetanus anaculture, were prepared on an experimental scale and will shortly be in use throughout the State.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN MYSORE

Despite the fact that agriculture is, and will probably remain, the main means of livelihood for the people of Mysore, many have, in recent years, been drawn away from the plough to the industries and commercial enterprises which are constantly springing up. Hydro-electric developments, canal building, restoration and construction—all unknown and unforeseen a few years ago—are providing employment for hundreds of men and women who were formerly employed tilling the fields or carrying on manual tasks.

The last census of Mysore, in 1931, showed that there were almost a hundred thousand people engaged in various types of



MYSORE : BELOGOLA TEMPLE.

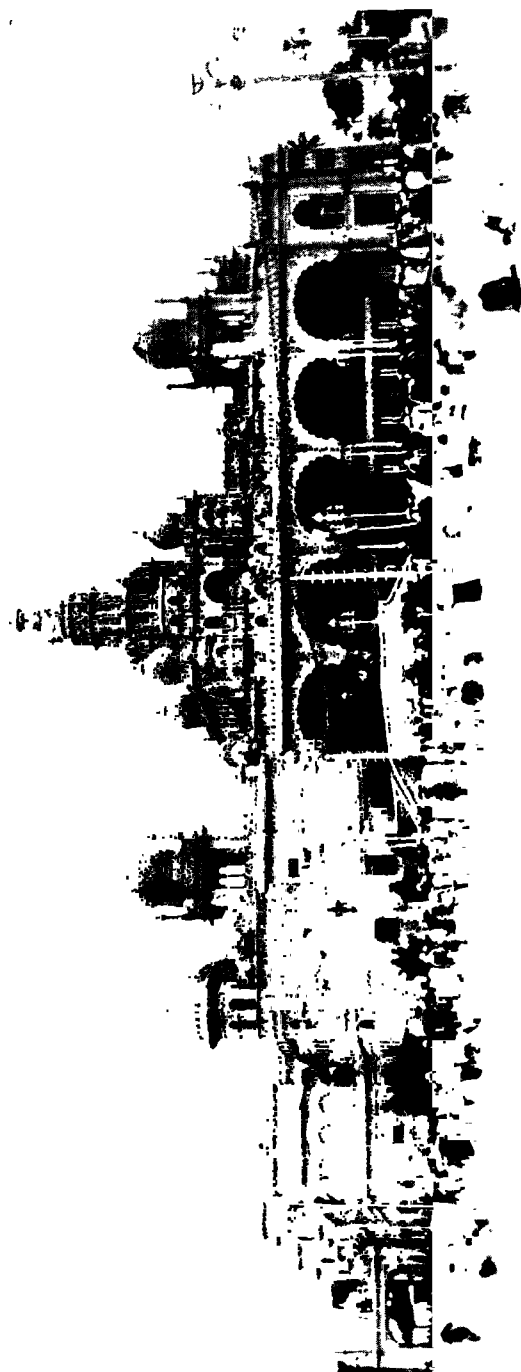
Mysore : A Land of Progress.



MYSORE: THE HOUSE WHERE THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON STAYED.



MYSORE : DODDA LAKE OF CHAMINDI HILL.



MYSORE : MAHARAJA'S PALACE.

By courtesy Indian Railways Bureau, 57, Haymarket, London.

industrial and commercial occupations as earners, and an even greater number as subsidiaries. Strangely enough, about 85 per cent. of these were women. With the growth of a new industry in Mysore arising out of the potentialities of the fixation of atmospheric nitrogen as a basic industry employment for hundreds more will be provided. By thus manufacturing thousands of tons of nitric acid which, although used at present as a fertiliser, is invaluable in the manufacture of explosives in time of war, Mysore hopes to be able to eliminate the necessity of importing industrial chemicals imperative to the enrichment of her soil. This is the first factory to manufacture ammonium sulphate in India, and its existence is largely due to the pioneer spirit of the Maharaja, whose Government has decided to subscribe a large percentage of the necessary capital to buy the expensive apparatus.

Other industries already in existence are no less important. At Bhadravati, on the banks of the River Bhadra, are the vast iron and steel works owned and operated by the Government. Opened in 1923, these works now provide a livelihood for over 7,000 people, who are housed in a model colony not far from the factory itself, fully equipped with its own hospital, resident surgeon, and filtered water and electrical supplies. Modern pipe foundries and steel plants make these works one of the most up-to-date in the whole of India. It also puts Bhadravati in the front line of the industrial cities of India, especially as the vast Mysore Paper Mills are situated in the vicinity.

There are many other industries on a smaller scale which, however, cover a wide field—from the mining of gold at Kolar to the humble village industry of mat-making. Silk is weaved and exported, hides are cured for shipment to all parts of the world, and there is a considerable village industry in the manufacture of lacquerware and wooden toys, which are either exported or sold to the many tourists who visit the State. Another industry with which the name of Mysore has been associated for hundreds of years is the production of sandalwood oil, which is used in the making of soaps and perfumes all over the world. By far the majority of tourists before all else think of Mysore as the home of the soft fragrance of sandalwood, and watching the elephants carrying the felled trees with their trunks is essential to the agenda of the tourist in Mysore.

A TOURIST'S PARADISE

There is much else to delight the eye of the tourist in Mysore, from the magnificent palace of the Maharaja to the house where the Duke of Wellington once stayed, both of which are depicted in my illustrations, together with other views which have, in the

course of years, been seen by tourists from all over the world. Every comprehensive tour of India should include the State of Mysore. Every day tourists can see architectural marvels of ages long past, the Brindavan gardens, situated not more than ten miles from the city of Mysore itself, whose wide lawns are lit with the colourful brilliance of foliage and flowering shrubs. The temples of the State are a noble memorial to the culture of India's past, while the modern industrial and commercial achievements are a link with the present day. The 700-years-old temple of Belur is, for its size, unique with its finely carved and elaborate effigies. In the city of Mysore itself, which has been described as the most beautiful in India, there are unrivalled examples of how the old can be beautified by the new. Centuries-old stately towers and the Maharaja's palace are floodlit by night, giving their golden domes a beauty even greater than their makers imagined. In the spacious parks and boulevards surrounding the palaces are fountains which are ever changing into different harmonious colour schemes through controlled lighting from beneath, while exotically hued Eastern flowers are floodlit to combine in the fairy-like appearance of the city by night. The magnificence of this State, great enough to make the lotus-eaters demand it for their abode, was summed up by a French historian in a few words written as long ago as 1800, "The plains of Mysore afford the most beautiful habitation that nature has to offer to mankind on earth." It is not possible to better this description.

A MORAL CHALLENGE TO INDIA

(AN OPEN LETTER TO MAHATMA GANDHI)

Dr. Shahani is an Indian author, whose literary works include a notable study of *Shakespeare through Eastern Eyes*. After taking a doctorate at the Sorbonne University he spent some years in London and in France, and then returned to India for a prolonged stay. Dr. Shahani arrived again in France a few months ago, and the resultant book *Indian Pilgrimage* was reviewed in the *ASIATIC REVIEW* of July, 1939.

DEAR GANDHIJI,

Reckoning by years, you might be my father or my great-uncle; and I do not know how, if you were the one or the other, I should couch this letter to you. Perhaps you will read it with ironic impatience or with a wise, weary smile. I do not know. Young men's opinions are not much thought of in India. But, unless I greatly err, you are always open to truth, no matter where it comes from. It is possible that you will listen to me.

I should like, if I may, to write to you as to a friend—that is, simply, frankly, in a spirit of complete trust and loyalty. And I tremble to do it. For I know what a multitude of duties and obligations you have to contend with. I should be loth for you to think me a bother, and I could wish that I had a chance of saying a few words to you between two silences under the spreading trees of your *Ashram*. It is always easier to utter certain things than to put them down on paper. Ink is cold. However, it is not possible to meet you personally just now. You are in India and I am in France. I am separated from you by many leagues of salt water. Yet I must act. Time presses. Great issues are at stake in the world today. Please listen.

We Indians are, with rare exceptions, a pacific people. We hate war and the makers of war. To shed blood, rich human blood, seems to us a horrible and stupid crime. Asoka has said the last word on war for us. It is a barbarous way of settling disputes. Yet you will agree that peace at any price belongs to the vocabulary of cowards. Evil must be resisted. Passivity, in certain cases, is nothing short of complicity.

You yourself have been all your life a gladiator. How often, and how bravely, you have fought Britain! When one thinks of your daring, your courage and your utter disregard for "safety first," one is obliged to use the much and ill-used word "heroic."

It is true that your weapon has been, not the sword, but soul-force. It is a terrible weapon, provided that your adversary moves on the same moral plane as yourself. It would be useless, if not a sad mockery, before a primitive or a savage. No Nazi will understand it. Light is only for those who have eyes to see. Cave-dwellers prefer the miasmatic dark and the ways of the tiger and the ape.

Force—or war—is a fell necessity. Sometimes it would seem that there is no alternative to it. The Bhagavad-Gita recommends it in a righteous cause. Even Jesus, the gentlest of men, was obliged to have recourse to force. You will recall the scene in the Temple, when He upset the tables of the money-changers and whipped the vile traffickers in blood.

The cause is important. Both the author of the Gita and Jesus are at one on this point. In brief, if it is a war of aggression or self-aggrandisement, we Indians must condemn it. If it is to preserve for man what makes life worth living, then we must support it; for, whatever foolish philosophers may say, the safeguarding of light, sweetness and reason is a *collective enterprise*. It is because there is no solidarity of human hearts that the world today is in such a chaotic state. Men think crookedly. They have split up

the prismatic unity of life into an incoherent and meaningless multiplicity. There are the white, the brown, the yellow and the black races. As though this were not enough, there are now the "true Aryans." What is the difference between man and man? If you prick them, they all bleed. Shakespeare has said all this beautifully in *The Merchant of Venice*, so I need not linger over it. I will only say that if the earth were treated as a unit and as a city, and rationally organized as such, the Kingdom of Heaven would be with us tomorrow. But this is no time for high dreams. I wish to speak now of realities.

The British Empire is one such. We Indians have quarrels with Britain, but these are, if you will permit me to say so, family quarrels. In normal times we can be as bitter towards one another as you please (for it is good to let off steam occasionally); but in the hour of danger we must stand united.

Just now Britain is engaged in a war that has been imposed upon her. There are no two opinions about this. She is simply doing her duty. The German "becoming" is beginning to swallow up the "being" of other nations and—oh, horror!—attempting to substitute itself for the "Being of Beings, the Light of Lights, the Soul of all things." To let Germany go ahead with their diabolical programme would be not only self-destructive, but the end of a civilization, of a conception of life, of certain human values. This must never happen. It concerns us all.

The British Dominions, having taken stock of the situation, have declared against Germany. They are helping Britain as best they can.

Are we to fall behind? I cannot believe it. It would be a national disgrace. For this war is *sui generis*. It is a struggle against the forces of evil.

It is clear that you understand the great issues involved. You announced in the first instance that India must give unconditional support to Britain. You trusted to your strongest emotion and you were right. Why, then, have you changed?

I can well understand your difficulties. Some of your colleagues and collaborators have told you in effect: "We have been waiting for a conflict in Europe, and now that it has come, let us make the most of it. Let us strike a bargain with Britain. It is a question of now or never."

I understand the attitude, though I do not share it. It seems to me to be based on a complete misunderstanding of the British character and aims. They have not given us Home Rule, not because they do not want to, but because they honestly think that we are not proficient in the delicate art of self-government. You will admit that the charge is not altogether unfounded. As a people, we have shown little aptitude for subordinating personal ambitions and interests to the general good.

But, happily, things are beginning to change. Provincial Autonomy is already a lusty child. We have been tried, and not found wanting. Soon we shall be able to manage our affairs as well as any other people. When that time comes, Britain will not disappoint us. I am sure of this. Why? Because I have discussed the matter with representative Englishmen. We must not take into account the tirades of some diehards and Jingoists. These may well be ignored. The point I am labouring to establish is this: that Britain will give us Dominion Status if and when we are ripe for it. Neither terrorism nor non-co-operation, nor bullying and blackmail will have any effect upon her. It is for us to prove that we are able to govern ourselves. That, as I see it, is the crux of the matter.

It is, therefore, absurd to try to strike a bargain with Britain just now. This is not only in bad taste, but intrinsically unwise.

Why unwise?

Because everything that you or the other Congress leaders say will be examined under the microscope by the enemies of Britain and used to support their vile theses;

Because these words, carefully rehearsed, will be turned against us some day;

Because if there is nothing in the texts that might usefully serve their purposes, they will torture the phrases, twist them so as to extract from them a sense that no one ever intended to give them.

Hence the necessity of being very prudent. We must avoid washing our dirty linen in public. If there is to be any bargaining with Britain, let it be done without any *fracas*. Pandit Nehru is reported to have said a few days ago: "If this is all that the Viceroy has to offer us, then there is nothing in common between Britain and us." Brave words, but most unwise just now. There will be plenty of giggling in Goth. I know something of German and Russian methods of propaganda. I sincerely wish that you and some others had a rough idea of these. They are terrible. They distil poison even from honey and flowers. So let us be most circumspect. This is not the time to express our differences with Britain or to obstruct her in any way in India.

There are other and deeper grounds for this. I will mention only two. First, because Germany has her eyes turned towards India. This is not a *bobard*, as the French would say. It is a fact. Hitler is pressing Stalin to descend upon India via Afghanistan. The plan is not as mad as it sounds. True, it is fraught with difficulties, but, then, has not the Fuehrer declared that nothing is impossible for him? Anyway, unless we unite with Britain and co-operate with her in every way, we give the two Dictators to understand we are a house divided against itself and hence open to robbery and loot. A German general has recently written a book in which occur the words: "We must think in terms of planets and the entire space is our home." You may call this the ravings of a lunatic, but it will give you some idea of German ambitions. They want nothing less than the entire cosmos. However, we Indians are in no position to defend ourselves against a first-class military power. You cannot march at the head of words, can you? Hitler knows this; and so does the "Red Pope."

Secondly, the defeat of Britain and France would be a calamity of the first magnitude for the whole world. It would mean the Rule of the Jungle. The "Blonde Beast" and his associate would stalk from continent to continent, devouring all before them. This would be worse than hell. I am not exaggerating in the least. The stories told by those who have escaped from the clutches of the Ogpu and the Gestapo are blood-curdling. But Germany easily comes first in villainy, and it is with her that we are at present concerned. The people of that country are nothing if not thorough. They have made of violence and cruelty an art. They find their Saturnalia in the pain of others. They are Evil incarnate. Even their friends have turned away from them in disgust.

For every honest man, for every honest people, the choice is already made; the "Blonde Beast" must be caged, if he cannot be tamed. It is Everybody's job. To shirk it is to show physical and moral cowardice of the worst type.

India, the home of idealism, cannot remain passive, or indifferent. It is a question of conscience. I therefore pray you to act. Put aside parochial interests. Tell India the great words: "What doth it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul." She will understand. Her heart is in the right place.

You will say, with your customary modesty, that you are a "back-number." This is not true. Your word carries great weight in our country. Must you remain inactive while the soul of the world is at stake? No, no, no. It is not possible.

Believe me,

Yours most sincerely,

RANJEE G. SHAHANI.

ALEXANDRA DOCKS, BOMBAY, DURING THE GREAT WAR

BY H. C. SPARKE

(Indian State Railways, retired.)

OWING to the fortunate circumstance that, at the beginning of the Great War, new docks, the Alexandra Docks, were in an advanced state of construction at Bombay, it was possible for dock arrangements to be made for the despatch of military stores without any interference with the normal commercial working of the port. When war broke out the work on the docks had advanced sufficiently for one berth to be placed at the disposal of the Army, who also took over each subsequent berth completed, to deal with the ever-increasing demand for war stores.

The various military departments—the Engineers, the Ordnance, the Commissariat—each occupied one or more sheds on the wharves, and used them for the storage and despatch of their stores.

The dock sheds had not, however, been designed for the storage of cargo, but as transit sheds. While those sheds were being used for storage, unless a ship could be loaded entirely from the stores in a particular shed, the ship had to be moved from berth to berth, and on one occasion thirteen such moves had to be carried out. These ship movements entailed a great loss of time, and resulted in unsatisfactory loading; the cargo had to be accepted as available at each shed, and adjustment of cargoes to ensure satisfactory and maximum loading was impracticable.

This difficulty had a further unfortunate effect. The bar at Basra, for which a large proportion of the stores was destined, imposed a limit on the draught of ships proceeding to that port. As cargo could not be suitably selected for loading, some ships were despatched fully loaded, but not down to the permissible draught, while others, in order not to infringe the limits imposed by the Basra bar, left Bombay with their holds partly empty.

These handicaps so slowed down despatches that stores were coming into Bombay faster than they could be sent forward. Gradually, the whole area of the docks became full to overflowing, the consequent congestion resulting in a further slowing down of despatches.

Meanwhile the storage depots at Mazagaon, some three miles from the docks, had been completed as part of the dock scheme. This scheme provided for adequate rail communication between the depôts at Mazagaon and the dock sheds, which were designed

as transit sheds where cargo for each ship could be received and sorted in the order required for the loading of the ship.

There was, however, for a time, great reluctance on the part of the military departments to move their stores out to Mazagaon. At the docks each department had its stores concentrated under its immediate control, and loaded its own stores direct to ship. It was difficult for those inexperienced in rail transport to realize that stores three miles away from the docks would, in point of time, be nearer to a ship's berth, to which they could be moved by rail, than stores in a shed three hundred yards distant, which could be conveyed to ship side only by manhandling. Nor was the time lost in moving a ship from berth to berth, or the importance of taking full advantage of ship capacity available, fully appreciated. Mazagaon not only seemed remote for the stores, but for the personnel, and the fear of the staff that the change would involve them in trouble and expense was justified; the adequate provision of motor-cars, which would have overcome this difficulty, was never made. The adoption of the scheme for the port as designed for commercial transactions entailed the commercial procedure of an intermediary at the transit shed between the shipper and the ship, and this was regarded with much disfavour.

However, the move to Mazagaon was hesitatingly and gradually carried out; the transit sheds at the docks were vacated and an organized system of transport and shipment introduced.

The results were so satisfactory—somewhere in the Admiralty archives at Whitehall there may perhaps still be found a report on those results, for the Admiralty sent out a Commissioner to report on the work at the docks—that, in about the space of three months' time, the congestion at Bombay disappeared, and stores were arriving at Basra faster than they could there be dealt with.

The proper organization of transport is, in these days of enormous armies, an essential factor in the success of military operations, but it is doubtful if its importance is yet fully recognized. A reviewer of Lord Haig's memoirs commented on the scant reference made by his lordship to the great work of transport reorganization carried out by Sir Eric Geddes in France. It was late in the day that a special officer was sent out from Italy to deal with the transport difficulties encountered by the Italian armies in Abyssinia.

For the British Empire, not only land but sea transport is of vital importance in the event of war. The greatest economy is necessary in the employment of ships, and such economy can only be attained if ships are allotted suitably for the cargo to be conveyed, and the cargo is loaded efficiently. The problems of Bombay may appear small when compared with the sum total of Empire requirements during war, but as the same general prin-

ciples are involved in the larger as in the smaller sphere, it may be of service to record the scheme which worked so successfully at the Indian port.

The general principles of the scheme were: The naval representatives (in Bombay the Navy was represented by the Indian Marine) should select and provide the ships, allot them for loading to the several ports, select the cargoes suitable for loading in each ship, and be responsible for the loading.

The military representatives should secure shipment of stores by application for cargo space, and, on receipt of advice from the naval representatives, should arrange to move cargo to the berth to which the ship was allotted.

Detailed regulations were issued at Bombay for the carrying out of the scheme. It would be tedious to reproduce the regulations in full, and a summary only is, therefore, furnished in this article.

On the naval side a principal Naval Transport Officer was appointed to supervise the work at the docks from the point when the ship had been allotted for loading to a particular port. On the military side a Director of Traffic acted as liaison officer between the naval, military, and civil railway and dock departments, and, assisted by a shipping officer, supervised the transportation arrangements between the depots and the transit sheds.

The P.N.T.O. issued a bulletin as early as possible showing expected dates of arrival of ships, and, provisionally, the destination of the ships, and the nature of the cargo which the ship would convey.

The military departments sent in bi-weekly requisitions for cargo space, and were permitted to send in subsequent urgent requisitions at any time. These requisitions furnished particulars relating to the cargo: the destination, contents, measurements, weight; special qualities such as dangerous goods, liquids liable to leakage.

The P.N.T.O. issued cargo allotment notices to the applicant departments indicating the ship, the berth, the date of loading, and the order in which the cargo would be required.

Cargo was moved to the transit sheds two days in advance of loading date. Special provisions were made for heavy loads, which had to be dealt with direct from railway wagon to ship.

The acceptance of stores in the transit sheds, and the handing over of them for loading on the ship, was entrusted to the Dock Department of the Bombay Port Trust, who had a staff trained in these duties.

Other matters dealt with in the regulations included instructions dealing with receipt of stores by lorry, the granting of receipts in transit sheds, mates' receipts, loading from lighters, use of cranes, stevedorage, tallying, disposal of shut-out cargo, shipment of cargo

arriving by sea, requisitions for railway wagons, and for the supply of labour.

Anent the question of labour, the ever-growing demands of the military departments at one time caused a labour shortage for commercial requirements, but this difficulty disappeared under the new scheme of work, especially as it was found possible to introduce a considerable amount of piece work.

No scheme will be successful without suitable personnel to carry it out. In this regard the Alexandra Docks were particularly fortunate. The pace was set by the naval side, but the military departments were not to be beaten; the heartiest co-operation was displayed and the work went with a swing.

The stress and strain was borne with invariable good spirit, and was relieved by humorous incidents which will live long in the memory of those who sweltered in the tropical heat. There was the incident of the visit of the Admiral of the Eastern Squadron. The Admiral decided to pay an official call on the Embarkation Commandant. In full regalia, preceded by two staff captains, he marched round the docks to the embarkation office, and arrived there a very angry man. He complained to the Embarkation Commandant that no notice had been taken of him on the wharves, and that not a single person had saluted him; it was not, he said, till he arrived at the marine office that he was treated in a suitable manner. After the Admiral's departure it was said: "Who is this officer who has saved this Gomorrah from annihilation by naval big guns? Let him stand forth and let the light of his countenance shine upon us." And he stood forth, a civilian turned marine for the duration, and said: "I thought he was the Belgian Consul."

Another petty naval disaster occurred when the senior officer of marine found it necessary to reprimand a skipper of one of the transports for the dirty state of his ship. He did it thoroughly; for twenty minutes he talked to him in language old and new (Bombay as a port of transit was fairly well up to date). Then the old shell-back spoke. "Would you mind, Captain," he said, "if I had one of your cigars?" And he proceeded to help himself to one off the marine officer's table.

The success that followed the vacation of the dock sheds and their employment in the manner for which they were designed—namely, as transit sheds—led to the term "transit sheds" being regarded as a sort of magic open sesame. This had an amusing sequel some years later when a meeting was held in the north of India to decide on the lay-out of store sheds for purposes of frontier mobilization. The railway representative at the meeting returned somewhat bewildered, and explained his trouble. There was a staff officer from Bombay at the meeting, he said, who, every time

he got a chance to put in a word, interjected with, "What we want is transit sheds." Well, if for transit sheds we read a proper system of transportation, the staff officer was right.

Transportation may not be a science, it may not be an art, but there is a great deal of experience necessary for the successful control and organization of transportation on a large scale. If great wastage is to be avoided, that control is needed from the very outset, and not as an afterthought to clear up confusion.

It seems hardly necessary to labour the point of the need of economy in the use of shipping in time of war. To secure such economy the right ships must be allotted for the cargo for which they are particularly suitable, and for the ports to which they can convey the largest amounts without wastage of loading space. The principles laid down at Bombay have a much wider application. The Navy, with its knowledge of ships, should select and allot them. To enable this to be done promptly and effectively a record should be maintained of all ships available, with particulars of capacity, nature of holds, and other distinctive features. The arrangements at each port would necessarily depend on the peculiar circumstances, but should conform to the design of the port, as it eventually did at Bombay. Full use should be made of skilled staff accustomed to the handling of transportation. It is not impossible to devise sufficient military control to ensure that military requirements shall be fully met, and to avoid any indignity to military *amour propre*.

INDIA'S NAVY: NEW SETTING FOR OLD TRADITIONS

(Specially contributed)

ALTHOUGH, apart from measures in the economic sphere, India's contribution to the present war will necessarily be preponderantly military in character, it is worth bearing in mind that she has also a contribution to make on the naval side. It is not often realized that India has had her own naval forces for more than 300 years, and although the service has undergone vicissitudes since its inception, it has now attained full combatant status and operates in war time in the closest collaboration with the Royal Navy. The service was reorganized in 1934 as a result of the passage of the Indian Naval (Discipline) Act, which placed the service under full naval discipline. From that date it assumed its present title of the Royal Indian Navy and its ships flew the White Ensign.

The functions which the Royal Indian Navy are called upon to perform may be summed up very briefly under two heads. First, the provision of vessels with fully trained crews to co-operate anywhere with the Royal Navy wherever their services can most usefully be employed, and, secondly, to train the crews required to man the auxiliary craft which will in war time be necessary for the local naval defence of India. As regards the first of these functions, the Government of India undertook last year, in return for the remission by the Imperial Government of certain cash contributions which India had been paying towards her naval defence, to maintain a fleet of not less than six modern escort vessels, which would be free to co-operate with the Royal Navy for the defence of India.

On the outbreak of war the Royal Indian Navy consisted of five escort vessels of displacements varying from 1,200 to 2,000 tons, a patrol vessel, a surveying ship, a depot ship for training purposes and various minor craft based on the naval dockyard at Bombay.

Of the escort vessels, only two, the *Indus* and *Hindustan*, can really be classified as modern. Thus India, under her guarantee, will in the future be called upon to build and maintain four new vessels. Such an undertaking will obviously take time to implement, though steps have already been taken to that end. Immediately on the outbreak of war, however, the escort vessels and the patrol vessel were placed under the direct control of the Naval Commander-in-Chief East Indies, and the officers and crews of those ships were placed under the Royal Naval (Discipline) Act, the

officers being accorded powers of command equivalent to those of Royal Naval Officers of similar rank and branch.

As regards the second function of the Royal Indian Navy, it should first of all be explained that the local naval defence of India means, broadly speaking, the safeguarding of the entrances to the ports of India by keeping the fairways clear of enemy mines and submarines. It is obviously uneconomical to build and maintain in peace time the large number of ships which would be required for this purpose in war time, and for this reason arrangements were made for merchant vessels to be commandeered for the purpose on the outbreak of war. It was also arranged that these vessels should be officered and manned partly by regular Royal Indian Navy personnel and partly by members of the various reserve forces which have recently been created.

It may be noted in passing that the formation of these reserve forces was a consequence of the passage earlier this year of the Indian Naval Reserve Forces (Discipline) Act which enabled rules of discipline to be drawn up for them, without which recruitment could not be started. Recruitment to the Royal Indian Naval Reserve and Royal Indian Naval Volunteer Reserve has been very satisfactory, and the members of these reserves are at the moment performing work of great importance to the defence of India's ports and trade.

As these reserve forces are mobilized only in an emergency, it is obvious that they must be capable of carrying out their duties as soon as they are called upon to do so. Thus it will be seen that an essential function of the Royal Indian Navy in peace time is to produce officers and men sufficiently qualified and experienced to train the reserves.

The sea-going strength of the Royal Indian Navy, apart from reserves, is at present 172 officers and 1,483 men, but in view of the construction of the new escort vessels which the Government of India have undertaken to build, the service will require to be still further expanded.

Recruitment to the commissioned ranks of the Royal Indian Navy is open to Indians and Europeans. Candidates in India are selected after an interview from those presenting themselves for the Federal Public Service Commission examinations and from the mercantile marine training ship *Dufferin*. Similarly, those in the United Kingdom are ordinarily selected from candidates from the public schools for the Naval Entrance Examinations held by the Civil Service Commission. Candidates recruited in this way are entered as cadets, and after completion of their initial training, which, as has already been pointed out, is undergone in the United Kingdom alongside their Royal Navy confrères, they are commissioned as officers. Subsequently suitable officers are selected to

undergo specialist and technical courses at royal naval establishments.

The men of the Royal Indian Navy are recruited mainly from the Punjab and Konkan. There is no dearth of applicants, and usually only a small percentage of the candidates who apply to the recruiting officer can be accepted. Their training lasts for two years at the training depot. On completion of their initial training the men are also required to undergo specialist courses from time to time. Thus the Royal Indian Navy is continuously keeping its knowledge up to date.

As regards the activities of the service during the present war, it has already been pointed out that the five escort vessels and the *Pathan* have been placed under the direct control of the Naval Commander-in-Chief East Indies. These ships are now operating as though they formed part of the Royal Navy. Although it is not possible to give details at present of the scope of their operations, it may be said generally that they are assisting in guarding and keeping open the trade routes to and from India. The minor and auxiliary craft, on the other hand, are entrusted with the duty of keeping the ports themselves safe for shipping. A number of such vessels have already been requisitioned, equipped and manned for the purpose, and now carry the letters H.M.I.S. in front of their names. It is to be hoped that it will be possible to return them all intact to their owners on the conclusion of the present conflict after having performed a very valuable service for the freedom not only of the seas but of democracy itself.

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“RECORDS AND REACTIONS”—II*

A FOOTNOTE TO HISTORY

BY SIR LOUIS DANE, G.C.I.E., C.S.I.

INDIA OFFICE—PERSIAN GULF

In October, 1903, Mr. Brodrick left the War Office for the India Office, and perhaps reasonably expected to have a more peaceful time. But this was not to be. His great friend Lord Curzon was then Viceroy, and was very active in promoting his great schemes for assuring the safety of the Indian Empire, which, notwithstanding all the clamour that has been raised against his policies, were most successful in securing his objects. In November, 1903, Lord Curzon made his inspection of the British posts and Agencies in the Persian Gulf accompanied by the East Indies Squadron, and by his visit to Muscat, his great *darbar* on H.M.S. *Argonaut* for the Trucial Chiefs, and visits to Bahrein, Kuwait, and Khor Musa re-established British prestige there. The Agency at Bahrein was strengthened, and an Agent was appointed at Kuwait, where the Germans wished to make the terminus of the Baghdad Railway. By a happy chance I met at Kuwait Mr. Reynolds, a prospecting engineer of the D'Arcy Oil Syndicate, who was on his way to England as attempts to find oil in paying quantities had failed. With Lord Curzon's consent and a promise of financial aid if necessary, I induced him to go back and prospect what had been reported to be promising oil shows at the head of the Gulf between Ram Hormuz, and Shushtar. This led to the Masjid-i-Sulaiman (Maidan-i-Naftun) discovery and the formation of the great Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, though even in April, 1908, the British Government did not believe in the prospects of oil, and orders were actually sent out to pull the pipes and leave when the first great gusher was struck. A naval base was established by the reoccupation of the telegraph station on the island of Hanjam, and so a cable was got through to Bandar Abbas, where the French and Russians had always opposed and prevented action. Lighthouses were erected on the Quoins and Tanb, or Abu Musa, where the Persians were asserting rights, and travel in the Gulf by night became really feasible. The result of all these measures was that, when the time came to send a British force to Iran in 1914-15, everything was ready for it up

* *Records and Reactions*, 1856-1939, by the Earl of Midleton, K.P. (John Murray).

to the limits of Turkish occupation. Lord Kitchener once in 1906 declared to me that not in his time or mine would a single British soldier be sent to the Persian Gulf. I ventured to differ, and said that with the British Government disposed to allow the German railway to go to Kuwait and a Russian line to Charbar, I felt sure that in a few years we should be compelled to send a force there to protect Indian interests and foil these schemes, and so it happened.

Captain Kemp, R.N., had discovered a possible deep-water port in the Khor Musa inlet, and on examination this was noted for possible future eventualities as suitable. It has now been adopted by the Iranian Government, under the name of Bandar Shahpur, as the terminus of the great north-south railway on the Gulf. The northern terminus on the Caspian is Bandar Shah. This railway must be watched or some day it may become the Russian railway to the Gulf.

It is worth noting that the Gulf Arabs estimated the fighting strength of a warship mainly by the number of funnels. The Russians had recently sent the *Askold* there, a cruiser with several funnels—some said three and some said five—so their prestige was high. The *Argonaut* at any rate was much larger—in fact, she could not enter Muscat harbour—and had four genuine big funnels, so the balance of power again swung to the British.

TIBET

Mr. Brodrick left the India Office on the defeat of the Unionist Government in 1905, so he did not have much to do with developments in the Gulf, with which the Indian Government were able to act on their own authority. But he soon came up against the attempt to reassert and establish British Indian trading rights as established by the Convention of 1890 and Regulation of 1893 with Chinese Tibet. He deals with this subject very fully in his book and repeats the charge that Sir Francis Younghusband had exceeded his instructions, and despite the most stringent orders by the Cabinet had imposed an indemnity of 75 lakhs, payable by one lakh a year, on Tibet, which amounted to committing Great Britain to keeping a control over Tibet for that period. This condition was promptly repudiated by the Cabinet. A similar charge was made in 1936 in a *Life of Lord Balfour*, and was contested by Sir Francis in a letter to *The Times* on October 28, 1936. I felt then that I ought to support him, as I was much concerned with the arrangements for his mission, and I wrote a letter to *The Times* on November 21, 1936, but this was not printed. It was as follows:

SIR,

Several letters have appeared in *The Times* with reference to a letter dated October 26, 1936, from Sir F. Younghusband, in which he deprecated the repetition in a recent Life of Lord Balfour of a statement that he had committed Great Britain to keeping control of the Chumbi Valley for seventy-five years. Incidentally he remarked that Chumbi is not part of Tibet proper, but is on the Indian side of the Himalaya! This statement is correct. It has been challenged on the ground that the inhabitants are Tibetan and that it is more easily approached from Tibet than from India, but this does not necessarily mean that such a country is part of Tibet. Spiti, a tract of about 3,000 square miles in the Kangra District of the Panjab, is on the north of the Himalaya, is quite open to Tibet, and is inhabited by pure Tibetans, but it is British and under the Assistant Commissioner of Kulu, a post that I held in 1882-84 when I got to know something of the unilateral aggression of Tibet. This description holds good for Ladakh in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, and for such tracts as Lahul and Kunawar with partially Indianized populations.

Of course Chumbi was governed from Lhasa, and was used by the Tibetans as an avenue for putting pressure on Sikkim and Bhutan, and for blocking the trade facilities that were arranged after the Sikkim expedition of 1888. To put a stop to this, and to open properly the trade mart at Yatung then established, repeated remonstrances were addressed to the Chinese authorities and to the Tibetan Government, but they were treated with contempt.

The movements of Buriat and other Russian agents along the northern Nepal frontier also had attracted the attention of the Nepalese Government, and when that great statesman the late Maharaja Sir Chandra Shamshere Jang came to India for the Coronation Darbar in 1903 he explained his doubts and difficulties about these persons to Lord Curzon at a long personal interview. His fears may not have been well grounded at the time, but they were real, and the assurances that he received led to further visits by him and to the opening up of the present really cordial relations with Nepal, which were of the greatest value to us in the Great War. Up to that time those relations had been only frigidly polite, and, if Sir Chandra's overtures had been ignored or repulsed, they might easily have become hostile.

These conditions and further interference with Sikkim nationals led to the despatch of the Mission which Sir F. Younghusband conducted with such patience, skill, and courage. It is the fact that but for his courageous persistence in the face of extraordinary difficulties of all kinds the Mission would never have reached

Lhasa, there would have been no treaty, and our relations with Tibet would have remained on the unsatisfactory and discreditable basis of the previous fifty years, instead of the open friendship which now happily exists. The missions to Lhasa in 1904 and to Kabul in 1905 also, at any rate, resulted in the visits of the chiefs of both States to India and to much more satisfactory relations than had ever before existed.

The Chumbi Valley was selected as the guarantee for the payment of the indemnity required and for the good conduct of the Tibetans as it contained the trade mart of Yatung, elevation 9,000 feet, and it was hoped that the occupation would last long enough to allow a good road to be made from this down the Ammo Chu and Tursha River to Julpaiguri, which would have eliminated the difficulties of the Sikkim route, and would have secured effectually full trade facilities, and also have prevented any further attempts of the Tibetans to terrorize our feudatories, Sikkim and Bhutan. Our relations with the latter were so improved by the Mission and events connected with it, including the visit of the Maharaja to Calcutta, that this result would perhaps have been obtained, had not the British Government so precipitately repudiated the action of their Envoy, which was well warranted by his instructions and the very special circumstances of the case.

Sir Francis Younghusband, as he points out, did not commit Great Britain to keep control of Chumbi for seventy-five years. He was instructed to obtain an indemnity for the attack on his Mission at Gyantse and to secure its payment. It was quite open to the British Government to have said, after some years, if the Tibetans had fulfilled their obligations, that they were willing to remit the balance of the indemnity and return Chumbi. This most unfortunately was not done because, after the Mission had been arranged, the British Government had embarked on one of their repeated attempts to secure a gentleman's agreement with Russia, which had been actively thwarting British policies. The trouble with Japan was working up, so she easily accepted our overtures, and the policy of India in Tibet was changed to please Russia. Much the same sort of thing happened in 1907 when Russia was helpless after her defeat by Japan, and we again tied our hands, only to find that behind our backs Russia had again torn up her agreement. Again, but for our commitments with Russia, it is possible that, in accordance with the repeated requests of Turkey, a British Mission for Reforms, with adequate funds and plenary powers, might have been sent to Anatolia in 1913-14, and with such a Mission at work it is not impossible that Turkey would have been kept out of the war or joined the Allies, in either case with an enormous saving in the duration and cost of the opera-

tions. It is to be hoped that the British Government will never fall into the same trap again.

As I was the officer whose services were asked for by Turkey,* and as I am one of the few survivors of those directly concerned with the despatch of the Tibet Mission, perhaps you may be able to find space for this explanation.

Yours faithfully,
L. DANE.

Some explanation is perhaps desirable here. In 1913-14 I was asked by the Turkish Government to go as Director-General of the Armenian vilayets with a staff of twelve British officers, civil and military. We were to work directly under the Grand Vazir, and to have a separate budget. Owing to their engagements with the Russian and German Governments, the Foreign Office were not able to agree to this. The Turks then proposed that I should be deputed as adviser to the Minister of the Interior with similar arrangements. This also the Foreign Office could not accept. The Turks apparently then despaired of British support, and went over to Germany, and their defection added greatly to the difficulties and cost of the war.

It is just possible that, if this party of British officers had been working for eight months in Anatolia, the party favouring the British alliance, which was quite strong, might have been able to keep the Turks on our side. The same difficulty of engagements with Russia apparently prevented the Greeks from joining us at the beginning of the war.

Possibly the references to Russia at the end of the letter were considered inadvisable, but I venture to believe that they were absolutely correct and deserve careful consideration when we are again, notwithstanding previous disappointments and breaches of agreement by that country in 1904, 1907, and 1917, which were greatly to our detriment, seeking to come to an alliance or defence agreement with Russia.†

The knowledge that I acquired while in charge of Spiti for three years was useful to me as Foreign Secretary in India at the time of Younghusband's Mission in 1903-4. The Tibetans thought that it was quite right that British travellers and others should

* See *British Documents on the Origin of the War, 1898-1914*, vol. x., Part I., Near and Middle East (Gooch and Temperley), pp. 519 and 547.

† This note was written in August, 1939, when the British Government were again striving to arrive at a firm understanding with Russia. The subsequent events, including the conclusion of an agreement by Russia with Germany, while the British and French Military Missions were actually negotiating in Moscow, and the sudden attack by Russia on Poland, followed by the coercion of the Baltic States and the unprovoked invasion of Finland, are a strong justification of the view given in the note of the impossibility of relying on any treaty or negotiations with Russia.

be rigidly excluded from Tibet, while a Rimpoche or Lama of high rank with a large retinue might march freely in Spiti collecting his dues from the people, and that an employé of the Garpon of Gartok should come into British territory even beyond Spiti with an official order requiring the British local traders, Khampas, to pay a large fine of several thousand rupees for the alleged theft of the Garpon borax-laden sheep made over to some of them for sale, on pain of not being allowed to enter Tibet. I heard of this official's doings and held him up and offered, if Government desired to learn something of South-Western Tibet, and would not challenge my absence from the subdivision for two months, to accompany him to Gartok to ascertain if his claims were genuine and authorized. Sir Charles Aitchison refused to allow this, and said, if an offence had been committed, the law must take its course, but he hoped that all possible efforts should be made to prevent frontier friction. I reported that in Spiti, under a Special Regulation, the Assistant Commissioner declared and administered the law. I then admonished the man and let him depart with his money collected. I was used to hard travel then, and probably with my own mounted Spiti men could have gone far towards Gartok. It is well to remember that in all our dealings the aggression has in this way been from the side of Tibet.

However, everything comes to one that waits, and I was able in 1904 to get even with the Garpon by suggesting that a British Trade Post should be located at Gartok, and arranging that Captain Ryder's survey party should return to Simla by the Tsangpo and Saltaj and Gartok, so that we gained full knowledge of all the tract adjoining the Indian and Nepalese frontier.

On April 22, 1939, Sir Francis Younghusband, in a letter to *The Times*, challenged Lord Midleton's criticism.

Sir Francis' letter led to further letters from Lord Midleton, Lord Curzon's brother, Sir Francis, and Sir Frederick O'Connor, who was assistant to Sir Francis and first British Trade Agent at Gyantse. I am exceedingly loth to have to differ from Lord Midleton, who has treated me with the greatest consideration and kindness, but I cannot help thinking that, if he had again looked over the records or the full account of these in Sir F. Younghusband's *India and Tibet* (John Murray, 1910), he would not have been so scathing in his disapproval of what he did, especially in view of the extraordinary difficulties which he had to face. The occupation of the small Chumbi Valley on the south of the Himalaya, where our 1888 Trade Mart Yatung was located, as security for payment of an indemnity for the outrageous attack on our Mission at Gyantse, where they were negotiating with Chinese and Tibetan authorities as sanctioned by the British, Chinese, and Tibetan Govern-

ments, could hardly be described as asserting a control over Tibet. The occupation of this valley, which is the best trade route to Tibet, and was the channel through which the Tibetans harried and terrorized the Indian States of Sikkim and Bhutan, was recommended by Sir Charles Elliot, Lieutenant-Governor in Bengal, who was of opinion that, in view of the failure of the Tibetans to carry out their engagements after the defeat of their aggressions in 1855 and 1888, we should occupy the Chumbi Valley permanently or until they showed a proper spirit. If the Chinese Government, for reasons of general policy, had to be considered, though they also had failed to secure the fulfilment of the treaties, this occupation could be made after informing them and securing their consent to it as a measure for so establishing their authority over the Tibetans and without detriment to their suzerainty. Many of us thought that, considering the nature of the tract and of the case, this would have been the wisest policy. It must be remembered that the Chinese and Tibetans had consistently since 1880 been playing as Codlin and Short. The Tibetans said we must refer all questions to China, and then repudiated agreements so made because they were not made with them. The Chinese declared that the Tibetans were ignorant and uncouth barbarians, and would not do what they ought. When called on to send an envoy they pleaded inability to secure carriage from the Tibetans. So they had fooled us for years. Younghusband's Mission had spent six months at Khamba Jong, the place accepted as a meeting place near the frontier by all concerned, and had been unable to secure the attendance of anyone authorized to negotiate. The British Government first agreed to Chumbi being occupied to secure negotiation, and perhaps it is a pity that the Indian Government did not accept this, and allow the situation to develop while we sat quietly in Chumbi.

However, this might never have led to a treaty, so the advance to negotiate at Gyantse was sanctioned, and this was made in mid-winter at elevations over 14,000 feet. Some men, Chinese and Tibetans, of more importance came, and fitful negotiations began at Tuna *en route*. This was a hamlet just below the 15,000 feet pass on the north side. No progress was made in negotiations and the Mission went on to Gyantse on April 11, 1904, after a futile attempt by the Tibetans to block it by armed force or show of this near Tuna and at the Tsamding Gorge. Again an attempt was made to negotiate, but on May 5 the Tibetans, reinforced by men from Kham, who are good fighters, attacked the Mission at night, and, though repulsed, kept up the siege for three days, and it was established that this attack was directly organized from Lhasa. It is all very well to turn the other cheek when attacked, but one cannot do

this for ever, and an advance to Lhasa to negotiate there was then sanctioned. Objections were raised by the military authorities on the ground that the troops could not be kept up there in winter, and I am aware of the great difficulties that Sir Francis had in carrying out the advance successfully to Lhasa, where he arrived on August 3. The Dalai Lama with Dorjief had fled to the north before his arrival. As was foreseen, he made more rapid progress in negotiations, though the lamas of the three great monasteries as usual were violently in opposition. It took twelve days for a telegram to go and be answered from Simla, and time was running very short, as the General commanding the escort had declared that he must leave on the return journey on September 15.

On September 7 the new Chinese Amban and the Tibetan Regent, in the absence of the Dalai Lama, who with the Russian agent Dorjief had fled on the advance to Lhasa, the heads of the three monasteries, and the National Assembly at last agreed to the terms proposed, including the occupation of Chumbi pending the payment of the indemnity 75 lakhs at 1 lakh a year, and the treaty in quintuplicate was duly signed. The Tibetans, of course, said that they were poor and could not pay so much, but when the instalments were mentioned they did not raise much objection, and apparently did not object to Chumbi being occupied pending payment. A brief telegram from the Secretary of State on July 26 had reached Sir Francis, and this stated that the indemnity should not exceed an amount which the Tibetans could pay in three years, but he was to be guided by circumstances in the matter, and Chumbi was to be occupied as security for the indemnity and fulfilment of the trade marts' conditions. The full despatch of August 5 explaining the difficulties of the general political conditions did not reach him until after the Treaty was signed, and to have reopened the matter would have been impossible.

In the circumstances I venture to think that Sir Francis acted well within a reasonable discretion. It was easy for Government at any time to remit the balance of the indemnity and leave Chumbi if the trade marts and other conditions were duly observed and satisfactory, and they might well have done this without administering a reproof to their envoy and repeating this apparently in a State paper compiled in 1926, which it now appears is in existence.

Tibet, too, is not such a poor country as is supposed. In the time of Warren Hastings the Tibetans quoted gold as one of their chief exports, and there are valuable alluvial gold fields in Tibet. I have seen the gold dust brought down from these in goose quills with clay stoppers. Geese and duck breed freely

there. It would be a calamity if these fields were exploited by a gold rush, but the Tibetans could have got the indemnity charges from them. At present, when a large nugget is found, it is restored and the working closed, as the belief is that the big nuggets are the parents of the gold! Unfortunately this information was not available to the British Government.

At any rate the policy of the Indian Government, as carried out by its envoy, was fully successful. The Nepal Government, thanks to the interview of Sir Chandra with Lord Curzon, co-operated cordially with the Mission throughout, and the Tongsa Penlop (afterwards Maharaja) of Bhutan went personally to Lhasa with the Mission. Dorjjeff and the other Russian agents were no longer heard of. The Dalai Lama returned to Lhasa after a rather unhappy sojourn in North-West China. The Tashi Lama of Shigatse came down to India in 1905 and paid a visit to King George V., then Prince of Wales. He fell out with the Dalai Lama, and in his turn went to North-West China, where he died a year ago when at last about to return after the Dalai Lama's death. It is said that he would have returned before with a reincarnation of the Dalai Lama, but the Chinese wished to send an Amban with him, and the Tibetans would not have this. It is now again rumoured that another reincarnation of the late Dalai Lama five years after his death has been found in the same area near Koko Nor, and that he is being conducted with a Chinese escort to Lhasa. If there is such an escort there may again be trouble in Lhasa. In the meantime our political officers and others pay friendly and long visits to the authorities in Lhasa, and large expeditions to climb Mount Everest are repeatedly allowed by Tibet, though they must be rather a trial to the country and people.

All this is the result of the policy of the Government of India under Lord Curzon and the efforts of Sir Francis Younghusband and his Mission, and the charge of exceeding his instructions might well be buried in oblivion.

It is a coincidence that one of my first duties as Foreign Secretary in India was to prepare the materials for Lord Curzon's Despatch of January 8, 1903, on Tibetan Policy composed in the breathless rush of the Coronation Darbar of King Edward VII. at Delhi, and one of Mr. Brodrick's first duties in the India Office was to deal with the telegram of October 26, 1903, from the Government of India asking for sanction to the move of the Mission to Gyantse, and he issued the telegram of November 6 sanctioning that move on conditions prohibiting occupation or permanent intervention in Tibetan affairs in any form.

Although difficulties continued for some time about trade, the Chumbi Valley was evacuated in January, 1908. In the meantime, in 1907, the Chinese Government had expressed a wish to

negotiate trade regulations. These were to be arranged with the Tibet Government, but the British Government, while pointing out this, agreed to the Chinese request, provided a Tibetan representative attended and acted. Mr. Chang with Mr. Ho and Mr. Wu with the Tibetan Tsarong Shape went to India in 1907. Mr. Dane, the Foreign Secretary, was the British delegate, with Mr. E. Wilton of the Chinese consular service. The Chinese and Tibetans were comfortably housed near Simla in the summer and autumn, and the negotiations continued in the usual desultory manner, but the Arctic rigours of Tibet did not affect them, and they did not interfere with my ordinary work. Friendly tea parties were the rule, and at last the regulations were thrashed out and ready. Then poor Mr. Chang could not make up his mind to sign. He was really in a state of terror, and Wilton ascertained that he was afraid that, if he signed, he would be degraded or decapitated on his return to China. We all went down to Calcutta in November, and the same game went on. I had given Mr. Chang a tame Himalayan bear I had reared as a cub, which he was most anxious to get to present to the Dowager Empress, who was then very interested in her zoological collection at Pekin. I had to leave on February 20 on appointment as Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab, and Mr. Wilton took over. The weather was then hot, and the poor bear, sitting by the roadside in a bath and fed by all passers-by, eventually expired of heat and surfeit. At last, on April 30, 1909, Chang signed the treaty as prepared at Simla in October. I believe his life was spared, but my poor bear died through his dilatory action. My friend's name was Chang Yin Tang. Younghusband and O'Connor can hardly have recognized themselves under the Chinese triplicated permutations of General Yung-Hai-Pun and Colonel Ho-Ken-He!

In the meantime, with two ex-Ambassadors to Russia dominating the Foreign Office, the movement in favour of closer relations with that power was in full strength with a Liberal Government in power in England, and Russia, weakened by her crushing defeat by Japan in the East, was only too ready to welcome this. The Convention of 1907 was concluded, binding both powers against all forms of intervention in Tibet and reversing the alteration made in the amount of the indemnity from 75 to 25 lakhs, and the engagement to leave Chumbi after payment of three annual instalments of this. Russia was then in no position to interfere in Tibet, and we had actually to prevent Sven Hedin from entering Tibet from India, though, as suggested to him, he was able to do this by travelling through Kashmir and the new Dominion. The extraordinary interest shown by Russia in Tibet and its affairs and the reception of Dorjjeff by the Tsar, as shown by the discussions with the Russian Ambassador between 1902

and 1907 certainly warranted Maharaja Sir Chandra Shamshere of Nepal in his belief that there might be a danger to the tranquillity of Nepal from the existence of Russian Agents on the frontier. China's attempt to reassert her power in Tibet in 1910 and later failed, when the troubles, largely due to Communist emissaries in China, produced the condition of hopeless collapse of regular government. This and Russia's other engagements are no doubt partly responsible for the happier relations between Tibet and ourselves, which still prevail.

AFGHANISTAN—THE KABUL TREATY OF MARCH 21, 1905

I was not always so lucky in the climatic and other conditions as a negotiator as with Mr. Chang, and as British Envoy to Afghanistan in 1904-5 I had to face at Kabul temperatures down to 22 degrees below zero Fahrenheit in a building intended as a summer residence directly facing the Deh Muzang Gorge, through which icy blizzards raged. The fuel was wood ashes and charcoal, and we could not close the openings or we should have perished of carbon monoxide or dioxide poisoning. If a cup of hot tea was left standing for a minute or two in the morning it became ice slush. However, we all survived, and even the Indian servants and tent pitchers in an open serai kept good health. Two tent pitchers, who must have had pneumonia on them when they left Peshawar, and had to be left in the ambulance when we crossed the Lataband Pass on December 10, 1904, in heavy snow on our way up, were actually found on the next day to be better and completely recovered, so perhaps acute cold is a cure for this disease in some of its forms! We left Kabul after a short spell of spring weather on March 29, 1905, and did a double march to the camp at Samuch on the west of the Lataband. It snowed all the way, and we found all the tents down but two large ones. In a corner of one of these I slept, with the coolies and camp followers in the main tent, and the rest of the Mission occupied the other. There was 3 feet of snow on the ground, but we struggled across the Pass on the 30th, and found one camp follower frozen to death on the road and fifty or sixty others in the camp on the other side of the Pass suffering more or less severely from frost bite. After this the weather improved, but we came in for a serious earthquake at Nimla Bagh not far from Jalalabad on April 5, and this was the prelude to a rather trying time at Simla before I went on leave.

When King Amanullah came to England in 1927 he said, "You probably did not know that my mother and I were listening behind the curtain when you were discussing Treaty arrangements with my father." I said, "Well, I saw the curtain move

occasionally and guessed that we had an audience, and I was not sorry for that." He then said, "All the people in Kabul still remember you." I asked why, and he replied that there never was such cold in Kabul as when you were there. It was an extraordinarily cold spell in February even in India, and at Kabul it went down to - 22 degrees Fahrenheit, or 11 degrees below the previous minimum! We had to run up and down on the east, or sunny, side of a wall, which kept the blizzard from the Gorge off us in order to get warm enough before we could start for a walk. Away from the blast from the Gorge, it was not so bad, though very cold.

Later in the winter, when riding and even walking was not possible, we had to find other means of exercise. Major Brooke had a pair of steel skates, and we had these copied in the Arsenal. The copies were exact, but the blades were soft, as probably they used sword steel. We flooded an orchard, which made quite a good rink until the stream froze up solid. Then the ice sank and took all the slopes of the ground. With switchbacks everywhere and apple trees dotted about, skating became too dangerous a sport. I could not induce the Afghans to try it, though they had said that they also skated. We found that they slid with hobnails under their sandals.

Lord Curzon had left India in the spring of 1904 and returned to India in December, 1904, and so was in England while the Younghusband Mission was in Tibet and when the arrangements for a Mission to Kabul were under consideration. His health had suffered, and owing to the serious illness of Lady Curzon he was much distressed. This, as shown in Lord Midleton's book, made him more than usually difficult to deal with, and his relations with the members of the Cabinet—many of them close friends—were not harmonious. The results of this have already been indicated as regards Tibet.

As Sir Hugh Barnes, owing to ill-health, could not accept the post of Envoy, I was appointed in October, and left for Kabul on November 29, arriving at Kabul on December 12, and, as already noted, I could not leave that place until March 29. Lord Midleton has given an account of the serious differences of the opinion that arose between the Government and Lord Curzon on the instructions to be given to the Envoy and of the extraordinary message which was eventually sent by his Government that, in view of the interpretation put upon their instructions by the Viceroy, their terms should be dictated to the Envoy verbatim. The results anticipated from this message by Lord Midleton naturally followed, and Lord Curzon practically washed his hands of the whole affair, and, when I had carried out the orders of the Government, told me that he could not keep me on as Foreign Secretary.

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Lord Midleton and the Premier and other members of the Cabinet realized what an exceedingly awkward time I had gone through, and were more than kind, and so was H.M. King Edward VII. when he received me on February 9 on my return to England and conferred the K.C.I.E. on me. I showed him a facsimile of the Persian version of the Treaty made with the Amir on March 21, 1905, which is the original, as all our engagements with Afghanistan are in Persian, and he was very much amused at an incident which occurred at the signing of this. Two copies were prepared, one for the Amir and one for the British Government. I had signed the former and passed it to the Amir to sign with his golden pen. He signed and flourished the pen, with a result that a large blot fell on the parchment, which, however, did not affect the written Treaty. He was much upset by this omen, and said, "It is spoiled, we must make it out all over again." This would never have done, as we had been over three months in securing this document, and might well have spent another three months in discussing another. I had an inspiration and quoted the lines of the Persian poet Hafiz. "If that fair one of Shiraz will accept my heart, for the India dark mole on her cheek I will give Samarkand and Bukhara." Then to the Amir I said, "This blot is only a dark mole or beauty patch on the fair face of the Treaty, which makes it all the more lovely." The tension of the meeting dissolved amid loud cries of "Please God, how well he speaks." The old Afghan Shahghasi, who was the most determined opponent of foreign influences, sought to turn my remarks to account, and said to the Amir. "See, Your Majesty, Mr. Dane gives you Samarkand and Bukhara." I retorted, "Nay, the blot is on the Indian copy of the Treaty, first signed by me, and for this pledge of Indian help and support the Amir gives up Samarkand and Bukhara, where other influences prevail." He collapsed. All went well. The Treaty was signed on the Nauruz, or New Year's Day, of Persia and Afghanistan, which incidentally was my fortunate date of birthday and marriage day. Mr. Grant, one of my assistants, has recorded that on the way up to Kabul in December they were discussing when we might expect the Treaty to be concluded, and I said, "Oh, as usual with all events in my life, it will be signed on March 21." This seemed highly improbable at the time, but yet it came about!

Lord Midleton has been very generous to me in his book, but I must take exception to the sentence that "Curzon sent Mr. Dane, an experienced official and competent negotiator, in December, 1904, to represent the Indian Government at Kabul with instructions to open the case from his own standpoint."

I started before Lord Curzon returned to India, and the instructions which I received were based on Minutes of Lord Kitchener of

October 7, 1904, and Lord Ampthill of October 18, a despatch of the Government of India of October 21, and a despatch of the Secretary of State of October 21, with a detailed Aide Mémoire and a draft of a Treaty for my guidance. These were written after consultation with Lord Curzon at home, but purported to convey the orders of H.M. Government. Lord Kitchener had proposed a far-reaching scheme for military co-operation with Afghanistan, involving probably increase to the old subsidy, and held that, if this was not done, the sending of a Mission was not worth while. The Government of India supported him. The Secretary of State wrote that "the risks in proposing to the Amir Habibullah a scheme of military co-operation in which we are to have a preponderating voice are thus greater than H.M. Government are prepared to accept." They preferred to renew without material alteration the engagements which existed with the late Amir Abdul Rahman, who died in 1901, promising him help against aggressors if he conducted his foreign affairs only through the British Government, but they required that these should be embodied in a formal Treaty to be signed by both contracting parties and to be made personally with the Amir, as they held that the previous engagements with his father were.

I subsequently learned that the draft of the Aide Mémoire had been put forward by Curzon and that H.M. Government did not quite take his view, and wished "that contentious matters should as far as possible be avoided, as they might prevent the signing of such a Treaty which they considered as our main interest." But it can hardly be said that I was acting on instructions from Curzon's standpoint only.

The real trouble was that everyone concerned had a different object. Lord Kitchener and the Government of India in October put the military question forward as the main, if not the sole, object of the negotiations. Lord Curzon did not agree with this view, but wished the Amir to come down to India and discuss the situation with him. Failing this, he stressed the necessity for dealing with the practical frontier difficulties which had occurred and the failures of the Amir to comply with the conditions of the former engagements regarding his external relations. (These were contained in a letter of June 20, 1880, from Sir Lepel Griffin to Abdul Rahman, agreeing to recognize Abdul Rahman as Amir on certain conditions; Abdul Rahman's reply of June 22, 1880, formally accepting the conditions on which he was to be recognized; a letter from Mr. A. C. Lyall to Abdul Rahman, dated July 20, 1880, confirming the engagements; a letter from Lord Ripon, the Viceroy, dated June 16, 1883, to Abdul Rahman, granting him a personal subsidy; a letter from Sir M. Durand, date November 12, 1893, in relation to the demarcation of the

border between India and Afghanistan, and confirming the previous agreement.)

H.M. Government's views are given above.

The Amir wanted a dynastic Treaty with an increased subsidy and immediate military action against Russia. Whether he had got wind of Lord Kitchener's Minute, etc., I do not know, but on November 11, 1904, before I started from India, he wrote to me that through the help and sympathy of the Government extended to Japan the legs of the adversary, which he had intended to place one on Afghanistan and one on India, had been broken, and the body now lay before him, and with the sword to be given him he would cut it down, and what name and fame would be acquired by me for giving him such a sword. The Afghans had not got all the papers, as the day we left Peshawar a clerk was offered £200 to say yes or no to the question if the subsidy was to be increased.

My instructions were to point out to him that, as he had admitted, he alone would not be able to cope with Russia, and that, if he wanted help from Britain and India he must put us in a position to give such help effectively. This I did in general terms, and he replied that the words of my lips were repeating the thoughts of his heart. Our conversations were in Persian, but to prevent any errors, and to give myself time to answer the arguments hurled at me by the Amir and his advisers, I insisted on having two interpreters present at the business talks. He could not be kept off the military question, and said that His Majesty had also wished that an attack on Russia should be concerted, and it was on this account that he had agreed to receive a Mission. I replied that I was quite sure that His Majesty had never suggested such a thing, and the British Government would never consent to attack Russia without provocation. Later I had to tell him this formally at the direction of Government. Then on January 2 he repeated this suggestion for repelling Russia, and insisted on explaining to me the plans concerted by himself and his ministers and the Council of State for the protection of Afghanistan. The principal feature of these was that he should give us a right of way for a road or roadway from Quetta via Chaghai to the Helmund River, down that to Chakansur near Seistan, with a large area for a cantonment and station there, and with a similar right of way to a station at Hashtadun south of Herat when we wanted it. This he truly said would be a shield thrown in front of his country where in the plains they could not cope with the enemy. A railway to or towards Kabul would be a spear pointed at his heart, and he and his people could not at present have that, but we could, of course, make railways up to the frontiers and, if we wanted a railhead at any place, and he pointed to Dhaka on

the map—that might be arranged if his plan was accepted. He repeated his request made to Mr. Dobbs in 1903 that the 60,000 old Martini Henry rifles might be given to him for distribution to the guards and tribes in Badakhshan and along the northern frontier to Herat, and suggested British officers being sent up to see that this was done, so that the rifles could not return to our frontier tribes. "Settle this," he said, "and then we can easily dispose of everything else." The Council of State also put forward a draft Treaty which is practically that which was eventually signed. Until this main issue of military assistance was settled the Amir declined to discuss other points.

My report of this unexpected opening led to Lord Curzon telegraphing on January 10 that, though the proposals were fantastic, he considered them genuine, but they could not be discussed by Dane at Kabul, and that he should say that, as he was without the requisite military knowledge, the arrangements could only be discussed with the Viceroy by the Amir. For three years Curzon had been trying to get the Amir to meet him at Peshawar or elsewhere, but he would not. The Secretary of State replied that the military co-operation should be reserved for our military advisers, but he did not agree to revive the proposal that the Amir should go down to India to meet the Viceroy.

However fantastic the Amir's defence scheme may have appeared in 1905, it did give us an opportunity of acquiring a footing on the Helmund River, whence measures could be taken for regulating the river possibly for irrigation and for controlling thereby irrigation in Seistan, which was a scheme much favoured by Lord Curzon. It also would have helped Lord Kitchener's subsequent plan for placing our defence forces on the Helmund in case of an attack on India. During the Great War we had to adopt the Amir's scheme with the difference that we could not take the shorter line via the Helmund to Chakansur and Hashtadun, but had to use the desert route to Seistan and thence to Meshed, through the then flaccid Persia. With present conditions in Iran this would have been impossible. But a practicable motor route was established, and General W. Malleon, who was one of the Kabul Mission, when working to the north of Meshed at the end of the war, must often have thought of the Amir's scheme, and of the regrettable summary and indefinite deferment of consideration of this.

I am afraid that Lord Curzon suggested this, as he thought that he had got an excellent opportunity of forcing the Amir to come and meet him in India. This the Home Government would not agree to, but they approved of the indefinite deferment to prevent possible trouble. It was an unfortunate compromise and led directly to most of the difficulties of the Mission in Kabul. We

could quite easily have agreed to send a joint Afghan-British Commission to examine the possibilities of the scheme, put our general treaty through, and then taken up the scheme later, if this was considered feasible and desirable. This was my view, and I think it was sound, but later I could not induce Lord Curzon even to give the Amir our old rifles for his northern tribesmen.

On January 6 the Amir heard of the fall of Port Arthur. The success of Japan had considerably modified the Afghan view of the strength of Russia and their need for our help. The reference of the Amir's defence scheme to the Government of India and the delay in receiving a reply was also causing trouble. I had begged that they should not be snubbed, and that I might discuss it generally with him subject to reference to military experts. I had three very expert military advisers with me and the Afghans knew this. The weather got very cold and the Amir was attacked by acute gout, from which he suffered, and could not get up. It was even rumoured that his life was in danger, but a British medical officer up in Kabul, Colonel Cleveland, did not think it was as bad as that. Still, he was undoubtedly very ill and could not see us at all for some time, and then our meetings took place in his bedroom. His brother, Nasrullah Khan, and the anti-British party dominated the situation and fought for the view that the subsidy was permanent. The Amir had been rather willing to agree that it was for his father's life only and had to be renewed. On January 30 I communicated the views of Government about deferring the consideration of the defence scheme, and on January 31 a formal letter was received from the Amir declaring that the British Government evidently had no intention of dealing with Afghanistan with equity and justice. Such being the case, he did not consider it necessary to conclude this new Treaty without explaining the matter to his whole nation, as it meant handing over the independence of Afghanistan to the British Government.

He also withdrew his defence proposals as the British Government had not recognized his good intentions. This indicated the probability of an absolute breach, and would have justified me in breaking off the negotiations and returning to India to consult the Government. However, I decided to endeavour to restore the condition of friendly negotiations as I knew that the Amir was really not fit for work and that the letter was probably the draft of the anti-British party, who by this time were in full control of affairs. Habibullah had married the daughter of Sirdar Muhammad Yusaf Khan, one of Muhammad Yakub Khan's party, who had lived in Dehra Dun. He and his brother, Muhammad Asaf Khan, had thereby gained much influ-

ence, and she was known as the Hindustani Queen. She was, of course, the sister of the late Nadir Shah, and his three able brothers now in power. It was largely due to their influence and the visit of Major Bird, I.M.S., to Kabul in the spring of 1904 to dress the Amir's hand after a gun accident, and Mr. Dobbs' visit to Kabul when passing from Herat to India that the Amir agreed to a Mission going up. She only had a daughter, which was most unfortunate, as a son by her would have had first claim to succeed as being of Royal blood on both sides. The Amir was again under the influence of Ulya Hazrat, the mother of Amanullah, a clever woman and a strong personality.

I was told an amusing tale about her later by the lady doctor who went to Kabul. One day she was in this Queen's apartments and the Amir came in. He was troubled with something in his eye and was making a great fuss about it. She said, "May I see what I can do?" and she took out the grit at once. He was much pleased and summoned his purse bearer and gave her a present in gold coins. He told the purse bearer to remove the royal purse, but the Queen said "No. Whatever is opened in my rooms is mine and the purse must be left here," and he had to accept this.

Promptly on February 1 I secured an interview with the Amir and asked what his letter really meant. I read a formal letter repudiating his views of the attitude of the British Government and further examining his contentions. He then agreed to suspend his letter of January 31 pending further discussions.

By this time the worst of the winter had set in. The Amir's condition was really serious; hardly anyone moved in Kabul, where the people huddled together for warmth in their houses and fuel was running short. Negotiations were perforce held up. It was suggested that we might leave or worse might befall us if the Amir died. I pointed out that in the Arctic conditions prevailing we should never be able to get through to India and the fate of the British Expedition in January, 1842, would certainly befall us. If we stayed where we were, we should be fairly safe, as whichever of the contending parties became Amir would hold us as valuable hostages, and Inayatullah was still in India. So we held on, but it was not pleasant. We had seen on our way up the iron parrot's cage on a pole, in which Abdul Rahman had shut up alive a man charged with protecting part of the road who had himself looted travellers. The miserable shreds and tatters of humanity were still in the cage. Opposite our residence was the Kuh-i-Lula, or Hill of Rolling, down which people were rolled in barrels filled with spikes. In one of our walks we came across the place of execution, a small rounded mound or calvary, with six gallows in a circle and a higher gallows in the centre.

Major Brooke, who had an Irishman's humour, pointed this out to me and said, "All arrangements have apparently been made—the high gibbet for the Envoy and the others for the members of his staff." I do not know that all the staff were quite pleased with the prospect, but we held on.

At last the weather improved, and I was definitely told that the British Government were quite content to accept the draft of the Treaty put forward by the Amir's Council of State, and that I must push conciliation to the utmost to secure the signing of this. The Shahghasi was once insolent and said, "If you do not say how many men you will send up, you may send ten and say you have fulfilled your engagements." I countered this by saying, "If that is the idea of the value of British engagements I had better pack up my papers and leave." The Amir intervened and rebuked the Sirdar. Nasrullah was often insolent. He refused to produce the originals of Griffin's and Lyall's letter to Abdul Rahman, and he affected to disbelieve the existence of any acceptance of the terms by Abdul Rahman, saying, "We have only Mr. Dane's statement for these." Fortunately I had the original letter of Abdul Rahman accepting the terms and produced it. It was scrutinized most carefully, but at last admitted. I insisted on an apology from Nasrullah, and he had to give this. When he escorted me to the outer door of the fort after the signing of the Treaty, he whispered, "You, of course, understand that I am really a sincere friend of the British, but have to make this show," and he gave me a framed photograph of himself. I am afraid I was not cordial as I never liked him, and it was all very well to dissemble his love, but why should he add insult to ignominy?

RESULTS OF THE TREATY AND SUBSEQUENT EVENTS

At the last moment the Amir proposed slightly to alter the draft, but I would not risk further trouble, and so we signed. There was a Gargantuan feast to celebrate the union of hearts. The Amir was a mighty eater, and I had to keep level with him, as this is etiquette. I felt that I had scored off our arch opponent the Shahghasi, as the Amir said, "I am going to send him a dish of ices. Watch what happens." He had never eaten with foreigners before, and he had gone so far as to declare that he would not meet in a friendly way our Envoy at Kabul, who was a Muhammadan gentleman of Shahpur of very good position, for which I rebuked him, as all true Muslims are brothers and equal. The mountain of ice-cream was taken to him and he rose to receive it in honour of his King. He perhaps thought it was a sort of rice water paste commonly sold in the hot weather, and took a

big mouthful of it. His agonies were pitiable to behold, and I trust that his fierce anger was cooled. He really was rather a fine old Afghan of the old type.

After the Treaty was signed our Envoy was given a permanent high place in the Amir's Darbar as Brigadier, immediately after the ruling members of the family. The Amir wrote a formal letter accepting most if not all of the subsidiary points which we had put forward about frontier matters, etc., and the Shahghasi consulted my Indian secretary about these.

One of the points on which Lord Kitchener laid great stress was the examination by military experts of the passes on the Hindu Khush and the positions on the Oxus. This, of course was held up as we had held up the Amir's defence scheme, which, however, now was still open to consideration. He was very anxious to get 60,000 old Martini Henry rifles, which were useless to us and were being bored out as smoothbores for watchmen, broken up and sold, and often rebuilt in the Kohat Pass and used against us. I repeatedly urged that these might well be given to him and sent up with officers, as suggested by him, to see that they were given to the tribes beyond the Hindu Khush. I made a final attempt to get this allowed by a telegram and a personal letter to Lord Curzon, but I was ignored. I have reason to believe that, if they had been given, we should have got Dhaka as a railhead for Lord Kitchener's Kabul River railhead, and the subsequent absurdity of leaving this unfinished and building another costly but rather inefficient railway only to Landi Kotal and one, if not two roads, through the Khaibar would have been avoided.

To secure the improvement of roads in Afghanistan I took up with me a 8 h.p. De Dion motor-car. It had to be hauled by bullocks with raw buffalo hide covers for the tyres after it left India, but it arrived in good order and was driven into Kabul. It was at once called the Shaitan Araba, or Devil's Carriage, and I myself saw three Afghans riding on one pony shot high in the air, when the pony was confronted with the car, amid the roars of laughter of the spectators. We taught two men in the Amir's arsenal to run it, and I explained to him that it was a poor thing as the roads were not good enough for a really decent car, but it would perhaps do as a shooting car. He got very interested in it, and when he came down to India in 1907 we gave him two splendid cars, and the roads to Kabul and from Kabul to Kandahar were soon put in order, and all this cost us little or nothing. A subsidy for the construction of these roads, as was contemplated, would have been heavy. A similar De Dion car was given to the Tashi Lama in 1905, and O'Connor took one with him to Seistan.

The Government of India's despatch of May 4, 1905, conveyed their views on the Mission in terms of scalding irony and freez-

ing contempt, and said that it was not worth while in their opinion to despatch a Mission to Kabul to secure such a negative and meagre result. They added that the Mission left the Amir in a friendly and favourable frame of mind, and did not deny that such an attitude was in itself more valuable than any paper stipulations.

This is what I hoped for. I was sorely tempted, in loyalty to the Viceroy, to break off and leave, and, in fact, when the Amir suggested further changes in the draft I nearly did this. But I realized that there was much to be said for the view of the British Government. I remembered the terrible results of the 1838-42 intervention in Afghanistan, when my own grandfather and other relations were prisoners for a time. I had seen the waste and loss of life in the Afghan Wars of 1878-81 and in the Tirah Campaign of 1897-98. I thought that my own career was ended, as I was ground between the upper and nether millstones of Whitehall and Simla, but I felt that I must subordinate my own views and loyalty to my Chief, Lord Curzon, to the orders of the British Government, which, owing to divided counsels, appeared to be the only way of saving a disaster. If the Amir had been forced to go down and meet Lord Curzon or to sign a Treaty as drafted by us, and he might have been compelled to do this, the Treaty would have been worthless, his pride would have been hopelessly offended, and he would have torn it up at the first opportunity.

AFTER THE TREATY

As it is, I believed I had made him a friend. And so it was. In 1907 he offered to pay a private visit to Lord Minto, the Viceroy, and hoped to get some tiger shooting, but no business was to be transacted. He came, and the formal meeting was arranged at Agra.

When I met him at the entrance to the old Mogal Fort to escort him to the Diwan-i-Am, where Lord Minto was holding a Chapter of the Indian Orders, which he wished to attend, he was so struck with the beauty of the scene that he seized me by both hands and said, "I never believed that there could be anything so beautiful in this world as this. I shall to all eternity be grateful to you for having arranged that I should be able to come down as an honoured guest." He was genuinely moved, and the old fort, all lit up with the beautiful robes and jewels of the Princes and the audience, was certainly a wonderful sight. The Chapter was designed to show how closely the Viceroy wished to associate the Princes with him in welcoming the Amir to India, and followed Lord Mayo's precedent when he gathered the Panjab Princes to meet Amir Shere Ali Khan at Rupar in 1869. We had

a photograph of that ceremony, and were able to settle a difficult question of seating from that. The Viceroy and the Amir sat on the same dais and the members of the Chapter on seats at right angles. It had an excellent effect on the Amir, but he could not bring himself to like the Bengalis and their style of dress.

At Calcutta the Amir was housed in Hastings House, Alipur, which Lord Curzon had taken over as a guest house for Princes and distinguished visitors. I had to arrange the house, and it is rather a curious coincidence that my mother's great-grandfather, Henry Griffiths, who went out to India with Warren Hastings in 1769 as a boy and worked as his private secretary for several years, probably lived in that house. The Amir found Calcutta so pleasant that he insisted on staying there until it was too late for him to go to the tiger shoot in the Central Provinces, which had been arranged for him, and he had to go straight to Bombay and thence to Kabul. His visit, thanks to the tact of His Excellency the Viceroy and his family, was a triumphant success, and our only difficulty was to get him to leave Calcutta, when I was informed that there was a risk of his being assassinated by his entourage, since he seemed to care for nothing but European society. He even thought of a European wife, and had been made, it was said, a Christian when Lord Kitchener and Sir Henry MacMahon took him one night to the Masonic Hall. This would have been a disaster, but I went personally and got him to the station. He saw our army, our roads, our canals, harbours, and docks, and but for the extraordinary self-opinion, or even conceit, of all Afghans, he must have felt rather like the Queen of Sheba.

He was rather annoyed with me for moving him on, but I think soon recovered, as we really liked one another, and I was deeply grieved when I heard of his assassination in Lughman in 1919. It was rumoured that after his return from India in 1907 an attempt was made on his life in the same district, and mullas were blown away from guns. Their heirs may have been the instruments for his murder.

The usual malignant fate attended our Afghan relations. No sooner had Lord Minto succeeded in establishing the most friendly relations with Habibullah, who much liked him and his family, than the Liberal Government proceeded to upset everything with a request that Lord Minto should get the Amir to sign the convention of non-intervention which they were making with Russia in 1907, to which reference is made in connection with Tibet. I told the Viceroy that the Amir would never agree to this after all we had told him of the danger of Russia and his own desire to cut her down root and branch. So it fell out. The Amir was for a time much upset, and the British and Russian

Governments had at last to make shift without his signature, for which they had stipulated.

Yet when the stress came in 1914 the Amir was loyal to the engagements which he had made with me. He was pressed by the Germans and Turks to join them, and German officers and Turkish troops were ready to go to Afghanistan. The anti-British parties there were pressing him to do this, and all Afghanistan was seething with excitement for the spoils of India. He wrote that he would not do what they wanted, but must keep them in play, as the Afghans are so skilful in doing. Upper India was in this way saved. If he had joined, all the frontier tribes would have come in, and with only two full divisions and a few volunteers we had nothing to oppose such an invasion. I venture to think therefore that I was right in not allowing the negotiations to break down, and that my Treaty, though derided, was a great asset to Great Britain and India.

Alas, again malignant fate intervened. I recorded an opinion that if the Amir lived for ten years or more until Amanullah had grown up there might be trouble over him and his mother, and so it happened in 1919. The Amir was shooting in Lughman, a tract north of the Kabul River above Jalalabad. His brother Nasrullah, and son, the heir-apparent, Inayatullah, who visited India while I was at Kabul, and Ali Ahmad Khan Jan, a brother of Ulya Hazrat, were awaiting his return at Jalalabad. Ali Ahmad told me the story in 1928 when King Amanullah came to England. He met a man in the early morning who told him that the Amir had been shot that night and died, without a sound, of a bullet in the ear. He informed the others and asked which of them had most influence with the mullas and people. Inayatullah said his uncle, and so it was decided that Nasrullah should succeed. He could not make up his mind to start at once for Kabul, where Amanullah and his mother were in charge and held the Treasury. The next day troops came from Kabul and took all of them to Kabul. He, as the Queen's brother, came off all right. Nasrullah was put in prison and died in six months, and Inayatullah was in detention and soon under treatment waxed fat and useless. Amanullah, of course, is still living, but lost his throne in 1929 by trying to hurry the East in the way of surface Western civilization. He made over to Inayatullah on leaving, who in turn in three days gave charge to Ali Ahmad. He after a short struggle was defeated and seized by the usurper Habibullah, generally known as Bacha-i-Sakkao, or the Waterman's Brat, who in 1929 wanted him to be his Commander-in-Chief. Ali Ahmad was a brave man, though perhaps not too scrupulous, and he refused and hurled abuse at the usurper. He was placed on the ground and a tent peg driven

through his head from ear to ear, while he still cursed his enemy. Poor man, he wanted me to look after the education of his son, a very nice boy, but I demurred unless Amanullah wished it, and evidently he did not. He and others, I was surprised to find, remembered and could quote the speech in Persian which I made at the Darbar in Kabul after the signing of the Treaty on March 25, 1905. Nadir Khan, a son of Muhammad Yusaf Khan, recaptured Kabul in October, 1929, and was made Shah. He was assassinated in November, 1933, and his young son, Zahir Shah, succeeded.

Verily in Afghanistan uneasy lies the head that wears a crown, or even that of an Envoy charged with rather impossible and contradictory instructions in the same country. Rumours were rife that the Amir's assassination was due to dynastic causes, and Amanullah, to acquire merit with the fanatics, without a shadow of excuse proceeded to proclaim a Jihad (religious war) and to invade India. The Afghans actually captured the Thal Fort and occupied Kurram. Some aeroplanes over Jalalabad and a large massing of troops soon brought Amanullah to his senses, and he sued for peace. The negotiations at Rawalpindi with my old friend and colleague, Sir A. Grant, followed in 1920 with the rather surprising result that all former engagements were cancelled and the control of Afghan foreign relations was abandoned; and we did not even get a railhead at Dhaka or apparently any other consideration. Whether this arrangement was due to war weariness or other reasons, I have had no means of ascertaining. At any rate we have now no commitments to Afghanistan, though happily King Nadir Shah and his son King Zahir Shah have maintained with us the friendship of their progenitor, Sirdar Muhammad Yusaf Khan. Long may this continue. Kabul with a good road to the Oxus, as well as to India, and aeroplanes and motors regularly moving to and fro, and especially to and from the Oxus, now connected with railways to Southern and Central Russia and Siberia, is a very different place to what it was even when I spent a winter there. All this may be for the best, but if our friendship with Russia breaks down again, the position in India will be much more dangerous than it ever has been. We must hope for the best, but strengthen our defences.

VICEROYS IN INDIA

At any rate, I am glad to think that Lord Curzon forgave my lapse, and we were good friends again for years. I cannot adequately express my gratitude to Lord Ampthill and Lord Minto for the steady support and sympathy that they were always

good enough to accord to me, so that my recollection of Viceroys under whom I have served is a very happy one.

I was absent in Kabul and on leave when the serious friction between Curzon and Kitchener arose, and so was spared a very distressing period. On the main question whether or not there should be a Member of the Viceroy's Council capable of passing an opinion on the proposals of the Army Staff, I venture to think that Lord Curzon was right, though he put his case in such a way as to antagonize the Government. The military element in India is perforce very prominent and dominant, and a Commander-in-Chief unchecked might easily land the Government in serious difficulties and expense. The Military Member, however, must be tactful and not too prominent in his check. One can quite understand Lord Balfour's wish that it should be placed on record that he did not accept Lord Curzon's resignation merely because of his differences with Kitchener. It is a pity that Lord Curzon, who had wonderful vision in addition to his marvellous ability and capacity for work, sometimes ruined his policies by want of tact in carrying them out. As an office man he was unrivalled. I have known him, while seated on the back seat of a jolting tongha on the Frontier, write a perfect despatch in pencil on a sheaf of loose sheets of paper held in his left hand. He said that he acquired the art in the House of Commons.

Curzon died a disappointed man. His ambition was to become Viceroy of India, Foreign Secretary, and Prime Minister. He succeeded in gaining the first and second posts, but they turned to gall and wormwood while he held them. If he had refused to hold on while a sort of parallel Foreign Office was being conducted by Mr. Lloyd George it might have improved his prospects of the Premiership. When this seemed to be within his grasp, and he was actually summoned to the Palace, he arrived only to be told that in the condition of the country the Premier must be in the House of Commons, in which then he could not sit! I wrote to condole with him, and his reply in his usual great bold flowing hand was to thank me, and to add: "Now we know the full disabilities of the Peerage." Still, all said and done, he was one of the greatest Viceroys who have guided the destinies of India.

Lord Kitchener, also, with all his great qualities was rather inhuman towards the world in general, though he was loved by his staff, and he would probably have done better if he had been less of a politician. But he also deserved well of his country, and merited a better fate. In India he certainly did much to make the Indian Army a better instrument for modern warfare, and so it played a fine and most valuable part in the Great War. Now again, in spite of the clamour of Congress, it is being employed on the defence of India and the Empire at large in Aden and

Singapore, and a leading Indian statesman in the Panjab has pointed out that, if Great Britain will trust her friends and meet the cost, great armies of martial races can still be raised there for defence. This is true as long as we have men out there capable of leading the people and do not waste our time and substance in the pursuit of nebulous schemes of parliamentary government and social uplift of doubtful value and great cost, and quite unsuited to the present general conditions of India.

It was Lord Minto who asked me to return as Foreign Secretary at the end of my leave, and in 1908 secured my appointment as Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab. India had rest in his time and the Princes were devoted to him. He loyally supported most of Lord Curzon's schemes for the strategic defence of India, and we were able to check the reckless rush of radical reaction. Lord Morley wrote to him that I seemed to be steeped in the deepest tinctures of Curzonian dyes, but afterwards he was good enough to accept the nomination of myself as Lieutenant-Governor, and he presided in 1908 at a meeting of the Defence Committee, at which I had to state the views of the Government of India about the Persian Gulf and mid-Asia. The course of events proved that our objections to German and Russian railways to the Gulf and our view of the prospects of oil there were sound. We always pointed out the danger of these two Powers combining against us, as they did shortly afterwards. I understand on good authority that Lord Hewart, C.J., a leader of the Liberal Party, said that the notes and despatches drafted by me gave him much trouble, so perhaps I helped in some measure to restore the position.

My service of three years under Lord Minto was the happiest time of my life, except perhaps the three years in Kulu, after I was married to my wife, who for more than fifty-seven years has been the best helper in any success that I may have earned in my career. There I had a boundless field for my energies, and I achieved the unusual honour of being said to be the cousin of Jamlu, the King of all the numerous godlets of the Valley.

INDIA

REVEALING INDIA'S PAST. Edited by Sir John Cumming. (*India Society.*)

£1 5s. net.

(Reviewed by J. V. S. WILKINSON.)

No better subject for an India Society publication could have been chosen than this—the record of the Archæological Survey Department in the seventy-seven years since General Cunningham was given his first appointment as Director of Archæology. It is a record, as M. Foucher says in his Foreword, of “gigantesque enterprise,” and its compression into some 350 pages, without either omitting important details or overweighing the fabric, is an achievement which could only have been possible to a team of experts under really brilliant editorship. To preserve due proportion and unity of design, without obscuring the individuality of the contributors, must have been extraordinarily difficult.

The writers, who are past and present members of the Archæological Survey, have all given voluntarily of their best. Their articles range from Sir John Marshall's attractively written story of the Department over which he long presided with such distinction, through the whole field of conservation, exploration and excavation, and Hindu and Muslim epigraphy in British India. There is a long chapter on the Indian States, divided into sections, written by the several directors of archæology, and other chapters are devoted to Archæological Museums, Publications, and “India and the Tourist.” While Chinese Turkestan, the North-West Frontier, Tibet, and Burma have been included, Ceylon and Afghanistan have been omitted, as work in these places has never been the concern of the Department.

There are three maps and thirty-three plates.

There is a bare possibility that the main title may mislead. It is not the purport of the book to reveal India's past, but to describe how the Department has revealed and preserved the monuments of antiquity; it is a chronicle of departmental activities, not of a nation's antiquity, though it brings antiquity vividly before the reader.

Few people realize how varied those activities are: they comprise the rescue of monuments from destruction and decay, their repair and preservation; the laying out of great gardens; exploration; the reconstruction of the tissue of the lives and faiths of forgotten civilizations; the building and equipping of museums; expeditions to foreign countries; much detailed epigraphical work. Sir John Marshall is justifiably proud of the great archæological library, now comprising some 30,000 volumes, which he brought together in Simla, and of the photographic collection, containing 40,000 prints of the chief monuments; while the Department's annual reports and multifarious publications ensure that each fresh discovery becomes known to students.

Certain events stand out, and strike the popular imagination; Sir Aurel Stein's remarkable Central Asian journeys, and the dramatic story of the “Cave of the Thousand Buddhas”; the sensational finds in the valley of the Indus, through which, to quote M. Foucher, Sir John Marshall will always be known as the man who, archæologically speaking, left India

three thousand years older than he had found her. But hardly less notable is the work done at Taxila and Sanchi, among the great Islamic monuments, and on other sites too numerous to mention. Of all these the present book tells. It deserves the attention not only of specialized students and historians, but of all who wish to understand what India stands for in the world.

Sir John Marshall writes hopefully of the future. Indians are thoroughly alive to the value of their national heirlooms, and Congress leaders are as appreciative as supporters of the British *rāj* of the efforts which have been made to preserve them.

WARREN HASTINGS AND OUDH. By C. Collin Davies, M.A., Ph.D., Reader in Indian History in the University of Oxford. (*Oxford University Press.*) 12s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by SIR VERNEY LOVETT.)

This is a valuable monograph on those eventful passages in Warren Hastings' long administration which were connected with the broad and fertile *suba* of Oudh, now represented by the considerably smaller British India province of that name. When in 1772 Hastings began to rule in Bengal, Oudh was governed by Nawab Wazir Shuja-ud-daula and, as is shown by the map in this book, included large territories which are now districts of the Agra province. Among these was the Benares Raj, a large zamindari governed by Raja Chait Singh, who, while owing allegiance to the Nawab Wazir, was secured in possession by agreement between the latter and the Company's Government in Bengal. In 1775, when Hastings had become Governor-General, but was in a minority in his own governing Council, against his vote, on the death of Shuja-ud-daula, cession to the Company of the Benares zamindari was demanded from the Nawab's son, Asaf-ud-daula, who proved a feeble successor to his crafty and warlike father. Hastings' dealings with Oudh and Benares are very carefully surveyed in this book. Mr. Davies finds him "a man of his age," by no means always blameless, but of great courage and foresight. There is a remarkable passage in Hastings' letter to Alexander Elliott of January 12, 1777 (Glieg, II., 137), which shows his sense of the desirability of treating the Indian princes with consideration as allies and binding them to the Crown by ties of interest. "The late Nabob Shuja-ud-daula," he wrote, "who wanted neither pride nor understanding, would have thought it an honour to be called the vizier of the King of England, and offered at one time to coin siccās in His Majesty's name. . . . My intention is to show the advantages which would be derived by Government and its allies from a direct engagement with them made in the King's name which would secure it from wanton and licentious violation, and render the objects of it more certain and durable." Hastings' principles were in many ways far in advance of his time, and in sympathy with Indian sentiment he stood by himself; but the pressure of adverse circumstances and the hard realities of his environment impelled him at times to take measures which cannot be justified by modern standards of thought.

A passage on page 65, Forrest's *Selections from Records*, II., testifies strongly to the confusion and anarchy of the times. As he wrote in 1785: Every region of Hindustan groaned under different degrees of oppression, desolation and insecurity." We are told that in the course of his conversations with Shuja-ud-daula at Benares in 1773 the latter stipulated that, should the Afghans again penetrate to Delhi, his family—a very large one—should be given asylum in Bengal. In spite of his large army and royal dignity, he would not be able to secure their safety in his own broad territories. Indeed, at the very time he was living in fear of a hostile combination of Marathas and Rohillas. It was this apprehension that led to his seeking British aid in fighting the latter. Mr. Davies has ascertained from a document in the Calcutta Secret Records that the agreement of November, 1773, between the Governor and the Nawab Wazir was *not* for the "extermination," but merely for the "expulsion" from Rohilkhand of the Rohillas. From other original records he gives us descriptions of Shuja-ud-daula, his son and successor Asaf-ud-daula, of Oudh administration and military affairs. He shows the part played by the two Residents at Lucknow, Middleton and Bristow, the former Hastings' nominee, the latter the tool of Philip Francis. When at last Hastings' hostile colleagues had "sickened, died, fled" and he was really Governor-General, he once more set off for Benares and for the first time visited Lucknow. Nine years had gone by since his first visit to Benares, and there are passages in his letters which show how the hard and cruel experiences of these years had saddened and aged him. Even now he was like the captain of a ship in a storm, and in desperate need of money to finance necessary military operations.

And so we come to his treatment of Chait Singh and insistent demands on Asaf-ud-daula for funds which were to be raised largely from the resources of the Begams of the Oudh royal family. Mr. Davies tells the oft-told tale and explains the considerations that influenced the Governor-General's policy. He blames him for rashly provoking the Benares outbreak, but shows that he had good reason for distrusting Chait Singh. He traces the story of the Benares outbreak, of which Hastings has left his own version (Forrest's *Selections from Records*, II.). He goes on to the subsequent history of Oudh and Benares up to the end of Hastings' administration.

The story is a melancholy one. In the case of Oudh, Hastings succeeded to a political inheritance of an especially perplexing and thorny kind. He made what he could of it. But, subject to harrassing limitations, his efforts were largely crippled. Benares had been converted into British territory when he was Governor-General, but against his wish. There is much to criticize in his second visit and treatment of the Raja, whose system of administration, although no doubt bad, does not seem to have been materially bettered by Hastings' own arrangements, but rather for some time worsened. Neither the treatment of the Begams nor that of Nawab Faizulla Khan was creditable to the English name.

This book as a whole bears every mark of wide research and careful industry. It contains many interesting details and passages. It will be very useful to all students of Hastings' character and times.

MAHATMA GANDHI. Essays and reflections on his life and work. Presented to him on his seventieth birthday. Edited by Sir S. Radhakrishnan. (*Allen and Unwin.*) 7s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by F. G. PRATT.)

"From Vishnuland what Avatar?" Robert Browning asked in 1842. The answer came in 1869 with the entry into the world of Mohandass Karamchand Gandhi, whose seventieth birthday is celebrated in this volume of essays and reflections on his life and work, edited by the most famous of living Indian philosophers.

Of the sixty essays contributed, two are from China and Japan, four from America, and the rest are by European and Indian writers, the latter including two distinguished Muhammadans, Sir Abdul Qadir, lately Adviser to the Secretary of State, and Sir Mirza Ismail, the Dewan of Mysore, who is taking a prominent part in the efforts now being made to compose the differences which separate the Muhammadans from the Congress leaders. American opinion is represented in tributes and appreciations from W. E. Hocking, Professor of Philosophy in Harvard University; from Dr. Rufus Jones, of Haverford College, Pennsylvania; from Mrs. Pearl Buck; and from John H. Holmes, of the Community Church, New York, who salutes Gandhi "as great among all the great in ages past." His name and influence have been coupled with that of the Buddha by British as well as by Indian writers, one of whom foretells that the speeches and writings of this "great prophet of Hinduism" will form part of the sacred books of the Hindus. John S. Hoyland, of the Woodbroke Settlement, Birmingham, bears witness to the belief entertained by many distinguished Christian leaders that "this great seer of India has come nearer than we have to the discovery of the mind of Christ and to the practising of the way of Christ." Some compare him to St. Francis of Assisi, who took Poverty for his bride. Others, thinking of his insistence on handicraft in education and in life, see in this "farmer and weaver" a modern counterpart of the great Christian saint of the Dark Ages who rebuilt European civilization in little communal settlements of working monks. South Africa's philosopher-statesman, the Right Hon. J. C. Smuts, tells the story of the famous controversy in which he encountered the new and baffling technique of non-violent civil disobedience, which he describes as Gandhi's "distinctive contribution to political method." Two other white South Africans, the Hon. Jan Hofmeyer and Professor Hoernle, of Witwatersrand University, speak of the abiding mark left by Gandhi's leadership on the Indian community in South Africa and of the possibility of even more far-reaching consequences if the Gandhi tradition should one day inspire a response to the challenge set up by the White Domination policy in South Africa.

There is, of course, much more in these essays than the panegyrics of affectionate disciples. There are also the considered judgments of philosophers and statesmen, of leaders of thought in politics and sociology, of religious leaders and of men who are "sceptical of supernatural rumours." Among these there are some who do not accept, or accept only with substantial reservations, beliefs and doctrines which are fundamental in the Mahatma's

faith and practice. The ascetic code in all its fulness, says the editor, cannot without exaggeration be prescribed for the whole of humanity. Absolute Ahimsa, as conceived in India, has been criticized as exalting the value of life in general above the value of personality. His ideal of a primitive rural civilization in a machineless India is attacked by Dr. Bhagwan Das, of Benares, who beseeches the Mahatma to turn his mind to the question of the future social structure of India and to study the patterns of the scientific socialism prescribed by the wisdom of India's ancient *rishis*. In the political field, even so ardent an admirer as Romain Rolland is found in agreement with Arnold Zweig and with E. J. Thompson in denying the universal validity of non-violent non-co-operation. There are cases in which "we cannot recommend the practice of Gandhi's doctrine, however much we may respect it." But all are agreed on and do homage to the man's essential greatness.

Readers of Sir S. Radhakrishnan's noble phrases on the growth of man's soul from age to age in its search for truth and goodness will, perhaps, remember Keats's famous description of human life as a vale of soul-making, and will think of the Mahatma as a soul-maker, not for himself only, but for millions of his fellow-countrymen. What does "Mahatma" mean? Dr. Coomaraswamy says it is India's name for the human soul which is achieving emancipation from the petty individual self in its progress towards the Great Self which is the centre of all being. This central reality or truth is Gandhi's idea of God, and is expressed in the word *satyagraha* ("holding fast to the truth"), which is at the centre of his religious life. "To be true to such religion," he says, "one has to lose oneself in continuous and continuing service of all life." "And hence," to quote Carl Heath, "in M. K. Gandhi is to be found an integration of life. He is never standing apart, the spiritual superior, aloof. If he is a Mahatma, or Great Soul, he is also a man of the people amongst the people . . . right in the thick of the human struggle, moral and religious, social and political."

"For me," Gandhi has said, "there are no politics devoid of religion. They subserve religion." It is just here that Rajendraprasad, President of the National Congress, finds his highest title to praise. "He has lifted politics to a pitch of high idealism in which the end, however noble, can in no circumstances justify recourse to means which are not pure and immaculate."

Lord Samuel's essay ends with a fine summing up of his immense and many-sided services to India; but Gandhi has been a servant not only of India, but of humanity. The editor rightly claims that the central theme of this book is the challenge and message of Gandhi to the contemporary world.

In conclusion, though it would be out of place to speak here of the present crisis in India, perhaps the hope may be expressed that, before India is deprived of Gandhi's leadership, a way of conciliation may yet be found which will establish a "sane and civilized relationship between Great Britain and India," a "peace rooted in freedom and friendship."

WOMEN AND MARRIAGE IN INDIA. By P. Thomas. (*Allen and Unwin.*)
7s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by LADY LAYTON.)

"We cannot expect healthy, virile men and women to be of child-wives, slave mothers, and anæmic Purdah victims."

The author in this very outspoken and provocative book traces the stages through which Indian women have passed from their ancient matriarchal supremacy into a medieval degradation and slavery in which, through the instrumentality of legal restraint, linked up closely with religious rites and customs, purdah, child-marriage, and widow-burning played such a terrible part.

He shows how the subjection of Indian woman to the will of man was a slow process—not sanctioned in the early Vedas, where child-marriage was unknown—but accepted in the later Manu code, in which women were mere chattels and had no freedom economically or physically.

His comparison of widow-burning to the European medieval custom of witch-burning throws a fresh light on the devilries often perpetrated in the name of sanctity and as the price of the general ignorance of the people. The unwillingness to permit the education of women—the illiteracy of all but 14 per cent. of the male folk—has been the tragedy which has enabled ignorance and superstition to rule only too long among the masses of poverty-stricken peasants, as well as many city dwellers. Mr. Thomas rightly pays a tribute to those brave men and women who are fighting for the emancipation of Indian women against overwhelming odds. As he says, "They have to fight Manu, the Caliph, the Mullah, the Pundit, the prince, and the sturdy wife-beating peasant, to say nothing of the vast army of conventional moralists."

His whole analysis of the institution of marriage and family life is made with a very human understanding of the problem, though he does not perhaps recognize enough the immense strides that Indian women have made in the last twenty years, as evidenced by the astonishing number returned to the newly elected provincial legislatures, even to general as well as reserved seats and the choice of a woman to the Presidency of the All-India Congress Party, and even to cabinet rank in the United Provinces. Also—in spite of the terrible conditions under which many millions of Indian women and girls still live, and bear children, and suffer as outcast widows—I should say there is far less professional male jealousy of the Indian woman student entering the professions than in the West; and in the nationalist movement common suffering and struggle for independence, often leading to imprisonment, has gone a long way to making equality between the sexes, at any rate in educated circles, an accepted axiom. His references to the position of women in Russia—where equality of treatment has led increasingly to a strengthening of marriage ties based on mutual love and confidence, in spite of a far greater freedom to divorce, and for married women to work and become economically independent—proves his thesis that it is the natural soundness of human sympathy and human nature that will prevent frivolous divorces rather than narrow, rigid legal restraints.

He makes a very good case for this in India too—to be accompanied by a much higher conception of the importance of motherhood in place of husband-worship and of birth-control, so that the birth of the new generation shall be neither haphazard, nor dangerous and unhealthy.

THE AWAKENING OF INDIAN WOMEN. By Kamaladevi Chattopadhyayya and others. (Madras: *Everyman's Press*.) 2s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by LADY LAYTON.)

A collection of short sketches by some of those great leaders in the Indian Women's Movement, touching on such subjects as "Purdah and Prostitution," "Woman's Disabilities in Law," "Labour and Motherhood," and "Imperialism and the Class Struggle." This last is an Indian woman's view as to why Socialism has arisen in India and is receiving the support of so many keen Congress Nationalists. All these subjects and others give good reading, and should be studied widely in order that we may understand the different moral forces which are moving the people of India so rapidly forward, and may help them with our greater experience and our sympathy to attain that fuller life for all their people which is their chief purpose and desire.

STATE BANKS FOR INDIA. Being a Study of State Banks and Land Mortgage Credit Institutions in Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and the United States of America, with suggestions for establishing similar Banks in India. By Dr. Anwar Iqbal Qureshi. (*Macmillan*.) 12s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by R. W. BROCK.)

Influential sections of Indian opinion demand, and are manœuvring to accelerate, an early advance to political independence; and in an address to members of the East India Association, reported on earlier pages, Sir Frank Noyce, a former Industries Member, has adduced convincing proofs of India's advance towards industrial independence, as far as her resources and opportunities permit. It is not possible at this stage to forecast the final outcome of the renewed and intensified demand of Congress for a larger measure of constitutional autonomy; but that one result of present international complications will be a further development of Indian industries appears to be not merely probable, but certain. There is, however, a further possible line of advance—towards financial independence—which perhaps merits closer consideration than it has hitherto received. India's sterling debt still remains at the substantial figure of approximately £300,000,000. In more favourable circumstances it is conceivable that the £250,000,000 of dehoarded gold which India has exported since 1931 might have been utilized to reduce that formidable obligation, and if any further opportunity arises to make a move in that direction it will be to the mutual advantage of the two countries that it should not be neglected. In his recent annual report Sir David Meek, the Indian Trade Commissioner in the United Kingdom, has made the appropriate comment that, "In these days of

default it is interesting to point out that the Government of India have never defaulted in the payment of interest or other charges on these obligations." The tribute is fully deserved, but it is open to doubt whether the payments could have been met but for the fortuitous assistance which the above-mentioned gold shipments provided; and it is therefore pertinent to emphasize, and to draw the correct deductions from the fact, also noted by Sir David Meek, that in 1938-39 the gold exports were "the lowest since 1931-32, when the export of gold on a large scale from India began."

War conditions have now introduced another abnormal factor in Indo-British trading and financial relations, and the new trend will merit careful scrutiny. A substantial further increase in India's favourable balance with this country certainly ranks among the possibilities, for while, on the one hand, the price-level of Indian export produce has shown a steep rise and the British demand for this produce has increased, on the other hand, as in 1914-18, Indian imports of British manufactures will probably decline, partly as the result of larger production in India, partly as the result of the preoccupation of British industries with more urgent demands. In the event of the war lasting three years, India on this basis may well find herself in a position to reduce her sterling indebtedness, and, if so, certainly every facility should be afforded to enable her to do so. In the Report from which I have already quoted the Indian Trade Commissioner observes: "The purchasing power of the people of India is extremely limited. The margin which is available for the purchase of imported goods is very largely determined by the state of the export trade from India. Even an elementary study of the figures of Indian exports and imports will bear this out. Moreover, India's balance of payments can only be readily affected when there exists a large balance of exports from India over imports into India." In other words, "those countries which are anxious to make substantial increases in their exports to India will achieve their goal all the more readily if they find it possible to devise and support schemes which will foster India's export trade to themselves and to others." Here I have space only to offer the reminder that, as regards British exports to India, a reduction in India's sterling indebtedness, if war-time trade renders such a step possible, will achieve the same purpose as larger British purchases of Indian produce.

Equally essential, if India's ability to purchase manufactured goods is to be increased, is a reduction in the indebtedness of her vast rural population. In his valuable survey, *State Banks for India*, Mr. Anwar Iqbal Qureshi, Professor of Economics at the Osmania University, estimates that the total rural indebtedness of India at the beginning of 1938 was 1,200 crores of rupees, or, say, £900,000,000 sterling. Furthermore, a large portion of this sum, on which the borrowers are obliged to pay "unbelievably high rates of interest," has been borrowed for "all sorts of unproductive purposes." The net result is that, despite the huge accumulation of debt, "Indian agriculture is at present very poorly capitalized" and "yields very meagre returns. The condition of Indian agriculture today is practically the same as it was in many European countries 200 years ago." Having elaborated the banking facilities extended to farmers in other countries, notably Australia and the United States, the author formulates the case for the establishment of

corresponding facilities in India, his major conclusion being that "the existing banking system of India has failed to cater for persons of small and moderate means and to provide for the needs of farmers and industrialists," and that only the State can fill the gap in India's equipment thus indicated. And although his detailed proposals may fail to secure unanimous endorsement, there will be general agreement concerning the vital, and indeed urgent, importance of releasing the peasants in particular from the medieval financial thralldom to which the overwhelming majority still remain subject.

DECCAN HISTORY : ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.

(Reviewed by SIR ABDUL QADIR.)

A neatly printed volume bound in a yellow cardboard cover, which represents the colour of Hyderabad State, has been just brought out by the Civil Department of the Government of H.E.H. the Nizam. It contains a very interesting collection of ancient documents, throwing light on the history of this famous State of Southern India. Many of the documents have been photographed and reproduced in their original handwriting, with the signatures and seals which they bore.

In a brief introduction in Urdu, the Department which has published this collection has explained that in connection with the reorganization of various old departments of the State, which was recently in progress, it came to light that in the archives of the State "a valuable and rare historical treasure" lay buried. It is now proposed to arrange the books and documents contained in it and make it available for the use of research scholars and students of history. We are told that there are some manuscripts as well as printed books which will not, perhaps, be found anywhere else. A catalogue of such books is under preparation. The documents collected in this yellow book are just a sample of what is in store at Hyderabad, as well as what it is proposed to publish later on for public information.

Among the documents published in this simple book are some memoranda of the time of the Emperor Shab Jahan, and some of the time of his son, Aurang Zeb. The book begins with specimen copies of the orders of H.E.H. the present Nizam. Two of these are orders granting a daily allowance to two holy men on the occasion of his accession, one a Moslem, Khwaja Shamsad Din, the other a Hindu, Pandit Jagat Pershad. Then come specimens of the orders of the late Nizam, Mir Mahbub Ali Khan, bearing his own signatures, of which the one sanctioning the enhancement of the grant already given to the college at Aligarh is of special interest. This was on the recommendation of Sir Salar Jung, the famous Prime Minister of Hyderabad, who formed a high opinion of the college when he visited it. This is followed by the orders of the distinguished predecessors of the late Mir Mahbub Ali Khan. Among these documents there is one, reporting the receipt of an instalment of eighteen lakhs and thirty-three thousand and thirty-three rupees and five annas from Tipu Sultan. It is interesting to note that the sum was to go to the State treasury, after deducting the share of the East India Company and Rao Pandit Pardhan out of it. There is an

application from someone who is willing to improve the slow postal arrangements of the time. He says that the carrying of mail between Hyderabad and Poona takes from ten to fourteen days, and prays that if the arrangements were to be entrusted to him he would get the letters across in five days or possibly four days. This appears to have been readily sanctioned, and the word *manzur* (granted) appears on it in the Nizam's own hand. A number of old tables reproduced in the books give the market rates of articles of food and other articles of daily use prevailing at the periods they deal with, some of them showing a small difference between the rates for sale and for purchase. Among the old Moghal documents are some showing that there was a system under which the number of inhabitants of every village was counted and a record kept of it, along with the enumeration of the heads of cattle possessed by the village as a whole. It may also be mentioned that there are many specimens of daily official reports of the happenings in the south and of the functions performed by high officials, which used to be sent to the emperors by chroniclers called *waqui nigar*. The topics dealt with in this small collection being so varied in interest, one can well look forward to the publications of which this is only a forerunner, and the Government of H.E.H. the Nizam may be congratulated on the service thus rendered to historical research by this publication and by so arranging that the material in the possession of the Government is made available to the public.

FAR EAST

LABOUR CONDITIONS IN INDO-CHINA. Studies and Reports. Series B. (Economic Conditions), No. 26. International Labour Office, Geneva. (P. S. King.) 7s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by ANWAR IQBAL QURESHI.)

The League of Nations and International Labour Office have been constantly reproached by the Eastern countries for their neglect to take any keen interest in the economic problems of the East. The International Labour Office is to be congratulated for their decision to study the labour problems of the East. They have already published two other volumes, one dealing with labour conditions in Japan and the other with India. The volume under review—as its title indicates—deals with labour conditions in Indo-China. The book has been divided into four parts. Part I. deals with forced and compulsory labour; Part II. with wage-paid employment; Part III. with independent workers; and Part IV. with special categories of workers.

The difficulties faced in improving the condition of workers in Indo-China are the same as in India. We read: "The Annamite is much attached to his village and the tombs of his ancestors, and it is difficult to persuade him to move; he rarely leaves it without the intention of returning." We find that in Indo-China the labourer suffers from the same vices as the mill-hand in India. His earnings are squandered on such vices as opium, alcohol and gambling. It is very strange to note that the Indo-Chinese

Government indirectly encourages the consumption of alcohol, for the sale of which it has a monopoly. The report says: "The desire of the authorities to make consumers of alcohol purchase their entire supply from the Government monopoly instead of obtaining a large fraction of it from smugglers, has led them to prescribe a certain minimum degree of consumption of alcohol per head of the taxpayer annually. If their minimum is not reached the cantonal and communal authorities may not be promoted or may even be dismissed."

The employers of labour in most Eastern countries seem to follow the old isolationist policy of interfering with the lives of their workers as little as possible. This attitude would be justified in countries where the workers enjoy a good schooling and are well organized, so that they can look after themselves. But it is a very dangerous policy to leave the worker alone in the Eastern countries, where there are no strong trade unions and the workers do not really know their own interests. Efforts must be made to save them from their own follies. A good employer's duty should not cease with the worker when he has left his work-place. The report observes: "Any sound and complete wage policy must take advantage of all the possible means of helping the worker to use his earnings wisely. The negative aspect of this policy would consist in removing the most serious temptations which cause the worker to squander his money. The positive aspect of this policy would consist in encouraging the worker to exercise thrift by such means as setting up post office or other savings banks near the work-places." It may be mentioned here that the Governments of new countries where the labourers have a fairly high standard of living are alive to the necessity of such a positive policy. For instance, in Australia the State Savings Bank of Victoria in one year distributed eight million pay envelopes to the employers; the weekly wages to the workers were paid in these envelopes which constantly brought to their notice the necessity of thrift. Savings bank clubs were opened in almost all factories so that the labourers should deposit their savings without having to visit the bank.

At the present moment when the political horizon is so much overshadowed with the clouds of war, it may be of interest to read the beneficial effects of the Great War on the workers of Indo-China. The report observes: "This exodus of Annamites to France had a twofold result: on their return to Indo-China those who had acquired skilled training abroad formed a nucleus of foremen and small employers, while one and all were imbued with working-class ideas of distinctly Western character as a result of their contact with Europeans." India also gained tremendously by sending her soldiers overseas. We find that in every village in the Punjab the ex-soldier has a better house and a better standard of living and exerts a good deal of social influence which is all to the advantage of the village. The Sikh motor-driver is to be seen in every nook and corner of India, and as a rule he is the ex-soldier who had his training abroad. The book deals at great length with the labour problems of Indo-China, and makes some very useful suggestions. It is an excellent work, and all those who are interested in the labour conditions in the East are bound to derive a good deal of benefit by reading it.

THE CHINESE NOVEL. By Pearl S. Buck. (Macmillan.) 3s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by DOROTHY FOOKS.)

As a novelist of Chinese life, Pearl S. Buck is world famous, and for the sincerity and richness of her work she was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in December, 1938. Shortly afterwards she delivered a lecture before the Swedish Academy, which is here printed in full.

The Chinese Novel shows great erudition, and also a deep understanding of the country where Miss Buck has spent so many years. She traces its literature back for centuries, and brings to light the interesting fact that art and the novel have always been widely separated. According to Chinese scholars, literature included essays, epigrams, poetry, and history, all of which had to conform to rigid classical rules. The novel could not be catalogued within these limits, and therefore it was considered art. It was born of the common people, and grew and developed in richness through the centuries. She affirms that the Chinese are too mature to demand crude action alone, but require vividness of character portrayal as well.

Of the story-teller she says: "... to farmers he must talk of their land, and to old men he must speak of peace, and to old women he must tell of their children, and to young men and women he must speak of each other." The names of many of the authors have long been forgotten, but their work remains, true and vital, for posterity to read.

GENERAL

MONEY AND BANKING, 1939. Vol. I.: Commercial Banks; Vol. II.: Monetary Review. (Geneva: League of Nations.)

(Reviewed by W. M. DACEY.)

It is to be hoped that the war which the League of Nations has failed to prevent will not claim as one of its victims the economic research work in which the League has been so outstandingly successful. This publication is typical of the extremely useful and indeed necessary work which the League has accomplished in the latter direction. Although the memoranda on commercial banks were first published only in 1931, and the first monetary review as recently as 1935, the value of these surveys was immediately recognized, and each year that passes adds to their value by increasing the period which the statistics cover. An enormous amount of purely statistical matter is crammed into the two volumes. "Commercial and Central Banks" gives a series of monetary and banking statistics for forty-four countries, extending for the most part up to the end of 1938, while the statistical section of the Monetary Review contains fifteen appendices of monetary statistics carried where possible back to 1913. It is a tribute to the high standard achieved by Mr. Loveday's department that the interpretative section of the Monetary Review is likely to retain its value for reference to at least the same extent as the purely factual sections. Among other subjects dealt with in the four special articles are the recovery in the French franc and the pressure on

sterling during 1938, the tightening of exchange control throughout the world, the world gold situation and the decline in the bill of exchange. In general it can be said that the review provides both a survey and an interpretation of monetary events throughout the world in the period under survey.

Obviously an encyclopædic volume of this kind demands leisurely browsing. In a brief review one can do no more than indicate the nature of the subject-matter by specific examples. One section of exceptional interest, for instance, discusses the much debated question whether and to what extent the pound sterling has been over-valued in terms of dollars. An analysis of price movements and exchange rates shows clearly that whatever over-valuation may have existed at the beginning of the year was substantially reduced during 1938 by the decline in the sterling exchange. From this it is possible to draw the encouraging conclusion that the further adjustment in the pound from 4.68 to 4.04 on the outbreak of war should have left sterling below rather than above its economic parity, and thus should be held with relative ease, though heavy purchases of materials from America must in any case involve a heavy strain on our exchange resources. The suggestion that the position of sterling may have been further strengthened during 1938 by an improvement in the position of sterling area countries scarcely seems to square up with figures given elsewhere, showing that sterling area balances in London reached a peak of £261.7 millions in September, 1937, and thereafter declined to £208 millions at the end of 1938 as a result of the world slump in commodity prices and the conversion of sterling funds into gold owing to political fears. In any case, there was no slowing up in the influx of gold to the United States (which has recently carried the U.S. monetary gold stock to a new record level of \$17,000 millions, or about two-thirds of the world's monetary gold). Asiatic countries are perhaps dealt with somewhat summarily, but one passage dealing with Japan has gained an added interest in the light of the monetary problems with which this country is faced in war-time. The review instances Japan (together with Germany) as a country in which monetary expansion has continued under conditions of full employment without leading to "any progressive and general inflation of prices." Whereas both the circulation of banknotes and the volume of bank deposits rose by some 20 per cent. in 1938, wholesale prices showed a rise of no more than 6 per cent., although the Government borrowing was financed mainly by the banking system. This has been made possible by the rationing of labour and raw materials, as well as of consumption goods, as a result of which the recipients of the new money have had no alternative but to hold their liquid funds idle (thus causing a fall in the velocity of circulation and slowing down the rise in prices) or to invest it—under suitable pressure—in Government bonds (thus keeping down the rate of interest). There are certain elements in this process, such as the coercion both of labour and of savings, which we in this country would not readily copy. Nevertheless, the Japanese experience in general is a useful pointer to the lines on which this country may hope to avoid or strictly limit the amount of inflation necessitated by war finance.

MYTHOLOGICAL BONDS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. By Mrs. Dorothea Chaplin.
(Copenhagen: Einar Munksgaard.)

(Reviewed by MARGUERITE MILWARD.)

In *Mythological Bonds between East and West* Mrs. Dorothea Chaplin expounds many interesting theories. She reminds us that Britain was known to the Cymric people as the White Island and called Alba or Alban long before the Roman invasion, and that it was mentioned in the great Sanscrit epic of the Mahabharata. She writes on page 25: "By following the tracks from Asia to America and from thence to Britain by the pathway of tradition, there is much to be considered with regard to Indo-Keltic affinity."

Nothing is more fascinating than the origin of names and the meaning of symbols, and it would put new life into our pilgrimages to remote corners of the British Isles if we tried to find out these historical links. "Sanscrit literature provides the only key which fits the lock and opens the door, at least partially, disclosing the meaning of many Pictish symbols . . ." (page 22). "The Boar in Britain" (Chapter I., page 140) seems to be one of the most interesting. Vishnu as the Boar Avatar figures largely in Hindu Mythology, and Mrs. Chaplin traces the connection with this sacred animal in many English names. Shesha, King of the Nagas, is also a familiar figure, and Mrs. Chaplin links India, America and England together with all their serpents in Chapter II.

Mrs. Chaplin suggests on page 36: "If one delves deep into the sources of personal and place names, while bearing in mind the mythological tendencies of our prehistoric forefathers, the pursuit is endless and promises a rich harvest." She herself has collected a mass of material and a wealth of detail, but the real object of her book is to entice us to seek for ourselves.

PERIODICALS

THE ANNUAL OF THE EAST.

Mr. R. W. Brock, the Managing Editor, is to be congratulated on the 1939-40 edition of the above publication. Not only is the text most informative, as indeed is to be expected, having regard to the experts who have contributed to it, but the coloured illustrations reflect great credit both in their choice and in the execution. The subject-matter covers a vast field, extending from Egypt and Turkey in the West to Hong Kong and Japan in the Far East. Among the general articles special attention may be drawn to "Empire Air Routes and Flight Refuelling," by Sir Alan Cobham, and "Mediterranean Resorts," by Vice-Admiral Usborne. In the various geographical sections it would be invidious to single out any particular authors, as they include so many experts. It should be added that the Annual only costs three shillings, or, for the de-luxe leather-covered edition, six shillings, and is issued by the Syndicate Publishing Company at 160, Shaftesbury Avenue, London, W.C.2.

THE ASIATIC REVIEW

APRIL, 1940

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

INDIA'S MILITARY CONTRIBUTION TO THE WAR

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR FREDERICK O'CONNOR,

C.S.I., C.I.E., C.V.O.

WHEN Sir Frank Brown invited me to speak on the subject of this address I hesitated at first to accept, as, although I spent my early years in India as a soldier, the greater part of my service was in the Foreign and Political Department in stations actually beyond the Indian frontiers—Tibet, Persia, and Nepal. But even in these trans-border countries, and in consular and diplomatic posts, I was able, perhaps even better than if I had been in India itself, to assess the significance of India to our Empire, and the immense importance in time of war both of her geographical situation and of her man-power and resources.

Before attempting to give some account of the contribution which India is making to the war, and of her present and potential value to Great Britain and her Allies, I should like to make a few general remarks on points which are, no doubt, already familiar to most of my audience. For I feel that there may be a tendency sometimes in this country to confuse the wood with the trees, and that a recital of mere facts and figures may tend to dwarf the impressive background of the whole subject. We should try to bear in mind that we are dealing with a country with an area of some 1,600,000 square miles (roughly thirteen times the size of the British Isles), extending 2,000 miles from the extreme north to the extreme south, and for the same distance from east to west, and containing a population of no less than 370,000,000 people—almost one-fifth of the population of the globe. This vast area necessarily includes practically every variety of climate, from Himalayan

heights and valleys to the tropical forests and rice-fields of the south, and from the waterless deserts of the north-west to the steamy water-logged districts on the east; and thus we find within the limits of India an almost infinite range of vegetation and of agricultural products—timber, fruits, seeds, rubber, cotton, jute, sugar-cane, grains, etc. Similarly, the varying geological formations which make up the surface of the Peninsula include a great diversity of minerals. The population of the country, too, as we know, is equally varied. India is, indeed, a sub-Continent of almost incalculable wealth in commodities, and practically unlimited resources in man-power. For Great Britain to have such an ally at her back in the present vital struggle is clearly a factor of the highest importance.

INDIA'S CENTRAL POSITION

Next let us consider the significance of India's geographical situation. A glance at the map will show how this great Peninsula juts down into the Indian Ocean midway between Suez on the west and the Malay Peninsula on the east, and is thus placed in the position of being able to despatch reinforcements, supplies and stores to various strategic points or to theatres of war situated either to the east or to the west. We know from the experiences of the last war that, besides the troops sent by India to France and various Mediterranean theatres, her forces served on the Canal, in Egypt, on the shores of the Red Sea, at Aden, in Mesopotamia, and elsewhere on the shores of the Persian Gulf on the one hand; and further east in Singapore, and as far afield as Hongkong, Shanghai, etc. Similarly at the present time we see Indian troops helping to garrison Egypt, Aden and Singapore, and we have recently heard with keen satisfaction of the arrival of Indian transport contingents in France. And all this without for a moment dislocating or impairing India's own powers of defence against external dangers on her frontiers or the possibility of internal disturbance. India occupies, in fact, a central position with regard to the eastern outposts of the British Empire, and also with regard to any theatres of war which may arise at any time in any part of this vast area.

I will now endeavour, without citing too many statistics, to give some estimate of the resources of India both in man-power and in commodities, and of the steps which are being taken to utilize these resources to the full and to improve and expand them.

RECRUITMENT

First, as regards man-power. India, considering the size of her population, maintains in peace-time only a small standing army—some 150,000 men, besides the British troops normally stationed in the country; but this number can be multiplied almost indefinitely from the warlike sections of the population. During the course of the last war about one and a half millions of men were sent overseas to serve on many different fronts. This is an impressive total, and serves as an indication of the untapped reserves fit and eager for military service. Plans are now in course of preparation for considerable increases in the Indian Army. Recruiting offices have been set up, and we learn from India that recruits are flocking to them in thousands. Here they are examined, and a roster is being prepared of the men to be called to the colours as required. The stream of applicants is so great that at present it is quite impossible to find employment for them all. The supply, in fact, largely exceeds the demand, and we have the satisfaction of knowing that we are assured of an immense number of volunteers who are only too anxious to serve whenever they may be wanted. Five new battalions of the Indian Territorial Force are also being formed.

In the vital matter of the provision of suitable officers, too, great advances have been made in the period since the last war. Certain sections of the Indian Army are being rapidly Indianized under their own officers, and since the last war there has been established an Indian Sandhurst at Dehra Dun where young Indians are being trained and fitted for commissions. Further arrangements are in progress to secure the services of more men of Indian birth of the upper and middle classes as officers in an emergency. These are men aged from 18 to 20, and the Indian Government have recently announced the recruitment of the first batch of such

volunteers to supplement the supply from the Military Academy at Dehra Dun.

Besides this, the cadre of officers for service in India is also being augmented by the calling up of groups of Europeans resident in India who are being specially trained at Belgaum. Here again the supply exceeds the demand, and several hundred volunteers are still awaiting a summons.

In this connection it is particularly gratifying to note that, largely owing to representations made by the East India Association, and the active efforts of the present Secretary of State for India, Lord Zetland, Indians and Anglo-Indians resident in England, hitherto debarred as not being of pure European descent, are now being enlisted in this country for combatant service. There has been a good response to the relaxation of this anomalous rule. A number of Indian doctors practising or studying in this country, too, are serving with ambulance corps. Another new development is the enlistment and training of men of Indian birth as pilots and observers in the Air Force. Some commissions have already been granted in this branch of the service to Indians resident both in England and in India.

Since the last war another branch of the fighting services has been created in India in the shape of the Royal Indian Navy, and this force has been mobilized and is now working in co-operation with the Royal Navy in all the activities necessitated in time of war. The neighbouring seas are being patrolled and the coasts and harbours of India are being protected. Further shipping also is to be provided by the commandeering of other vessels as and when necessary and advisable. Controllers of Shipping and Enemy Trading exercise functions analogous to those of corresponding authorities in this country in the regulation of exports to neutral countries, the prohibition of exports to Germany, and so on.

Those of us who have served with Indian troops, and who have had experience of the splendid types of Indian officers with whom we worked, will appreciate these developments, for we know what wonderful material there is to be found in India for men of the officer class, and the courage, loyalty, and devotion such men display. These few bare facts which I have presented

may help us to realize what it means to have behind us an almost immeasurable reserve of men born and reared in martial traditions, hardy and vigorous, who will fight to the death for a cause they approve. I shall take the liberty later of citing a few instances of this spirit which have come under my own observation in the field.

MATERIAL

The more prosaic matter of the provision of supplies for the fighting forces has already been exhaustively dealt with in the course of a paper read by Sir Frank Noyes to the Association on November 14 last, but as any account of India's war contribution would be incomplete without some mention of supplies, I shall venture to make a few general remarks, emphasizing particularly the military aspect of the question.

It is estimated that during the last war India despatched to the various fronts equipment and stores to the value of some £80,000,000 sterling, in addition to vast quantities of raw and semi-manufactured articles, and since then her output of raw products and her manufacturing resources have been greatly expanded. A few figures will give an idea of this expansion in certain important particulars. Take, for instance, the production of iron and steel. Since 1913 the production of pig-iron has multiplied eight times, that of steel nearly thirty times. Other metals of vital importance for armament manufacture are also being produced in large and increasing quantities, such as manganese (of which over one million tons were exported during 1937-8), chromite, and high-grade mica—all metals essential for armaments or aeroplane manufacture.

Equally important is the great increase in India's manufacturing power effected since the last war. Numerous developments have occurred, and a fresh range of articles can now be made in India. The various Ordnance factories are being largely and rapidly expanded to meet war requirements, and are supplying vast quantities of munitions of war for the use of the British and Indian forces overseas.

There is just one more commodity which I think deserves a special mention—namely, jute. Jute is a monopoly of India and

a very important one it is. Some idea of its output and the prodigious quantities of its manufacture is given by the following figures. In the first thirteen weeks of the war oversea orders were placed for jute manufactures to the value of some £8,000,000, which include 713 million sandbags. Over one million sandbags per month can now be supplied if required. Orders have also been placed for great quantities of khaki drill and cotton cloth, and for woollen cloth and blankets.

In fact, with the exception of such specialities as motor-cars, ships, aeroplanes, locomotives, and a few others, India is now not only self-supporting, but capable of supplying Great Britain and her Allies with large quantities of raw materials, and of equipping her own troops for war and supplying them either in India herself or overseas. This power, of course, immensely enhances her military value to the Empire. The strain on the manufacturing resources of this country is greatly relieved, and the indigenous products of India can be transformed on the spot into the vast range of articles required to equip armies in the field.

It is interesting to note, too, that before the declaration of war Germany was a large purchaser of certain Indian products—notably oil-seeds, vegetable oils, oil cake, chromite, mica, rubber, hides and skins, etc.—and this source of supply will now, therefore, be denied to her.

SUPPORT OF THE STATES

I have spoken hitherto of India as a whole, and with reference chiefly to those great provinces which constitute what we call "British India." Now I should like to say a word or two about the Indian States—independent principalities, feudatory to Great Britain and ruled by their own Princes and Chiefs. Of these there are several hundred, ranging in size from kingdoms as large as some European countries (such, for instance, as Hyderabad and Kashmir, both over one and a half times the size of England) to estates of a few hundred acres. It is not, I think, generally recognized in this country how great a part of India is occupied by these States, or what a large proportion of India's population is composed of their subjects. Their combined area, in fact, covers

approximately one-third of India, and their population amounts to 90 million, almost one-quarter of India's total.

During the last great war these States rallied solidly on the side of Great Britain and her Allies, and helped to win the war by their contributions of men, money, and resources. And in the present war we find the same spirit of loyalty and co-operation. Over 300 of the States have offered their support, and all those possessing troops of their own have volunteered the services of those troops.

It would not be possible in this address to give a detailed account of the contributions to the war of each individual State, but we may take a few examples. We have, for instance, the great State of Hyderabad in the south with an area of 83,000 square miles and a population of over 14 million, a State with a predominantly Hindu population and a Muslim ruler. His Exalted Highness the Nizam, in addition to offering his own troops, is providing a complete squadron of aeroplanes for the British Air Force, to be known as the Hyderabad Squadron. The Maharaja of Bikanir, of the fighting Rajput stock, who served at the head of his own troops in the last war, has offered to raise and maintain six battalions of infantry and the services of his Camel Corps doubled in strength. He is prepared himself to take the field again, and has offered the services of his only surviving son. The Hindu ruler of the mainly Muslim State of Kashmir is providing two infantry battalions and one mountain battery. Modern motor ambulances have been offered by the Rulers of Rampur, Bhopal, and Bahawalpur, and by the Eastern States Agency group. Offers of personal service and other support have been received from numerous other States in all parts of India—Sikkim, Chitral, the Gilgit Agency in the north, ranging through Rajputana and the Punjab down to the south of the Peninsula.

Great sums of money have been offered by many of the Princes and Chiefs—H.E.H. the Nizam £11,200 monthly towards the cost of his troops required for service outside the State—T.H. of Indore £38,000, Bikanir £11,000, Travancore £45,000, the Jam Sahib of Nawanagar a monthly contribution representing one-tenth of the income of his State, and so on. Up to November last

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30 such contributions amounted to £330,000, and recurring donations to £105,000.

These great Princes are all rallying round the Empire in her time of need of their own free will, and it is scarcely necessary to add that the influence of these rulers, all of pure Indian race, extends far beyond their borders, and that they are setting an example which is being eagerly followed by thousands of their co-religionists and fellow-countrymen all over India.

NEPAL'S SUPPORT

There is still one great fighting race which I have not mentioned—the Gurkhas of Nepal. Here the situation is somewhat different. Nepal is not one of the Indian feudatory States, but is an entirely independent kingdom, situated, it is true, within the natural boundaries of the Indian Peninsula, but possessing its own monarch and system of government. She is free to ally herself with us in this struggle or to stand aloof as she wishes. But I feel that no account of India's war effort would be complete without a mention of Nepal's share. In the first place, her geographical position in a 500-mile stretch of the Himalayas overlooking the plains of India gives her automatically a high strategic importance; and secondly, as we all know, she voluntarily furnishes some 20,000 Gurkhas to the 20 Gurkha battalions of the Indian Army.

These Gurkhas have fought side by side with British soldiers in innumerable campaigns for over a century, and their soldierly qualities and courage are legendary. Now, in addition to this, Nepal has an army of her own, composed of the same splendid material, well drilled, equipped, and disciplined. On the very first day of the last war the then Prime Minister of Nepal, Sir Chandra Shumshere Jung, placed the whole resources of his country at the disposal of the King-Emperor, and, in addition to doubling the number of Gurkhas serving with the Indian Army for the period of the war, he despatched a large force of his own army to India under the command of his own sons and nephews. It is estimated that during the course of the war Nepal supplied no less than 200,000 men to help the Allies—a splendid contribution from a small country of only some 5 million inhabitants.

Sir Chandra's brother and successor, the present Prime Minister, Sir Joodha Shumshere Jung, has espoused our cause in the same spirit of friendship, and a force of 8,000 men of the Nepalese Army is now in India under the command of His Highness's eldest son, Sir Bahadur Shumshere Jung, who was Nepal's first Minister to Great Britain when her Legation was inaugurated in London some five years ago. It was a source of great satisfaction to all of us who know Nepal and who appreciate the high qualities of her Prime Minister to learn of the bestowal of the G.C.B. upon Sir Joodha Shumshere Jung last Christmas.

INDIA'S VIEW OF THE WAR

I have tried to present a brief outline of what India's support means to us in men and material, and from her geographical situation, but there is still one aspect of the matter upon which I should like to say a few words. Almost as important as India's human and material aid to us is the spirit in which it is given. One hears nowadays a good deal about political differences in India, and of party quarrels and dissensions, and of criticism of the Home and Indian Governments. The political situation was ably dealt with by Sir Alfred Watson in his address to the East India Association on December 8, so I shall only touch upon it lightly now. But the fact that differences exist does not mean that these antagonistic views as to constitutional changes imply any difference of opinion regarding the main question of the justice of our cause or the necessity of waging war against aggression. On the contrary, on this fundamental aspect of the present war, Indian opinion is united. In his speech at the opening of the Annual Meeting of the Associated Chamber of Commerce of India at Calcutta on December 18, His Excellency the Viceroy brought out this point very clearly. He said:

From the beginning there has been no question as to the attitude of public opinion in India, whether in British India or in the Indian States, towards our objectives in fighting this war—the destruction of Hitlerism, the restoration of the standards of fair dealing and of morality between nations, the re-establishment of the sanctity of the pledged word, of treaties between great peoples—all those have, from the beginning, had the whole-hearted support of public opinion in every party and in every community in this country.

Party differences do exist, but India, one may remember, is not the only country where party politics and disputes are to be found. For just as in this country an opposition may be critical of the Government, and may not always see eye to eye with it, whilst at the same time supporting the prosecution of the war with heart and soul, so it is in India. And I hope that the High Commissioner for India, from his own much greater knowledge of the subject, may be able to support these views. This being so, then we need have no fears or anxiety on this score. It is indeed an added factor of strength for us that in India, as in England, freedom of speech is allowed to all parties and to all individuals, that legitimate ideals and grievances can be openly discussed. We know very well that no such freedom exists in Germany, and in the end her totalitarian system will, as we hope and believe, prove a curse, and sooner or later come to disastrous destruction.

INDIAN MARTIAL QUALITIES

Before I close I should like to add a few words, based partly on personal observation and knowledge, on the Indian soldier. We all know that he is brave and loyal, but besides this I have often been struck by his amazing adaptability, and his endurance in extremes of climate and the hardships of warfare in extraordinary circumstances, utterly alien to his natural surroundings. We might expect, no doubt, that he would be capable of withstanding great heat—as indeed he is. I have served with Indian troops in the Derajat, that trans-Indus territory which is such an inferno in the hot weather, and elsewhere on the North-West Frontier, where they were put to the test. I remember in July, 1897 (I am going back a good many years!), passing the Indian regiments who were marching up from Nowshera for the relief of the garrison on the Malakand Pass. The heat was terrific. It must have been over 120 degrees in the shade, and in the little post of Dergai, at the foot of the pass, I saw a number of men, both Indian and British, laid out with sunstroke and heat apoplexy—some dead, some still breathing. But the bulk of the troops marched gaily along with comparatively few casualties, and, as we know, relieved the garrison and drove off the tribesmen.

I mention this instance merely to point the contrast between such conditions and those of another long-ago campaign—the Mission to Lhasa in 1904. The Mission with its escort (almost entirely composed of Indian troops) marched up into the Chumbi Valley in December, 1903, about the very worst month in the year, perhaps, for the purpose, over a 14,000-foot pass, and the Mission itself with a small detachment of Sikh Pioneers pushed ahead on to the Tibetan plateau over a 16,000-foot pass, and spent the next three months on this open wind-swept plain at an elevation of nearly 16,000 feet. There was no shelter other than the ordinary tents and rough stone walls which the men built for themselves as a screen against the continual blizzards. And all through these trying months the garrisons there and in Chumbi were kept supplied by lines of communication which crossed the Sikkim border by two passes, each nearly 15,000 feet high, deep in snow and exposed to icy winds. Yet these plainsmen stood it all pluckily and cheerfully, and with the minimum of sickness.

Again, take our skirmish on the Karo La Pass in the following May. Our small column was held up by a strong defence wall which the Tibetans had built across the narrowest part of the gorge, and it seemed impossible to force it by frontal assault. In order to outflank this wall a detachment of Muzbi Sikhs under one of their own Indian officers scaled the steep hillside to the right, crossed the snout of a glacier, and from a height of over 18,000 feet opened fire on the flank and rear of the Tibetan position. The Tibetans fled in panic and the wall was taken. This was a very remarkable feat, unequalled, as far as I know, in warfare—certainly as far as the actual elevation reached is concerned—and constitutes another proof of the hardihood and adaptability of the Indian soldier.

My aim today has been to show that it is not merely by statistics of the numbers of men available, and of the millions of tons of supplies at our command, that we should reckon the value of India's contribution to the war. Those numbers and that tonnage are impressive, and they are susceptible of almost indefinite increase. But besides this it must be a source of satisfaction to us all to know that we can count upon the right spirit—the approval

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by India as a whole of the prosecution of the war against tyranny and bad faith. We have the support of all classes from the almost fabulous Maharajas to the humblest peasant, and of all political parties. We have a valuable friend and ally in the gallant little country of Nepal. And we have the knowledge and assurance that the men who keep the peace in Eastern garrisons and who will be fighting side by side with our own troops and those of our Allies will be men of loyalty, courage, and hardihood.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a joint meeting of the Association and the Over-Seas League at Over-Seas House on January 23 Lieut.-Colonel Sir Frederick O'Connor, c.s.i., c.i.e., c.v.o., read a paper on "India's Military Contribution to the War." Sir Firozkhan Noon, k.c.i.e. (High Commissioner for India), presided.

The CHAIRMAN: I must apologize for my own presence here because, as you know, Lord Willingdon was to have presided at this lecture today, but, in spite of the disappointment that you may have, I personally feel it a privilege to act the substitute for Lord Willingdon and a pleasure to preside at the lecture of my friend Sir Frederick. I am sure you will all be pleased to know that Lord and Lady Willingdon have arrived safely in New Zealand. They are doing excellent Empire work, and may therefore be excused their absence this afternoon.

The lecturer needs very little introduction from me. He has had a most brilliant career in India, having served in the Indian Army and in the Political Department. If any of you are fond of shooting tigers, he is the man to make friends with. Soon after the last war he was the Resident in Nepal, and one of his greatest achievements was the Treaty which he so successfully negotiated between Great Britain and Nepal. He has travelled all over India and served in most of the important frontier areas of our great country. Whatever opinions he has formed are worthy of our profound respect.

Lieut.-Colonel Sir FREDERICK O'CONNOR then read his paper on "India's Military Contribution to the War."

Commandant HUBERT COULON (Assistant Military Attaché at the French Embassy): When Sir Frank Brown kindly invited me to attend today's meeting, he suggested that I should make a speech either in French or in English. I will try to deliver it in English, relying on your kindness.

My first duty is to express the deep regret of General Lelong, the Military Attaché, who has been prevented from coming. I shall report to him how much I have been interested by the lecture that has been given by Sir Frederick O'Connor. I already had some idea of the significance of India to Great Britain, but Sir Frederick's lecture has given me the opportunity fully to understand the importance of the contribution of this great Eastern country in man-power as well as in resources of many kinds. Being a soldier, I have particularly been struck by the information contained in the last part of the lecture, which concerns the Indian soldier's capacity to adapt himself to any sort of climate and any form of warfare.

In fact, I have today had an exceptional opportunity of adding much that is interesting to my somewhat rudimentary knowledge as regards India and her potentialities.

Mention has just been made of the loyalty and the high spirit of the Indian people. This reminds me of a little anecdote. I heard it from a lady, much appreciated in French and British society for her wit and her talent

as an author. I quote this anecdote, as it may serve to show that France also can rely upon the loyalty of the people overseas who depend on her.

The story, as far as I can remember, runs as follows: Once upon a time—it was not very long ago—the lady I referred to was travelling in North Africa. While on a visit to a small village in Morocco, she happened to meet a modest native digging in his field. “Tell me,” she said to him, “how are you getting on with the French? Do you get accustomed to their rules and manners?” The Moroccan peasant answered simply, “Well, madame, what can I tell you? I am French.” This answer, though not legally quite correct, nevertheless proved that the man had the right spirit.

It may be placed side by side with one of M. Mandel's quotations in his recent broadcast.* He there referred to the loyalty to France of the natives and their chiefs. But our Minister for the Colonies not only spoke of the character of the natives. He also emphasized the very important French Colonial contributions to the cause of the Allies. We can place reliance upon it, for M. Mandel is indeed a trustworthy statesman. I had the honour of meeting him, at the end of the last war, when he acted as Chef de Cabinet of M. Clemenceau. Since that time I have been impressed by his ability and capacity for work. It may be taken for certain that he will do his utmost to increase still further the French Colonial contribution in the near future. So much the better for the cause of the Allies! Their united efforts, strongly supported by their overseas territories, cannot fail to lead to victory. (Cheers.)

Lieut.-General Sir GEORGE MACMUNN: It is a very great pleasure to be allowed to say a few words here to endorse most heartily all the lecturer has said. He and I first met with Indian artillery in the frontier campaign of 1897, and since then he and I have spent our days in different spheres, very largely in India and with the Indian soldiery; and, as he rightly says, there are no more manly or delightful people to serve with than the fighting races of India. Whether they come from the north or from the west, they are the most sturdy comrades to serve with and the most loyal supporters of this great civilization of ours.

But there is one point I would like to remind you of. The Sikhs, whose fighting powers have been compared with the majesty which Napier ascribes to the British soldier, are a small community, three million souls in all. The chivalry of the Dogra Hills of the Punjab is that of a small community. The great bulk of the modern fighting army comes from the Muslim tribes of the Punjab, that race to which your Chairman himself belongs, the great land-owning people and yeoman peasantry of the Punjab. Always loyal, they are even more so when Britain has the support and sympathy of the Muslim world. It was these people who formed the bulk of the infantry and artillery of the old Sikh kingdom.

That brings me to the over-riding point of diplomacy of the British and French Empires. There are in these Empires millions and millions of

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Muslims, and those Muslims are united by one common culture and civilization, which runs from opposite Gibraltar right away as far as Central China, united in one religion and one culture. If you throw a stone into a pond in Morocco, that ripple spreads right away from there into Central China. Therefore heartily may we deplore any of our policies which bring us into conflict with Muslim opinion.

Heartily, too, must we rejoice that we now have on our side once again our ancient friends, the Turks, who by misadventure and perhaps bad policy were driven into the hands of the Central Powers in the last war. That means that all Muslim opinion in the world is in sympathy with us, and especially our Muslim soldiery.

The loyalty of the Indian soldiery is astounding. I must tell you a story. In 1924 I was up the Nile, and I lunched at Luxor with Mr. James Breasted, the American historian of Philadelphia University, and Mr. Oscar Straus, who had been American Ambassador or Chargé d'Affairs during the war in Constantinople. He told me this story, which I can well understand. A patrol of Indian soldiers was captured by the Turks, a havildar and three men, in Sinai. They were brought before a German officer of the German Staff at Beersheba to be cross-examined. He said to them, "How is it that you Muhammadans are fighting against the Caliph, the Sultan of Turkey, from whom has been declared a Holy War?" These three men said, "We serve the British Raj, and we consider that this is a political war and not a religious war." So the officer of the German General Staff said, "I do not care a damn about that. There are four Turkish uniforms. I give you five minutes to put them on, or you will be shot." The havildar said, "May I consult my comrades?" They were marched out for five minutes. When they came back the Prussian asked, "Well, what about it?" They drew themselves up and shouted, "Three cheers for King George!" They were taken out and shot.

Mr. Otto Straus said the story was told him by an officer of the Turkish General Staff at Constantinople. General Birdwood tried to trace the names and help their families, but that could never be done. That was a most typical and heartrending story of the fidelity of the Indian soldiery, and especially this great backbone of the Army, the Punjabi Muhammadan.

Here is one more story. I was commanding on the Tigris and a Labour Corps came up from India. These Labour Corps were largely officered by retired officers of the Indian Army. I went down to see one disembark, and standing on the quay was an enormous old Sikh with a great white beard. I said, "When did you go on pension, old friend?" He laughed a deep laugh, "Ho! Ho! Ho! Eleven years ago, but when this war broke out, father said to me, 'I won't have you young fellows loafing about the farm. Get out and serve.'"

I should like to add my appreciation to the lecturer for the way he has put the services of India in the last war and in this war before us today. (Applause.)

Lieut.-Colonel E. FF. W. LASCELLES: May I, from a Dominion point of view, say just a word? It was my privilege as a New Zealander and an

officer of British Regulars to serve alongside our French Allies and our Indian fellow-subjects in Gallipoli in the last war, and I was interested particularly in hearing what Sir Frederick had got to say about the Indian soldiery. When we found their dead, the men who had been killed in action were never found with their backs towards the enemy. (Applause.) I do not as a soldier want to say anything more about India's contribution. If you can say that of any section of the people of the British Empire, then you know well what is going to happen in this war. (Applause.)

Sir JOHN WHITTY (Chairman of the India Group, Over-Seas League): I hope you will forgive me if I keep you for a few extra minutes. I feel it is a little bit of an anticlimax to make an appeal at the end of all we have heard today, but I hope we shall get a generous response. I have been asked to say a few words to request your support for the Indian Comforts Fund. I do not think I could have chosen a more opportune time to appeal for this fund, because Sir Frederick O'Connor and others have just told you what India's contribution to the war is likely to be, and I am sure will be. The severe weather has told all of us what the need for extra comforts is for people who come over from India to help to try and win this war.

There was a notice in *The Times* which explains what this fund is for, and I think I cannot do better than read it out to you :

At the instance of the High Commissioner for India, Sir Firoz Khan Noon, a meeting of the council of the Indian Comforts Fund has been held at India House. The project has the patronage of the Secretary of State for India and the support of the Ministry of Shipping.

The Dowager Lady Chelmsford, chairman, presided, and the meeting was attended by a large and representative number of men and women interested in the welfare of Indian sailors and of Indians serving in His Majesty's forces. It is estimated that there are not fewer than 30,000 Indian lascars in the British mercantile marine, many of whom, after being shipwrecked by enemy action, have been landed without possessions of any kind. It is proposed to supplement with comforts the assistance given to these men by the shipping companies and also by the Shipwrecked Mariners Society, with which the fund will co-operate. A contingent of Indian troops has arrived in France, an Indian Pioneer Corps is being recruited in London by the War Office, and two Indian ambulance units have been formed.

As the war proceeds it is anticipated that calls upon the fund will greatly increase. It is proposed to provide pullovers, socks, scarves, and other knitted goods, as well as cigarettes, Indian gramophone records, wireless sets, and games requisite for units and for individuals. The Viceroy of India has shown his practical interest in the scheme by allotting Rs. 25,000 to the fund.

Now I would like you to get out your pencils. Subscriptions may be sent to the Hon. Treasurer, Indian Comforts Fund, India House, Aldwych, W.C. 2, or to the credit of the fund at the Imperial Bank of India, 25, Old Broad Street, E.C. 2. Knitted goods and other comforts should be sent to the Hon. Secretary, India House. All I am going to add is that I hope members of the India Group and all present here today will make a splendid response. Those who cannot give service can contribute money to the fund in the complete confidence that it will be properly administered by the very distinguished and capable Committee that have been appointed.

There are many ladies, I am sure, who are willing and able to buy wool and knit these scarves, socks, etc. If there are others who cannot afford to buy wool, I am glad to be able to tell them that a certain amount of knitting wool can be supplied. Lady Wheeler has come here with a supply of wool, which she will give to those who ask for it. I hope there will be a very generous and general response to this appeal. All of us who know India know how much a little comfort and warmth will mean to the people who come here from the sun of India to the bitter weather we are having this year to fight for freedom and right.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I wish to express my own gratitude for and, may I say, your pleasure with what we have listened to this afternoon. Sir Frederick has given us a very illuminating picture of what India can do, and I was most interested to hear the spirited speech by Sir George MacMunn. As a matter of fact, when he and Colonel Lascelles were speaking, I was trying to blush all the time, but it was my colour, I think, which prevented you from catching me out.

I take this opportunity of welcoming Commandant Coulon from the French Embassy. (Applause.) France today is our best friend in the world, and we should lose no opportunity of showing our great regard and respect for any individual Frenchman, wherever we may meet him in the world.

So far as the military contribution of India to the war is concerned, the position during this conflict is quite different from what it was in the last war. Today India is not a colony or a possession held by a foreign Power and ruled without the consent of the people. In the Provinces we have our completely equipped and responsible Parliaments and Ministries in full charge of their Government. The Punjab, Bengal and Sind Parliaments have passed resolutions giving proof of the public support for England in this great war. That support is not the support of a people on whose behalf a foreign Government is acting. That is the expression of the feeling of the people themselves.

As regards the other parts of India, let there be no mistaking, either in Germany or anywhere else, that the fact that the Congress Ministries have resigned shows that the people living in those Provinces are not wholeheartedly with Great Britain. They definitely are wholeheartedly with England. It is only owing to certain political differences with regard to the time when certain reforms ought to come into the Central Government in India that those Ministries have gone out, and I am sure that there is a great deal of feeling in this country in favour of India's demand for being mistress in her own house. The Viceroy has only recently made pronouncements which almost amount to begging the people of India to come together and be in a position to assume responsibility at the Centre. But in spite of all those differences today, the feeling is that the people are wholeheartedly with England—people who have never been with England up to now in anything she has done.

For the first time in the political history of India in this century the Viceroy of India has been moving about in Bombay, the hotbed of sedition,

openly and unguarded, and nobody has raised a finger against him. That shows you the spirit of the people of India today.

Therefore I think, apart from the military support which Sir Frederick has mentioned which can be expected from India—and which, as a matter of fact, can be expected from any possession held by a European Power—India's contribution today is voluntary. This is where India's contribution in this war is going to be much more valuable and much stronger than was the case in the last war, and I think that the world and our Allies have not yet seen a hundredth part of what India can do in this war to bring it to a successful conclusion. (Applause.)

Sir FREDERICK O'CONNOR: Fortunately there was nothing contentious in any of the remarks.

What our Chairman has just said chimes in with what another speaker remarked—that we are all Britishers, whether we are born in Australia, New Zealand or India or anywhere else. We are all subjects of one great Empire and we are all keen to work together wholeheartedly to win the war. (Applause.)

Lord LAMINGTON: Before we separate I have a very simple and pleasant task. Though I arrived very late at the meeting, I had had the advantage of seeing a copy of Sir Frederick's very valuable address which he delivered this afternoon. I knew therefore more or less the contents of it.

I do not know how it strikes others, but it seems to me, when a moment of doubt or questioning arises as to whether anything can be said in criticism of our policy as being a right one, the answer is given by these great communities of Canada, Australia, and India, coming together with such unanimity to help in this gigantic struggle that lies before us. Their action cannot be due to a mere question about Danzig being a free port or not. The issues are greater than that, and I think the Viceroy's words read out by the lecturer show clearly the object of our Empire at the present time and also of the great French people.

Sir Frederick has very clearly set before us the wonderful way in which Indians of every caste and class have come forward to show their determination to try and support the Allies' interests in this great war, and how abundant are the resources of needed materials. We are very grateful to him for having prepared this very succinct lecture.

We have also the pleasure of welcoming the High Commissioner for India. We are always very pleased to see him. He is constantly engaged in some great and good work. I would therefore ask you one and all to show your appreciation first of Sir Frederick's excellent paper, and secondly to Sir Pirozkhan Noon for coming to preside over our gathering. (Cheers.)

Mr. H. S. L. POLAK writes:

There is a point of view that has not been brought out in Sir Frederick O'Connor's interesting paper. It is one that has been constantly brought forward in India generally, and with the greatest emphasis in particular, by the Indian Liberal leaders. They insist that the process of Indianization of

the army has proceeded far too slowly, and that the classes recruited are far too closely limited. In their view, the result has been to prevent India from dealing efficiently with her own defence and from throwing herself more effectively into the present struggle on the side of the Allies. With the growing tendency to rely upon brains and technical equipment in perfecting the strategy and the material of the armed forces of the Crown, to continue to divide the Indian peoples into the martial and the non-martial communities is to pursue a policy that can and ought no longer to be justified. The following quotation from the *Leader* (Allahabad) may be usefully pondered over :

Martial qualities are not the monopoly of any particular community or communities. Just as all communities can produce efficient engineers or surgeons or teachers, so also they can produce good soldiers. There are some Governments which take steps to inculcate in the people a martial spirit. There are other Governments which try to crush such spirit. If Germany were to conquer Britain, one could be sure that her policy would not be to martialize the British. . . . The army, which would be recruited from the class of people who are supposed to be the least intelligent, would be officered by Germans, and the navy would probably be manned and officered entirely by Germans. The argument would be that the British were a nation of shopkeepers. Let the people of Britain try to imagine what their feelings would be, and then let them place themselves in the position of Indians and try to realize what our feelings must be. Can it be seriously believed that the whole of Bengal is incapable of furnishing a single soldier for the army or that the Central Provinces can produce only six soldiers in five years? This classification of the people into martial and non-martial communities for purposes of recruitment to the army has caused the deepest resentment in the country, and if Britain valued India's goodwill and co-operation she will be well advised to revise her present policy, which is based on the distrust of Indians.

THE MUSLIMS OF INDIA, THE WAR, AND THE POLITICAL FIELD

BY A. YUSUF ALI, C.B.E., I.C.S. (RETD.)

THE Muslims of India form an interesting section of the Muslim world. Their past history is interesting; their present position gives them some importance in India, in the British Empire, and in the international movements of Islam; and if they follow a wise policy, they are likely to have considerable influence on the course of future events. According to the census of 1931, they numbered some 78 millions in British India and the Indian States taken together, out of a total population (then including Burma) of 353 millions. It is estimated that their number now should be in the neighbourhood of 88 millions. Some authorities estimate the figure as high as 90 millions. Their proportion to the general population stood at something between one-fourth and one-fifth. As each decennial census shows a slightly higher proportion on account of a slight relatively higher fertility, it is probable that it is nearer one-fourth than one-fifth at the present day.

They are scattered all over India. Their proportion is very low in the Central and Southern Provinces. But in four out of the eleven major Provinces they form the majority of the population. These majority Provinces are the North-West Frontier Province, the Punjab, Sind, and Bengal. The majority is particularly striking in the Frontier Province and Sind. In the Punjab and Bengal they form a majority, but not an overwhelming majority, being in both cases under 60 per cent. In Bengal they form mostly the cultivating classes. In the Punjab their strength is mostly in the rural districts; but in recent years they have made great strides in the learned and urban professions, but not much in trade and commerce and manufactures. In Sind and the Frontier Province there is not much in the way of trade and commerce or modern manufactures, but such as there is is not in their hands.

It is to be noted, however, that the old traditional crafts, such as dyeing, weaving, and the manual industrial arts, have been in their hands. Many of the landholders in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh are Muslims. But they are largely in debt, and their position seems to be deteriorating from year to year.

The political contact of Islam with India began in the seventh century of the Christian era, with the invasion of Sind by Muhammad bin Qasim. The Arab element came in through this door from Iraq. Arab families are scattered through India. The rulers of Bahawalpur State trace their descent from Arab families. Afghan and Turkish blood came in from the North-West Frontier. It is well known how Mahmud of Ghazni made more than twenty-four invasions from this direction. In the thirteenth century Turkish and Pathan dynasties were established in Delhi, and they gradually extended their influence all over the country. In the sixteenth century the Turks and Mughals of Central Asia came and established their power under that great soldier of fortune, Babur, whose Memoirs are still extant, revealing a forceful and romantic personality.

Gradually Mughal power or Mughal influence extended over the whole of India. We have detailed records and statistics of the Mughal Empire in the reign of the great Emperor Akbar. Under him and his successors down to Aurangzib the Empire was consolidated and came to occupy an important position in the international world. This was also the most glorious period of Muslim architecture in India. The Taj Mahal and the Pearl Mosque in Agra, and many notable buildings in Delhi and Lahore, bear witness to the refinement and skill of Mughal builders. A feature of their public works was the construction of large gardens with fountains, some of which still remain.

THE MUSLIMS AND BRITISH RULE

In the eighteenth century a decline set in in Mughal power and prestige. Some of the Provinces broke away; many local principalities were established; and the European nations came in, with powerful trade corporations, which developed political ambitions. Eventually British power was firmly established in

India. In spite of what its critics may say about its failings, its work has led to results of which any nation may be proud. The Muslims, after the loss of their power, felt for a long time unable to accommodate themselves to the new conditions. The foreign stocks, from which the governing body was derived, were largely absorbed in the general Muslim body, which is cognate in racial stocks with their Hindu brethren among whom they live. Their problems became more complicated.

Their social organization lost some of that democratic simplicity which belongs to a warrior and conquering class. They had been accustomed to employment in superior military, judicial, and administrative services. These were now closed to them. The inferior ranks in these services, which were open to the "Natives," were eagerly seized upon by their Hindu brethren, but the Muslims declined to be "submerged." Their languages had been the predominant official languages in India. Their place was taken by English, and they were too proud to adjust themselves to the change. The judicial administration had been modelled more or less on their ideas. Other ideas now came into vogue, with which they had no familiarity and no sympathy. Education necessarily takes its colour from language and religious and social institutions. The Muslims were not eager to enter the new educational system introduced in the early British period. They thus lost ground in every way, socially, economically, educationally, and culturally, in so far as the new Indian culture began to be flavoured with British ideas and usages. The non-Muslims, on the other hand, embraced their new opportunities.

The generation of Sir Saiyid Ahmad Khan realized the new position and resolved to get rid of their handicaps by means of modern education. But Sir Saiyid's ideas of politics were necessarily conditioned by the position of the community as he found it. He was a staunch friend of the British Government in India, though he had on many occasions criticized its policy, especially as regards the Muslims. When the Indian National Congress was started in the 1880's Sir Saiyid denounced the movement as seditious and waged an acrimonious controversy against it. He was strongly opposed to a policy of agitation against the Govern-

ment, and his lead in this matter remained the guiding factor in Muslim politics till 1906-7, when the All-India Muslim League was founded. The partition of Bengal and the spirited attempt made unsuccessfully by Sir Bampfylde Fuller to support Muslim views must be considered as links in a chain of events which brought out the Muslims into the field of political organization.

THE CONGRESS AND THE LEAGUE

When the Indian National Congress was founded it was hoped in the early days that this body might act as the mouthpiece for the whole of India, including all communities. Some Bombay Muslims under the late Mr. Badruddin Tyabji joined it in that hope. But that hope has not been fulfilled. The internal history of the Congress itself has shown great fluctuations since its inception. But it may now be taken to be an organization of educated caste Hindus. Other ranks of Hindus are trying to perfect their own organization under Mr. Ambedkar. But the community that feels most need of a distinct organization, especially after the elective principle was introduced and votive power was given to the people to influence legislative and executive policy, is the great Muslim community with its important historical background. It could not be expected to be content to be swallowed up in the great mass of Hindu peoples with wholly different social and political traditions. This was the origin and the *raison d'être* of the Muslim League.

The central organization is called the All-India Muslim League, to which are affiliated most of the elected Muslim members of the Central Indian Legislature. They are led by Mr. M. A. Jinnah, of Bombay. Then there are Provincial Muslim Leagues in the different Provinces. In some Provinces there are also District Muslim Leagues, to keep in touch with the districts, which are the units of Indian administration. Quite recently an Indian States Muslim League has been constituted to deal with questions affecting the Muslim subjects of Indian States.

The Indian Constitution of 1935 transfers a great deal of power to Provincial Legislatures. It has not yet come into force as regards the Central (All-India) Legislature; when it does, it will

transfer the power at the Centre also. The principle of responsible government has been introduced by this Constitution. This means that the party commanding the majority of votes in the Legislature will form the Executive Government, with full powers under the Constitution. There may be fluctuations in Hindu parties; but the Muslim party will always be in a permanent minority, and this is entirely against the spirit of democratic institutions. To prevent oppression reserve powers are given to the Governors by the Constitution, but it can easily be understood that reserve powers can only be exercised in emergencies and cannot be accepted as an outside substitute for the privilege of joint co-operation in the framing of policies and in day-to-day administration. The League members have to exercise the fullest vigilance in safeguarding communal interests and make the Muslim voice heard in the Legislature.

There are separate electorates for Muslims. It is inherent in this arrangement that the Muslim League should act in the Legislatures as a separate organization. For general All-India policy the League claims to share with the Congress on equal terms the right of consultation and co-operation. This was the point on which the recent conversations between Mr. Jinnah (as representing the Muslim League) and Pandit Nehru and Dr. Rajendra Prasad (as representing the Congress) broke down. The aim was to establish full understanding and co-operation between the two bodies. If this had been possible, representatives of both the League and the Congress would have been invited to join the Viceroy's Executive Council, the supreme executive authority in India, during the war.

THE MUSLIM ATTITUDE

Such is the general position now. To come to closer grips with details, I would specially draw attention to the resolution passed by the Working Committee of the League on September 18, 1939.* You will note that the League's grievances and claims cover a much larger field than the question of their atti-

* Appendix D, *India and the War*. Statement issued by the Governor-General of India on October 17, 1939, Cmd. 6121.

tude to the war. They cover (1) certain provisions of the present Constitution; (2) the actual working of provincial autonomy; (3) civic rights; and (4) religious and cultural rights. I ought to add (5) certain aspects of Muslim education in India.

As regards the present Constitution, they wholly disapprove of the federal scheme embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935. They object to its mere suspension as announced by the Viceroy. They

“wish that instead of its being suspended, it had been abandoned completely, and desire to convey to His Majesty’s Government that they should do so without delay. The Committee desire to make it clear that they do not endorse the ‘federal objective’ of His Majesty’s Government referred to by His Excellency in his address to the Central Legislature, and strongly urge upon the British Government to review and revise the entire problem of India’s future constitution *de novo* in the light of the experience gained by the working of the present provincial constitution of India and developments that have taken place since 1935 or may take place hereafter.”

It is clear that they look upon the working of the provincial constitution as having been disastrous to Muslim interests.

“The developments that have taken place, especially since the inauguration of the provincial constitution based on the so-called democratic parliamentary system of government and the recent experience of over two years, have established beyond any doubt that it has resulted wholly in a permanent communal majority and the domination by the Hindus over the Muslim minorities, whose life and liberty, property and honour are in danger, and even their religious rights and culture are being assailed and annihilated every day under the Congress Governments in various provinces.”

GRIEVANCES

I should myself personally have put it less strongly, but I specially commend the words to your attention as expressing the strong feeling of a responsible body, not on the spur of the moment, but in a deliberate resolution drafted by men of education and adopted presumably after discussion. Similar complaints were recently made about the United Provinces, Bihar, and the Central Provinces by Mr. Fazl-ul-Haq, the Premier of Bengal. On a challenge by Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, Mr. Fazl-ul-Haq offered to go through the United Provinces with the Pandit and convince him that the grievances were real. This joint investiga-

tion has fallen through, but Mr. Fazl-ul-Haq's charges remain. They include the beating of tomtoms before mosques, boycott, assault, arson, murder, and mass terrorization in villages. It is not asserted that the Congress leaders order these, but their ignorant followers on the countryside presume on the fact that the Congress Governments were in power in these Provinces.

Apart from local village attacks on Muslim susceptibilities, Congress policy itself often gives rise to difficulties for Muslims in many ways. The shouting of *Bande Mataram* as a national greeting is obnoxious to them because of its idolatrous association in Bankim Chunder Chatterji's Bengali novel. Muslim endowments are often treated without understanding sympathy where a Congress Government comes into administrative contact with them or where some general legislation seems to affect them adversely. Many of these endowments are partly religious and partly educational. The educational part is often treated with scant courtesy in the matter of grants-in-aid, etc. The recent Shia-Sunni riots in Lucknow are attributed in some Muslim quarters to a clumsy if not provocative handling on the part of the Congress Government in power, which is supposed to incite mutual animosities among the Muslims themselves in order to intervene as arbitrators.

I have referred to educational activities in connection with endowments. Muslim educational grievances are also of a general character. Textbooks are often prescribed in State schools or institutions which are of a character repugnant to Muslim feeling if not actually hostile to Muslim traditions. The location of schools and colleges, and the appointments, promotions, and transfers of educational staffs are often made in a manner prejudicial to Muslim interests. The grants-in-aid question comes in here also. The Muslims would also like better representation in the educational Services.

This point is emphasized by Dr. Waheed in his recently published monograph on *The Evolution of Muslim Education*. He says:

"This need for adequate Muslim representation is as important in the educational as in the political world, and it is obviously no mere question of

Muslims seeking to obtain a share of the educational loaves and fishes. What Muslims want is to be free at once to make their own contribution to the cultural and educational development of the country, and equally to safeguard their own cultural and educational interests. They have a right to insist on being in a position to make this contribution. As a result of their exclusion from this position in the past, the education of India has been standardized . . . on wrong lines so that the stream of education is running in one definite direction, and thousands of young men brought up on this system find themselves unable to fight the battle of life. The attitude of the State should be to foster rather than discourage communal education and to preserve the cultural development of each community" (p. 55).

THE WAR SITUATION

All these many-sided difficulties arise because there is no working basis of unity between the communities. As Lord Linlithgow said,* he was disappointed at the "entire disagreement between the representatives of the major parties on fundamental issues." It is this entire disagreement on fundamental issues that prevents co-operation even in matters of common interest outside the communal sphere. This has been strikingly exemplified in the lack of wholehearted communal co-operation for the purposes of the war. There is no doubt whatever that the war aims of the Allies command the hearty support of all thinking Indians. They sympathize with Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, and Finland, and they abhor methods of aggression, militarism, and race domination. But the two major political parties find it difficult to respond to the Viceroy's invitation to join the Central Government unconditionally for the vigorous prosecution of the war. At the Round-Table Conferences the British Prime Minister had to make a Communal Award, and a compromise Constitution was adopted, representing the greatest common measure of agreement among the parties. But that Constitution satisfies no one, and for the time being the impasse seems to be complete. There seems to be no outlet of escape. The gulf seems to be unbridgable.

UNITY AND CO-OPERATION

But is it unbridgable? It must be bridged. It is in the interest of the Muslims that it should be bridged. They are not going to

* Governor-General's Pronouncement, November 6, 1939.

remain always in the position of a discontented, impotent, and hopeless minority. Their talent, their past experience, their fitness for survival in many different kinds of environment—physical, moral, and spiritual—require that they should examine their own position and come to some understanding with the forces of unity, which, after all, are the only ones having a survival value. In the field of politics the counting of heads determines the vote value of groups of people. But there are combinations and adjustments possible, by which all intelligent minorities can pull their weight in composite communities.

Mechanical devices can help for a time, but can offer no permanent solutions. Communal electorates have been necessary and useful. But as a permanent wheel in the machinery of politics they will not enable the Muslims to impress their personality and contribute their reasonable share in the development of their country. Schemes of division into mutually exclusive zones—such as those propounded by Syed Abdul Latif in *The Muslim Problem in India*—may have some attractive features, but they imply almost impossible exchanges of populations and the abandonment of ground already won instead of moral and political expansion.

The way to unity and co-operation lies in other directions. The first step must be to cultivate the psychological desire for unity and co-operation. This can be fostered by education, intimate contacts in private and public life, business organization on modern lines, and consultations and meetings in friendly gatherings. A great deal of mischief is caused by unseemly journalism and gutter literature, which must be suppressed, if not by the good sense of the communities concerned, by other means open to the modern State.

The need for unity—and perhaps the opportunity for unity—has been emphasized in connection with the exigencies of the present war. There is no doubt that every section of Indian opinion is shocked by the way in which liberty has been trampled upon and confidence has been shaken in peaceful methods of settling differences, by the recent action of the totalitarian Powers. As the National Liberal Federation put it in their Resolution (September 10, 1939), "in this crisis India should unhesitatingly

and unconditionally support the democratic Powers by every possible means so that they may come out victorious in the struggle." This cannot be done by an India violently divided within itself. Such divisions should await a more favourable international atmosphere for their solution. Indeed, such an atmosphere would help in their solution. It has often been found by experience that co-operation for one particular end in which all parties believe greatly facilitates the solution of differences on other points when the particular end is won. Our Indian difficulties are not only as between ourselves—our own parties—but also between us and the British authority in whom the ultimate power now lies and who are quite willing to enter into consultations with a view to the transference of that power as far as may be practicable with the consent and goodwill of all parties in India. This would obviously be impossible while Britain is locked in a deadly struggle with a first-class Power or possibly with two first-class Powers.

The Governor-General's Statement of October 17, 1939, reiterated on many occasions since, contemplates such action, and has been received with satisfaction by the Muslims. It says:

"I am authorized by His Majesty's Government to say that at the end of the war they will be very willing to enter into consultations with representatives of the several communities, parties, and interests in India, and with the Indian Princes, with a view to securing their aid and co-operation in the framing of such modifications as may seem desirable."

THE FUTURE CONSTITUTION

So far we have discussed only the attainment of *ad hoc* unity for the purposes of this war. But there is a permanent and radical solution of the minority problem which I should like to present for your consideration. There is no need to accept the dictum that it is the fate of a minority to suffer. All constitutions are made in order to safeguard various interests, and in the complicated business of modern government the chief test of good government is how far this requirement has been met. Democracy itself is on its trial from this point of view. Where it works successfully it does so because people have found by long experience that give-and-take is of the essence of co-operation for

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common ends, and a citizen's life is a constant round of give-and-take. Even under majority rule the general consent of the whole population must be assumed for smooth working. The minority as well as the majority has to obey the law for the time being; only, the minority hopes some day to become the majority and to make the law more conformable to its views. Not that there should be constant friction, each party changing the law every time it comes into power. That would mean instability and perpetual want of confidence—ultimately confusion and chaos. Each party contributes something of its point of view until an equilibrium is reached, under which all sensible people accept the inevitable while not relinquishing their eternal and inalienable right to grumble.

THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM

But such an equilibrium can only be reached where there is a two-party system in which individuals can and do change over from one party to another at different times. This is impossible as between the Hindus and Muslims as such. But it is not impossible as between the Congress Party as such and a coalition of groups opposed to the Congress. The largest and most important group in such a coalition will be the Muslims, but it is quite possible that some Muslims like Mr. Abdul Kalam Azad might throw in their political lot with the Congress. It is also possible that the various local or social groups—such as Khaksars and Ahrars, or sections of the Jamiat-ul-Ulama, and some groups in the Frontier Province and in Sind—may, in politics, follow their own bents, though in social or religious matters they would be strong supports of unity among the Muslims. On the other hand, among the Hindus, taking the word in its widest generic sense, there are groups that are opposed to the Congress. The most important of such groups numerically is that of the Scheduled Castes, more generally known as the Depressed Classes, who may number anything up to 70 or 80 millions. They are not closely organized, and some of them would undoubtedly be under Congress influence. But the majority could be got into a new and composite political party. Another group, not numerically strong but con-

taining men of the highest standing and education, is that of the Liberal Federation. And then there are Congress men who belong to extreme sections at either end. The extreme Socialists (or Communists) think that the Congress is too bourgeois, too much in the hands of the propertied classes. As parties come into power and their labels receive precise definition, this section must part company with the Congress. In Indian conditions it can best work with revolutionary or anarchical groups, which have fortunately no strength among the people that actually count. But the conservative elements in Congress ranks will, when their allegiance is subjected to a practical test, find themselves more at home with the Liberals than with Congressites of the school of Mr. Subhas Bose.

Other lines of cleavage which sometimes make a sort of timid appearance in Provincial Legislatures are: Town *versus* Country, or Agriculturists *versus* Non-agriculturists, or Capital *versus* Labour. These lines of cleavage can also be utilized in forming composite parties.

A COMPOSITE PARTY

The upshot of this analysis is that there are many incipient lines of cleavage in Indian politics which can be appealed to for the formation of true political parties, as opposed to purely religious or communal groups. And I look to the Muslims—with their past history, their political experience, and their present insecure position—to take the lead in evolving a composite party which will safeguard legitimate interests and be available—when the need arises—for forming an alternative government. The task is not easy, and may appear impossible to minds wedded to intransigent traditions. But it must be attempted. Each Province will have to deal elastically with it according to its own local conditions. In the Punjab Legislature, for instance, the Sikhs form an element to be considered, and among them, again, the Akalis have a point of view different from their other Sikh brethren. The point would be to examine the purely political issues that arise out of these differences, and attempt a classification and a re-grouping that will enable small minorities to pull their weight as

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political units in large parties rather than fritter away their strength in isolation, which may lead to political extinction.

The formation of federations of parties, each federation being of sufficient cohesion to be a possible alternative government with a definite programme, is the only way that I can see of solving the minority problem in India. Without it there can be no modern constitution, no democratic assemblies, no progressive legislation, no really effective road to self-government. If even the first steps in that direction can be achieved, we can see our way clear to effective provincial autonomy. The way to federal autonomy will be far steeper, and we may have to shed the feature about linking the Indian States with British India in the Central Legislature and Executive before we can envisage smooth working on modern and democratic lines. But that is a large and thorny question that is best left alone at the present stage. The Muslims will have contributed a most vital feature to the working of the Constitution if they help India out of the impasse of fixed communal parties and perpetual impotent minorities.

DOMINION STATUS

The question of Dominion Status for India is not unaffected by the communal question, though it lies on a different plane. The Viceroy, in a joint statement with Mr. Gandhi, which he issued on February 5 at Delhi, referred to the talk with Mr. Gandhi, in which "His Excellency set out in some detail the intentions and proposals of His Majesty's Government. He emphasized, in the first place, their earnest desire that India should attain Dominion Status at the earliest possible moment, and to facilitate the achievement of that status by all means in their power. He drew attention to the complexity and difficulty of certain of the issues that called for disposal in that connection, in particular the issue of defence in a Dominion position. He made it clear that His Majesty's Government were only too ready to examine the whole field in consultation with representatives of all parties and interests in India when the time came. He made clear, also, the anxiety of His Majesty's Government to shorten the transitional period and bridge it as effectively as possible." But he added

that the federal autonomy scheme "afforded the swiftest stepping-stone to Dominion Status." As this involves the consent and co-operation of the Princes, the prospect does not appear very rosy. Perhaps communal harmony in British India may help to accelerate the pace by limiting Dominion Status, at any rate at the first stage, to British India.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a meeting of the Association held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on February 6, 1940, Mr. A. Yusuf Ali read a paper on "The Muslims of India, the War, and the Political Field." Sir Harold Wilberforce-Bell, K.C.I.E., was in the Chair.

The HONORARY SECRETARY: I have a letter from Major-General Sir Frederick Sykes, who was to have presided today, expressing his great regret that he cannot be with us. He has been called to the Mansion House to attend a meeting in honour of the Centenary of New Zealand, at which Their Majesties the King and Queen are to be present. His place has been kindly taken, at short notice, by Sir Harold Wilberforce-Bell.

The CHAIRMAN: I do not think that Mr. Yusuf Ali needs very much in the way of introduction, because I am sure that he is well known to most, if not all, of those who are present here today.

Mr. Yusuf Ali has had a career of much distinction in India. He was one of those who joined the Indian Civil Service—a very splendid body of men—in 1895, and he remained in the Service in India until some time during or towards the end of the last war. Since then he has devoted much time to lecturing and explaining matters of high import in connection with India, and particularly with the Muslim section of the great Indian population. The interest that he has aroused on many occasions has, I am aware, been considerable, and I congratulate the East India Association on having been able, at this particular juncture, to obtain him as a medium for elucidating something of Muhammadan thought and aspirations in India at the present time. Mr. Yusuf Ali's paper will, I am sure, be very illuminating.

(Mr. YUSUF ALI then read his paper.)

The CHAIRMAN: I am sure we are all much beholden to Mr. Yusuf Ali for his excellent survey of the Muhammadan position in India at the present moment. He has—very wisely, perhaps—not attempted to enunciate a practical way of meeting the present difficulties, but he has suggested a number of ways in which Muhammadan unity can be obtained, and that, of course, is an important matter.

Sir Frederick Sykes, whose absence is so much regretted this afternoon, has written a letter to the Secretary in which he discusses one or two points that Mr. Yusuf Ali has raised. Sir Frederick's two main points are: first, that the chief consideration is really the question of education—by which I take it he means not only general education, but also political education—

and, secondly, that all these troubles and difficulties must be solved in India by the Muhammadans themselves, a view which I am sure Mr. Yusuf Ali will accept.

Mr. Yusuf Ali has mentioned the position of the Princes in the Indian polity, and he has come to the conclusion that they might just as well be left out of the question for the time being. I am not sure that the Princes themselves would quite accept that idea. I am not sure, for instance, that the appearance of utter dissatisfaction with the Federal Scheme which we have seen reported as the result of meetings recently held in Bombay is altogether expressive of what the Princes think as a whole. It is, perhaps, a little too early to know what the Princes' definite views really are. When I left India less than a year ago I am sure that the majority of the States which were comprised in the Punjab States Agency were prepared to accept the Federal idea and also the Instrument of Accession which was sent to certain of them for comment. That, of course, did not appear in the Press, and it was not made public in any other way, for the simple reason that the suggestion put forward to these States was put forward confidentially at that stage. I think we cannot assume that the States will be altogether opposed to the Federal Scheme as proposed in the Act of 1935.

With regard to the question of co-operation, I do not think there is a great deal of co-operation among Muhammadans in India. That matter is, of course, closely bound up with the questions of party discipline and education, to which Mr. Yusuf Ali has referred. But most important of all, in my view, is the question of the Press. If the Muhammadan political leaders as a whole are unable to influence their Press, I do not see how Muhammadan unity in India can be achieved, and without that it does not seem possible to consider that they could be by themselves an alternative to any other party in government.

The Right Hon. Major-General Sir FREDERICK SYKES, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.B.E., K.C.B., in the course of his letter, wrote: Mr. Yusuf Ali's paper provides a valuable stimulus for discussion of a most interesting and important aspect of Indian political development. That nearly ninety millions of Indian Muslims should constitute a political minority, although the greatest, gives startling reality to the immense complexities that envelop federation in India. It is as if the Germans of the Greater Reich, to make a purely numerical comparison, were deprived of autonomy in a federating Europe. The difference, and the essential difficulty, are that the Muslims are scattered throughout India instead of forming a compact block of people. As a result, they form a permanent minority in seven of the provinces.

Mr. Yusuf Ali traces the consequences of this dispersion with clarity and detachment. They can be shortly summarized. The Muslims are not prepared to agree to a political system that will consecrate their status as a minority. Safeguards are no compensation for this infliction. They demand a policy in which they can play an adequate rôle, and at the same time develop their distinctive faith and culture. This leads to open opposition to federation. This negative attitude is wholly unsatisfactory, as Mr. Yusuf Ali is quick to emphasize. It offers no remedy for the position of the

Muslims as a minority, and makes no contribution to achieving Indian unity, which is vital to Indian welfare.

I welcome the importance that Mr. Yusuf Ali attaches to unity, especially at a time when the Allies are fighting for a cause that commands overwhelming support in India. As long as India is rent by violent political divisions, she cannot make that support effective. I agree also that if Indians would co-operate to help in winning the war, this would make easier co-operation after the war in the solution of Indian difficulties.

Finally, as a means of attaining a permanent settlement of the rancorous divisions inseparable from communal parties, Mr. Yusuf Ali advocates the formation of purely political parties. By this means the dangers of permanent minorities will be removed; and a regrouping of interests will diversify, and, no doubt, enrich Indian political life. The suggestion in itself is attractive. But it contains an element of artificiality. Political parties cannot be forced like mushrooms. If there are now deep cleavages in India along religious and communal lines, it is hard to envisage that these loyalties and antagonisms will be abandoned for a new allegiance of a tentative kind. Mr. Yusuf Ali himself can only speak of "incipient lines of cleavage," and others that "make a sort of timid appearance in Provincial Legislatures."

It is a cause that makes a party, and not *vice versa*. That truth suggests a modification of Mr. Yusuf Ali's proposal. Begin, first of all, with causes that are capable of arousing positive loyalty for themselves, and that are embracing enough to bridge the gulfs between the present divisions. That leads back to the insistence of Mr. Yusuf Ali on the immediate need for education in its most generous sense. By education the desire for co-operation can be induced, and enthusiasm for broad causes can be implanted. By education also tolerance can be inculcated, and the discipline of good neighbourliness.

Ultimately, India must settle her problems for herself. To do so she must confront them with honesty and resolve. The solution will never be found in artificial devices and palliatives. When India accepts the need and value of a harmonious and unified community, it will be securely established; and the electoral problems will largely settle themselves. This does not mean that there is nothing to do but wait until India is blessed with political and social grace. Quite the reverse. But it does help to show that political machinery, however ingenious or elaborate, cannot of itself provide a way forward. To remember this will help us to keep our eyes focused on the roots of the problem, and this is to reach the beginning of its solution.

I should like to congratulate Mr. Yusuf Ali on a very opportune and interesting contribution to a very difficult and important subject.

Sir HARRY HAIG, K.C.S.I., C.I.E. : As this is the first occasion on which I have had the pleasure of speaking to the East India Association, I should have preferred to be one of the later speakers rather than one of the first.

I should like to express my great appreciation of the very able and lucid paper that we have heard from Mr. Yusuf Ali. He has given us the his-

torical background of the Muslims, and he has shown us very forcibly and clearly the existing unfortunate position, a position which affects not only the Muslims but the whole of India. In my own experience I have never known the communal situation as between Hindus and Muslims to be so acute. The Muslims appear to me to be profoundly dissatisfied and apprehensive. At the same time, I feel that, at any rate on the communal question, they are more united than I have known them to be before, and they are resolute. Although they have no clear idea of what the solution of their difficulties is, they do seem to me to be quite resolved that they are going to play their part in India and that they are not going to be dominated by the other community.

The situation has, I think, reached its present acute form within the last two and a half years and since the introduction of the new Constitution giving self-government to the Provinces. Actually, at the time of the general election (I speak of the United Provinces, with which I am acquainted), there was a widespread belief that after the election there would be some sort of alliance between the Congress and the Muslim League. The views of many members of the Muslim League on general problems were not very different from those of the Congress. It is only since the general election, which gave the Congress in the United Provinces an enormous majority, and from the time when the Congress decided that it would not offer an alliance to the Muslim League and invite representatives of the Muslim League to join the Ministry, that conditions have steadily been getting more acute and more difficult. That is a very natural development, because in the Legislature the main permanent opposition is a communal one. There have been many complaints made by the Muslims that they are treated unfairly both administratively and in matters of policy. I do not wish to say anything in detail about that. I have heard assertions, both on one side and on the other, which do not altogether accord with my experience. I am certainly not prepared to admit (and I do not suppose you would expect me to admit) that Governors have failed in their duty of protecting minorities so far as the Constitution lays that duty upon them.

I think the difficulty goes much deeper than any particular incidents, whether of policy or of administration. There is a feeling amongst the Muslims in the United Provinces that they are living under a system which they describe as Hindu Raj, and it is that psychological feeling which has produced the conditions which are making the communal situation so acute at the present time. There is justification for that. Under the present democratic system the political leaders in the districts and in small places have a pull in ordinary matters of controversy, patronage, and so on, which they used not to have in the old days, and, when the local political leaders, the small men in the districts, are found to be having that influence, those who have not got the ear of the Ministers and who feel that they cannot get their views represented to the Ministers are aggrieved and feel that they have no part or lot in the government or administration, that they are being ruled by others.

What is the way out? I was greatly interested in what Mr. Yusuf Ali

suggested. He suggested, I think, that a solid communal bloc of Muslims might be a nucleus round which some alternative to the Congress Government would be built. One would certainly not suggest that anything was impossible in politics, but it does seem to me difficult to expect such a development, because, after all, if there is this Muslim bloc it is a communal bloc, and that will set up precisely the same reactions among the Hindus that a Hindu Government has set up amongst the Muslims. I do not think that we can really expect developments on those lines. Recently in the United Provinces the Congress Government, which, we must remember, professes a completely non-communal attitude, has been losing ground to the Hindu communal organization on the allegation that it has been too sympathetic to the Muslims. There is a very strong Hindu communal feeling, just as there is a strong Muslim communal feeling, and a communal Government on one side or the other is bound to lead to the most intense friction.

Personally I have always believed that the right solution—and the only solution that I can see—is for the Congress to accept the proposal that it rejected at the time when the new Constitution was introduced and form a coalition with the Muslim League. If that were to work for a few years we might then get, as Mr. Yusuf Ali has explained to us, by the process of working together, a unity which would gradually transcend the communal difficulties. If the political difficulties which have arisen between the British Government and the Congress are overcome in a short time, as I profoundly hope they may be, and the Ministries are reformed in the Congress Provinces, I sincerely hope that they will be reformed not as Congress Ministries, but as coalition Ministries, including representatives of the Muslim League. If that were done I believe we should have gone a very long way towards solving those communal antagonisms which at the present moment seem to me to make further political progress in India almost impossible.

Sir ALBION BANERJI, C.S.I., C.I.E. : I wish to say that I am not speaking either as a Muslim or as a Hindu, but I speak as an Indian. I wish also to pay a compliment to the learned author, who, like myself, was formerly a member of the Indian Civil Service (I think we entered the Service in the same year), for the very moderate view he has taken of his subject. Retired Civil Servants are generally inclined to take conservative views on all questions affecting the very acute problems that India is facing today. We have amongst us in India "die-hard" politicians, as you have in England, but Mr. Yusuf Ali, as one who has had long administrative experience, has prepared his paper with a moderate outlook. As a Muslim of reputed culture and scholarship he has shown no communal bias, and has discussed the subject dispassionately and with, as far as possible, that detached point of view which is so valuable, especially when passions are running high in the Indian political field.

The cause of the present Hindu-Muslim tension, I fear, is not generally understood today. My personal opinion is that it is not due to the foreign Government that we have had for so many years, nor is it due to the fault

of any one community, Hindu or Muslim. It is essentially due to economic and not entirely religious causes. Let me tell you what my experience has been during thirty-four years of public service in India. I have been in more than a dozen districts in Madras, in one of which the Muslim population predominated, and I have been in three Indian States, in one of which the Muslim population was over 90 per cent., and during the whole of the thirty-four years I never had to face a single instance of Hindu-Muslim disturbance, major or minor. On the other hand, I had to face many riots and many disturbances between the different communities and sects of the Hindus, some of them so serious that the military had to be called in. The fact is—and we do not always realize it—that Hindus and Muslims have lived in perfect amity and concord, attending to their own agrarian occupations, grain and money dealings and many other business enterprises, in unbroken friendship. Anti-communal riots due to cow-killing and processions in front of mosques there have always been. They have generally been dealt with by the Courts. People did not attach so much importance to them as they do now. The Hindu intercaste riots are never reported in the papers. But in the olden days the differences between Hindus and Muslims on account of cow-killing or musical processions were not, as I believe from my own experience, deliberately provoked from political motives. Music was never played before mosques and cow-killing was never practised in Muslim-inhabited quarters, because of the so-called gentleman's agreement.

The truth lies in the changed economic, social and political conditions, which may be summarized very briefly as follows: Growth of class consciousness; disabilities of backward communities, which are more keenly felt; unfair distribution of wealth, which gives more power to the rich and influential over the poor and the oppressed, and the monopoly of trade and commerce amongst the majority, representing capitalists who are, for the most part, caste Hindus.

Totalitarian tendencies on the one hand, in a partially developed democratic Constitution, in which the best organized political party—Congress—assumed the reins of government, and a hostile opposition on the other hand, organized by the Muslim Party on a strictly communal basis, have created a gulf which seems, according to Mr. Yusuf Ali, to be unbridgable.

The Congress is not entirely, to quote the author's own words, an organization of educated caste Hindus. He has himself, in another part of the paper, admitted that amongst Hindus, taking the word in its widest sense, there are groups that are opposed to the Congress. Not merely the Scheduled Classes, but also the Justice Party of Madras, for example, a very influential group which was formerly in power, is opposed to the Congress. There is also the National Liberal Federation. The inference is that the movement towards party formation in India is at present in a transitional stage and will not, in the future, take an entirely communal line. That is my hope. Whatever may be the nature of future development in this respect, India has need to protect itself against the growth of a native Fascism, and it is quite possible that a strong and well-organized Muslim

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Party may prove itself stronger than any federation of non-Congress minority parties envisaged in the concluding portion of Mr. Yusuf Ali's paper.

The difficulty of defining an Indian minority is that a minority in one part may be a majority in another part. Thus laws for the protection of a minority in one Province will not be needed for the protection of the same community in another.

With regard to the totalitarian tendencies that develop when a majority party rules over a minority, the problems in India are not new. The same problems exist in modern civilized countries, such as Rumania, Yugoslavia and Czecho-Slovakia. Certain instances were reported in the *Danubian Review* of last month, and the complaints tally almost exactly with what the Muslims complain of in regard to their oppression by the Congress Party. The *Danubian Review* mentions the following: Expropriation of properties of minorities, unofficial arrests on the flimsiest excuses, neglect and non-enforcement of special laws for the protection of religious and civil liberties, unjust punishment of officials recruited from minority communities, and decrees paralyzing the activities of minority cultural societies and interfering with the education and schools of minorities. The Muslim League complains of the destruction of Muslim culture, interference with the religious and social life of Muslims and trampling upon their economic and political rights.

The demand of the Congress for a Royal Commission and the demand of the Muslims for a Constituent Assembly are two important matters. The granting of the first would widen the gulf, and the granting of the second would be a repetition on different lines of the experiment which was made by the abortive All-Party Conference, presided over some years ago by the late Pandit Motilal Nehru.

As there is no working basis of unity between the Hindus and the Muslims in sight, why not leave the future Constitution alone for the present and take in good part the gesture which the British Government has already made as regards the grant of Dominion Status? There is no real disagreement in the whole of India amongst all classes about full co-operation with the Allies in the war. If there is unity on this point, which is vital to the safety and security of India as a whole, it is not altogether impossible that we ourselves may be able to settle our differences and present to the British Government a united front, which will then be irresistible, for the grant of full Dominion Status after the war.

Sir WILLIAM BARTON, K.C.I.E., C.S.I. : I should like to add my congratulations to Mr. Yusuf Ali on his very sane and balanced statement of the Muslim case.

I am afraid the spirit of compromise is lacking in the psychology of political India, and as long as that is the case the system of party government will be very slow in developing. In fact, competent observers in India are inclined to think that party government on the parliamentary model of Britain is almost impossible in India so long as there are great blocs of the population isolated from each other by almost insuperable

barriers of culture, creed, traditions, personal laws and political outlook. The position would be different if the majority community were prepared to invite the minorities to work with them and would assure the minority communities that their interests would be safe under a responsible government. One sees no sign of any such sweet reasonableness on the political horizon at the moment.

Hindu-Muslim tension exists in an acute form in the great State of Hyderabad, and we might consider how Hyderabad statesmanship is attempting to solve the problem. The position is peculiar. There is a Muslim community dominating the countryside with a Muslim Government in power; but there are only 2,000,000 Muslims as compared with 13,000,000 Hindus, including 2,500,000 of the depressed classes. If parliamentary government on the British model were to be introduced in conditions of that kind, the result would be that the Muslims would be relegated to the position of a permanent minority with no voice whatever in the government of the country which they have ruled for six centuries. If any attempt were made to impose such a régime from without, it is absolutely certain that there would be civil war; it would be a civil war in which the whole of the 90,000,000 Muslims in India would give their material and moral support to the Hyderabad Muslims. In fact, it would be an all-India quarrel.

It is obviously in the interests both of Hyderabad and of India as a whole that a middle course should be chosen if possible, and it is a middle course that His Exalted Highness the Nizam and his distinguished Minister Sir Akbar Hydari and his colleagues are endeavouring to steer. Their ideal is to associate the people so closely and cordially with the administration that both policy and administration will conform with the interests and wishes of the people. How do they propose to achieve this? They propose to throw communalism overboard and to have representation in the legislature by economic interests, such as the professions, trade, commerce, banking and the depressed classes. The Hyderabad Government has refused to give a majority of the votes to the Muslims, but at the same time it has recognized their historic position by giving them representation equal to that of the non-Muslims. In order to ensure the close association of the people with the Government, Advisory Committees will be set up, associated with the so-called nation-building departments. Another point is that the Hyderabad Government is considering a comprehensive scheme of economic reconstruction. It realizes that the new measure can be successful only if the peasantry are prosperous and contented. At the same time it is considering an extensive scheme of industrialization. I am sure that this experiment will be watched with interest throughout India, and, if it is successful and Hyderabad is prosperous and contented, the reactions on India as a whole may be of some importance. In the long run, if the scheme works, the foundations may be laid of responsible government.

In framing the scheme of reforms, British statesmen realized that it would be very difficult to introduce parliamentary government into India, and for that reason they based the reforms on the theory of a British partnership. Unfortunately, however, the Congress Government has repudiated

that partnership. The Muslims relied on it for the protection of their interests, and I think too that the Princes regarded it as an essential element in the situation. If Congress would agree to recognize the principle, I feel that we should find in it a key to the solution of the present problems. If it would work with the British, and if, as Sir Harry Haig has suggested, it would form coalition Ministries, with Muslims and Hindus working together, I feel sure that ultimately the present difficulties would be overcome and the way to Federation would be opened. With Federation, Dominion Status might be achieved, and with Dominion Status possibly the communal trouble would disappear.

The CHAIRMAN: Before I call upon Mr. Yusuf Ali to reply to the discussion, I should like to read the following letter which the President of the Association, Lord Lamington, has written to him from Scotland: "I am sorry indeed not to be present tomorrow when you read your paper. I am glad that I have a copy of it and will study your wise words tonight. I am sure my description is a right one. With kindest regards, and hoping you may have a large audience, Yours sincerely, Lamington."

Mr. YUSUF ALI: I should like to say that the discussion has been extremely valuable, and I am very much obliged to the speakers who have contributed to it and who have added several very important points in the consideration of the problems which I tried to place before you.

The wise and weighty words of the ex-Governor of the United Provinces were especially welcome to me. He, in his experience in the United Provinces, saw things from a certain angle. I was in the United Provinces both before and during his Governorship, and also since, and I saw things from perhaps a slightly different angle, but I can say that the remarks which he made are fully justified by the facts of the case as they exist in the United Provinces. I will go further and say that those remarks lend a certain amount of support to the kind of proposals which I adumbrated in my paper. It is not a communal bloc that I advocate, but the organization of the Muslims themselves in such a way that they will be able to work with other elements that are not working for the Congress. As Sir Harry Haig pointed out, there are Hindu elements that are opposed to the Congress. In the United Provinces there is a large body of opinion in the villages which, if it were properly organized and used for political purposes, might help in the solution of many of our problems.

I think it was unfortunate that the Congress Government which was formed in the United Provinces did not take up the question of coalition. In such matters I have always felt that the Governor, although he is outside politics, can in many undefined ways help to give a certain shape to the policies of the Governments that are actually working in his Province. I hope that it will be possible, with further experience of Ministries in India, to bring forward this idea of co-operation more and more. Perhaps "coalition" may not be quite the right word to use in this connection, but, if when a Congress Ministry came into power it brought in people who could carry weight amongst the communities not directly represented, I think

it would add to its own strength. Congress Governments should be able to do what the Punjab Government has done so effectively.

I am also very glad that Sir Albion Banerji spoke and gave his analysis of the causes which are responsible for the present differences. He quite rightly mentioned the differences amongst the Hindu castes themselves, and he put it rather strongly when he said that in his wide administrative experience he had never come across Hindu-Muslim differences but had frequently come across differences between the different classes of the Hindus themselves. Sir Albion Banerji's remarks about the way in which the minority question has arisen in various parts of Europe help us to understand, I think, a little of the conditions under which minorities can ultimately influence those whom they could not influence merely by the counting of votes. I am quite sure that, with greater experience, majorities will learn how to respect minorities and minorities will learn how to influence majorities.

I am especially obliged to Sir William Barton for his references to Hyderabad. He has a very intimate knowledge of Hyderabad, and so have I. The scheme which he mentioned is an exceedingly interesting one. How far it is practicable time alone can show, but I fully agree that, if the scheme of bringing in the various economic interests and grouping them together, and having a responsible Government representing not religions or communities so much as sections of the people with distinct interests that can be influenced by politics, is successful, it may do a great deal both for Hyderabad and for the whole of India.

Sir William Barton said that the spirit of compromise was wanting in India, and I think that is perfectly true. It is wanting because we have not had that long experience by which alone we learn that compromise does not necessarily mean giving up wholly one's own point of view. Compromise implies that one's own point of view has had its share in bringing about the final result. It may be compared with different forces pulling in different directions; the ultimate direction which is taken is the result of the complex working of a number of forces, none of which is itself alone responsible for the final result.

I am sure we all regret that Sir Frederick Sykes was not able to be present today. The two points that he mentions in his letter are of great importance.

I should like to express to you, sir, my thanks for taking the Chair and for adding so greatly to the value of the discussion by your preliminary remarks.

Sir JAMES MacKENNA, C.I.E. : As another member of the 1895 group of the Indian Civil Service, I have particular pleasure in proposing a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Yusuf Ali. I think I am correct in saying that he passed out first in the final examination in that year—a particularly good year, I believe! Mr. Yusuf Ali left the Service before he had run his allotted course, but since then he has been extremely active, in a quiet, unobtrusive manner, in upholding the position of his co-religionists in India and in doing a great deal of very useful work in all matters connected with the

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good relations which we want to exist between England and India, the establishment of which is one of the main objects of this Association.

To you, sir, we are under a particular obligation for taking the place of Sir Frederick Sykes at very short notice and fulfilling so adequately the duties of Chairman.

I move a very hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Yusuf Ali and to Sir Harold Wilberforce-Bell. (Cheers.)

WORLD-WIDE REACTION TO EVENTS IN INDIA

BY PROFESSOR BASIL MATHEWS

A CARTOON produced by the Soviet propaganda in *Pravda* (January 19, 1940) represents the British Empire as "a free federation of many Governments." The nature of this federation is shown in the picture. The British lion, with a top-hat poised uneasily on his head and some coverings on his cold feet, reclines on a strong-box marked "India." One side of this cage has open bars, out of which two skinny Indian legs protrude. Below is a dungeon marked "African colonies." From a small opening in the dungeon an equally skinny hand protrudes. The lion has a whip in his paws, and the Union Jack is tied to his tail, which itself is in the form of a broomstick.

That cartoon presents in a grotesque way the surface view of the British Empire, especially in its relation to India, that has most frequently given rise to critical comment in the world's press since the outbreak of war.

The *New York Times* has piquantly described it as, "the paradoxical situation by which India, as part of the British Empire, is being forced to fight for democracy, while being informed that she is not yet ready to enjoy its privileges." From Moscow to Chicago, from the microphone of Mr. Stalin to the megaphone of Mr. Hearst, that is the main theme of the strange world symphony of comment, both critical and constructive, upon India and the war.

A study of the news about and the comments upon India during the past six months brings home again the fact that another cause of this world-wide interest is that Britain is the only world power in existence, in the full and strict sense of that word. The fact that peoples owing allegiance to the Crown live in territories that are not only in every continent and sub-continent, but are on every shore of every ocean, as well as along the Mediterranean, makes the Empire's future central to world-war and to the reconstruction after the war. And obviously India is central in that Empire.

The other outstanding cause for the continuous presence of

India in the news of a world preoccupied with a European war lies in the personality of Mr. Gandhi, which, even in a decade of super-dictators, ranks among the four or five most famous persons familiar to all classes and grades of education in all continents. The fact that his familiar face and form have captured the interest and for the most part the admiration of the world, that sees him as an unarmed fighter for freedom against tremendous odds, sets an extremely difficult task before those of us who would interpret the true perspective of the Indian scene.

I have been led by an analysis of the world's press in relation to India to divide the areas of the world roughly into three.

THE SOVIET PRESS

First there is the press and the radio of the great dictatorships, and particularly of Berlin and Moscow. They know their subject-matter well—better, I think, than most British journalists. They seize on every actual weakness and exploit it in propaganda to our full disadvantage. They take the favourable elements such as the Indian Constitution which began to function in 1937, a Constitution which any detached observer who knows about its action must recognize as the greatest adventure in democracy ever made on the soil of Asia, and they ignore completely all its positive and constructive freedom, concentrating only on its few safeguards, calling them cruel shackles, and all the time they play fortissimo on the theme of economic exploitation and the deliberate policy of maintaining Indian illiteracy.

The second area is that of the small neutrals in Europe and of the Near and the Far East, who, by and large, make fair and even well-informed comment.

The third outstanding area is that of the United States of America.

Moscow gives more sustained attention to British rule in India than does any other Government in the world. Nor does her propaganda activity against our rule in India confine itself to papers and broadcasts in Russian—she broadcasts every day and night in different languages. There are also a certain number of periodicals in other parts of the world which are clearly financed

from Russia. For instance, the Norwegian Communist paper *Arbideren*, which is a far more prosperous looking paper than the *Daily Worker*, consistently takes the line illustrated by the only sentence that I will quote from it: "The Indians are an oppressed and exploited people, united in their hatred of England."

From time to time long, carefully-reasoned and well-informed articles are published that would inevitably prove convincing to any ordinary reader, who lacked a realistic background. For instance the *Izvestia* of December 20 had a long article on "The Sahib in India." The theme of it may be indicated in two sentences, first that "England goes on the principle that East is East and West is West, and keeps democracy for home consumption, while exercising despotism in Asia," and "today he needs the help of his colonial slaves: he dare not command them, so he tries persuasion." This is followed by a description of how the Royal Institute of International Affairs, which, the writer says, is now "the General Staff of British foreign policy," set up before the war an elaborate propaganda machine. The principle on which that machine is used is, for example, to pretend to the Mohammedans that Islam is the central concern, and to join in the prayers of the Maharaja of Mysore to Rama against the powers of evil incarnate in Germany, and indeed to woo all her subject populations by posing as their supporter.

A second example of these long articles is an article in a periodical called *Machinostroenia*, signed by D. Granov, which uses the historical narrative from 1914 to the present day. The new Constitution is described as having for its object "the preservation of the domination of English imperialists, the maintenance and consolidation of the régime of national suppression and ruthless exploitation of the toiling masses. It is characteristic that according to this slavish Constitution 90 per cent. of the population of India are deprived of voting rights." The article concludes by saying that the Indian population are becoming more and more alive to the methods of English reactionaries who are "playing on religious, national and caste feuds to direct the struggle of the Indian people for freedom and independence."

The messages of Moscow over the wireless are given in different

languages to all parts of the world, including even French broadcasts for French-Canadians. The different notes in the theme include reiterated messages from Kabul, which is evidently the main centre for direct information about India for Moscow, giving details of riots in India, consequent in a number of places of famine in Amritsar, and of murderous air-raids on helpless Afghans.

News paragraphs are concerned with such statements as the following: "Bombay Constituent Assembly censures Sir Samuel Hoare's statement." There are interviews with people like Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose; and continual references, either directly, or through the speeches of people like Mr. Molotoff, to Britain as an imperialistic power, holding down hundreds of millions of colonial slaves under the yoke of exploitation.

MR. NEHRU'S STATEMENT

In recent weeks nothing in the Soviet propaganda about India has been more interesting than Moscow's reiterated wireless declaration to the world that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru supports Stalin in his attack on Finland. Those who know best how Mr. Nehru blends passionate and sacrificial nationalism with full-blooded socialism, would expect that Stalin's aggression might create a distressing perplexity in the Pandit's mind. Early in January a long leader appeared in the *National Leader*, which is controlled by Mr. Nehru. This article, evidently from his own hand, pleaded for suspended judgment on the Finnish invasion, on the ground that all news was poisoned by propagandist aims, and that therefore it was unwise to make emphatic and dogmatic statements in the absence of full knowledge. As those who know Mr. Nehru best, however, would realize from the start when the full and authoritative news did come, his stand would be uncompromising. I make no apology for giving a long extract from the article that he subsequently wrote, condemning Soviet Russia for bartering away her moral prestige and the friendship of her many friends. Mr. Nehru says:

Nothing is more significant today or more full of sorrow than the weakening almost everywhere (though not so much in India) of progressive

forces. Soviet Russia, their symbol of hope and fulfilment, has descended from the pedestal on which her ardent champions had placed her and bartered away her moral prestige and the friendship of so many of her friends for seeming political advantage.

With the invasion of Finland, Russia lined herself with the aggressor nations and thereby was false to the traditions she had herself nourished for these many years. She has paid heavily for this vital error and paid in a coin which cannot be counted, for it is made up of the wishes and ideals of innumerable human beings. No individual, no nation can play about with this priceless coinage without suffering grievous loss; much less a nation which has prided itself on its basic principles and ideals. There can be little doubt that the Finnish people are resisting an invasion as a united nation, and both Finnish trade unions and peasantry are backing this resistance.

There are those who have made it their creed to defend every activity of the Soviet Government and who consider it heresy or lese-majesty for anyone to criticize or condemn any such activity. That is the way of blind faith which has nothing to do with reason. It is not on that basis that we can build up freedom here or elsewhere. Integrity of mind and sincerity of purpose can be given up only at peril to ourselves and to our cause. We are not tied down to any decisions made for us elsewhere; we make our own decisions and fashion our own policy.

We in India extend our friendly sympathy to the Socialism of Russia, and any attempt to break it will meet with our strong disapproval, but we do not give our sympathy to the political manœuvres and aggression of Russia's Government. In the war against Finland our sympathies are for the people of Finland who have struggled so gallantly to preserve their freedom. If Russia persists in this the results will be disastrous for her and for the world. We have to remember yet again that in this revolutionary age of transition and change, when all our old values are upset and we seek new standards, we must retain our integrity of mind and purpose and hold fast to means and methods which are right and which are in conformity with our ideals and objectives. Those objectives will not be achieved through violence or authoritarianism or opportunism of the moment. We must adhere to non-violence and right action and evolve through this the free India for which we labour.

THE NAZI PROPAGANDA MACHINE

Moving from Moscow to Berlin, and still remaining within the orbit of the dictatorships, we find a sustained reiteration in the controlled press, whether of Berlin, Vienna or Prague, of the same motifs of throwing scorn on Britain for her economic blood-sucking of the Indian peoples, who are forced to pay immense sums of money to sustain rich Indian Civil Servants, both in India and in retirement in Britain; for their dropping of bombs on defenceless

villages on the North-West Frontier; for their deliberate incitement through what is amiably called a "British *cheka*" of riots between Moslems and Hindus; and their cynical holding of the Indian people down intellectually to levels of illiteracy.

This propaganda is carried on by radio incessantly, not only in the West, but in Hindustani in India.

Germany does not refer so often as other countries to Russian interest in the conquest of India by Communism, but we do find, for instance, in the *Angriff* of October 25 that the Institute for Oriental Languages, attached to the Soviet Academy of Science, is issuing new dictionaries for many of the Indian languages beginning with Hindustani-Russian, Bengali-Russian, and Mahratti-Russian.

Without spending time in reiterating detailed German paragraphs of news, which sustain the attack on our rule in India in the daily papers, we may give here a little attention to one or two of the more serious articles appearing in Germany on India.

In the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* for November 8, a writer called E. C. Graf Pückler has an article on the political position in India, which is moderate and, in general, accurate. He says that the reopening of the Indian question is the most important consequence that the war has raised for the British Empire. The immediate cause, he says, is the action of the British Government "involving India in the war without consulting the Indian people or its leaders." He gives a short, but accurate, history of the Indian National movement from the Montagu Declaration of 1917 to the Government of India Act of 1935. There is no word about cruelty or exploitation in this carefully reasoned article.

In the *Frankfurter Zeitung* for November 11, an article entitled "Uneasy India: Unfulfilled Promises and their Consequences," signed W. v. D., declares that Britain has broken faith with India on three outstanding occasions. First, we did not keep the promise made in the Proclamation of 1858 about no differentiation on grounds of colour, race and religion. Second, we evaded the pledge given during the world war of substantial expansion of political rights. Finally, we vitiated, through the safeguards, the grant of the Government of India Act of 1935 and its promise of

Dominion Status. The writer goes on to say that the Indians now demand unlimited power to decide their own future, at a time when Britain is dependent on India's central position, her vast resources, her harbours, crops, and army, in addition to her enormous value both as a market for British goods and as a source of cheap labour to be exported all over the world. He concludes by presenting the predicament in which the British Government finds itself as between Congress, the Moslems, and the Princes, with the India Office still further perplexed by the far-reaching support of the Congress politicians by the British Parliamentary Opposition, and the United States of America, where "public opinion has assumed the rôle of Censor of British policy in India."

An article of more than usual significance about India is found in the *Neuer Tag* of Prague (October 23), entitled "Indian Volcano." A careful analysis by this article of the condition of India leads the writer to the conclusion that, with the inner division and feebleness of the Indians :

So long as England's power was intact and concentrated on the oppression of India, the movement of liberation had little chance of early success. But today there are powers beyond the frontiers of the Indian Empire, which are by no means uninterested in expelling England from her key-position in Asia.

The writer then traces historically the rivalry between Britain and Russia in the second half of the nineteenth century, and Russia's consideration during the South African War of whether she should not undertake operations against India's Northern Frontier. He shows how Britain organized her strength in Arabia, Persia, Afghanistan and Tibet, and concludes :

This position, however, was bound to undergo a revolutionary change as soon as Russia abandoned her policy of passivity. It is easy therefore to understand the anxiety with which London is following events in India and their careful reproduction in the Soviet press.

A bitter element in the German attack on British rule in India is revealed in an article in the *Völkischer Beobachter* of January 25, entitled "False Wooing for India." The writer describes Lord Linlithgow's Bombay statement that our aim was Dominion Status for India, and internal unity, as "an ice-cold frivolous fraud. The same trick was tried in the last war by Mr. Montagu

and Mr. Lloyd George, and it led India to put 1,100,000 men into the field. The upshot was Amritsar and the Rowlatt Acts; this time the attempt will fail."

India's own reaction to sympathetic articles about her position and future, emanating from Germany, is well indicated in this striking outburst from Mr. Nehru :

The Indian political situation has suddenly assumed extraordinary importance for German radio propagandists, who are pouring out chivalrous tales all over the world of this distressed and unfortunate country. The "sympathetic" mention of India and the Congress struggle in the broadcasts and in the press is really part of the heated political argument against Britain. There may be nothing particularly wrong in Herr von Ribbentrop's reference in his Danzig speech to the long series of broken pledges, pacts and declarations made by Britain to India, but it does not come gracefully or truthfully from the mouth of Hitler and Ribbentrop, whose hands are reeking with the blood of mutilated Poland. India does not disdain the world's sympathy in her righteous struggle for freedom, but let it not come from the Nazis. For, even when they tell the gospel truth, the world will not believe them, and to that extent India will lose her case in its estimation.

We cannot also forget that, according to Hitler and the Nazis, Indians occupy a place in the ladder of creation, somewhere between ape and man. Is it these anthropological experts that are to speak for this country before the world?

The motif reiterated most frequently from Moscow and Berlin is that our deliberate aim on the economic side is to bleed the poverty-stricken peasant, already anæmic under exploiting Indian landlords, and simultaneously to starve education so that the multitude of illiterates may remain still subject serfs.

OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

Passing from Moscow and Berlin to the European neutrals, we need not stay long examining them. A survey from Greece to Norway and across to Spain gives the impression that a considerable proportion of the newspapers are under such pressure of one kind or another from the warring Powers that often we must discount either the spontaneity or the sincerity of their language, whether favourable to or critical of British rule in India. Partly for this reason they are inclined to confine themselves to the publication of news.

The *Dageposten* of Norway on November 11 gives us a balanced

picture, saying that "the Congress Party did not seem to dare to take action which would free the country from the British yoke because, bad as British rule is, it is preferable to that of Soviet Russia."

Swedish papers give special statements from writers like Krishna Menon of London and from the London correspondent of the *Hindustan Times*. The *Gotebörqs Handels Tidning* of November 15 says that if anything could stop the emancipation movement it would be the threat from Russia. In that event the desire to get rid of British protection would certainly become less. The *Gotebörqs Handels Tidning*, itself strongly anti-Nazi, makes the interesting comment that "India regards the war as a conflict between two imperial powers, one tired and easy-going, the other more vigorous and brutal." This same paper is quite sure that Berlin and Moscow are working out plans for the invasion of India via Persia and Afghanistan.

The Hungarian papers generally give well-informed and moderately worded comment, often based on a reading of the British press and the *Hindustan Times*. For example, the *Pester Lloyd* of November 8, after analyzing the constitutional crisis, says that "We believe that it will be solved by a compromise, since neither the British Government and people, nor Mr. Gandhi, wish to push matters to extremes."

As we move farther into South-Eastern Europe the interest in the possibility of attack on India from this direction becomes notable; for instance, *Ethnos* of November 7 prints a wireless message, from a special correspondent, declaring that when Dr. Schacht returned from India he laid before Herr Hitler a complete plan for a German-Soviet expedition to the East, by way of Irak and Afghanistan. The comment made is that "the object of this expedition would be to ensure Indian self-government, which would be the severest possible blow to the British Empire." Another Greek paper, *Typhos*, of November 3, describes the conversations between members of a London club, laughing to scorn any Russian threats against India.

The Italian newspapers are confining themselves largely to news paragraphs, and urge the development of compromise between

the Government and Congress, the comments being normally well informed and not at all bitter.

We must resist the temptation to spend time over the Turkish press, which, nevertheless, is of unusual interest and importance at this time because, although under Mustapha Kemel's leadership Turkey became drastically unorthodox, from the Moslem point of view, her lead is still closely watched by Mahommedan countries.

Generally speaking, the articles in Turkish periodicals like *Tan* are well informed in presenting news and regarding historical background. A few sentences from an article in *Tan* of November 7, signed by Omer Riza Dogrul, gives us a sufficient picture of the normal line of Turkish comment :

The great difference between the Indians' position in the Great War and their voluntary action today is so important that it will escape the attention of none. The Indians participated in the last war without terms or conditions, and when it was over waited for the reward of their devotion. Today, however, they want to know beforehand why the war has broken out, and what is the value of the war aims adopted by England; they want to establish a relation between the general objective and their particular objective, and to find out to what extent support of the general objective will advance their particular objective, and where it will lead to. They wish to make their decision in accordance with these matters.

This means that the period between the last Great War and the present Great War has not been entirely in vain in that part of the world. The idea of nationality and independence has shown tremendous development in India . . .

The Viceroy is trying to end the resignation of Congress ministries, and has invited the leaders of India to a meeting. Depending on the result of this meeting, the differences will either take definite shape, or else they will be settled.

But the events we have described show clearly how great is the importance of the problem of India.

JAPAN AND CHINA

Moving from the Near East to the Far East we find two opposing attitudes, as we would expect. On the one hand, in *Hsinminpao*, a Japanese-controlled paper in Peking, articles concentrating on the British monopoly and exploitation of India's economic and military resources, her discouragement of education, her neglect of health services, and her division of the Indian communities. We then have the comment that "the Japanese

victories have led Indians to think that they could drive out the British and establish self-government. These thoughts are having a great influence over the youth of India. The British are consequently belittled."

On the other hand, in a paper like the *North China Star* we get moderate articles emphasizing elements like the hopefulness of Mr. Gandhi's work in getting communal co-operation.

So far as the present government of China is concerned, it would appear that Mr. Nehru's visit, just before the war, to China to see Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek, and their long conversations in the limestone tunnels of Chunking, while Japanese bombs fell on the city, has developed a deeper understanding between these two men, who, so far as the future is concerned, are the outstanding leaders of Asia, and who both combine nationalist enthusiasm with a strong passion for real international understanding.

AMERICAN OPINION

Turning to the United States of America, we see that, with regard to the declaration of war, the immediate American repercussion is of considerable interest. In no case was there any virulent attack, although most comment was critical. The paradox stated by the *New York Times* of asking India to fight for a democracy that she is not regarded as fit to exercise perplexes many writers. The Hearst press, astonishingly enough, has been far less hostile than usual in its tone. The reason is evidently its preoccupation with the Communist menace. It describes Mr. Gandhi himself as "in a talking, not a fighting, mood." The Hearst view is summed up in a sentence: "The Mahatma has apparently decided that, while Britain may be a poor master, the Nazis or the Communists would be worse still."

The Middle Western press gave much greater space to India than is normal with them. This reflects the fact that the Middle West has, since the tremendous development of radio commentators and columnists, and since the shake-up of the depression, become much more conscious of its interdependence with the rest of the world. A large number of comments could be given, run-

ning right through October, 1939, showing how Russian ambition in regard to the Middle East and India looms up larger with them than it does in the British press. To give only two examples out of the scores that we find in the Youngstown (Ohio) *Daily Vindicator* an article (October 15) by Constantine Brown, which discusses Russia's threat to India as part of a well-planned programme to distract British attention: "From all reports it appears that the Indian people are not quite ready to be Communized. But the preparations of the Russians close to the Indian border are not taken lightly by the British High Command." The *Globe-Democrat* (October 22) noted that "the All-India Congress has already indicated it will live up to past performances by embarrassing the British Government if it can." It described Gandhi as "ever the opportunist," and presented the British Government's case sympathetically.

The radical weekly press, in its ordinary run of news, is typified by this extract from the Left-wing *New Republic*. This describes the Viceroy's statement as "a blunder of the magnitude of a crime all the more so as India will be asked to give men and money on the heroic scale." They declare that the Viceroy's words play into the hands of the Germans, who argue that this is not a war of ideologies, but of empires.

As another illustration of the preoccupation with the Russian Communist pressure, we have an article in the *New York Post* (October 24), in which Mr. Ludwig Lore asks, "Will Russia strike at Britain through India?" and goes on to say:

Russia's invasion of Sinkiang is not directed against either Japan or China at all, but against the British Empire via India. There is a new angle to the question of Indian independence—the widespread sympathy for the Soviet Union which in years past gave a great deal of propagandist paper support to the cause of Indian freedom. Progressives everywhere have always demanded either Dominion Status or complete independence for India, but I fail to see why this issue should be made a test for the sincerity of England's war aims in her fight with the authoritarian states. One cannot blame the Indians for taking advantage of this opportunity to fight for freedom, but that still does not make their fight the touchstone of Allied motives. In the final analysis the Indian people today have greater political and economic freedom than either the German or the Russian people. They can strike, they have independent labour unions and their party is free to act within the broad limits of the law,

In the subsequent weeks the attitude to Britain in this area grew more critical. The same Mr. Ludwig Lore, who wrote sympathetically on October 24 in the *New York Post*, said in the following month (November 8):

In the end the English will have to give the Indians what they want. Then it will be a reluctant concession, wrung from them by the strength of 350 million rebellious Indians. How much wiser to come to terms now. Certainly it would improve England's influence and standing, not only in India but before the democratic peoples in all other parts of the world as well.

A comprehending comment is made by the famous radio speaker Gram Swing (November 6, in *Mutual Network*), who said: "If the Hindus and the Muslims did come to an agreement, British rule in India would end," and he went on to say that the old accusation of our policy of divide and rule is not true.

The 77 million Muslims constitute the most important minority in the world. They are less nationalistic than the Hindus, would accept dominion status, but the Hindus do not even want that. . . . However, the British will never walk out of India, as the Hindus demand, until India can give assurance of adequate national defence, and so be in a position of preventing another country from walking in.

A good many American periodicals reflect the view that the real battle about India is not in India, but between the imperialist and progressive elements in Britain. For instance, one of the two Hearst papers on the Pacific Coast, the *San Francisco Examiner*, in a special despatch from Allahabad, affirms that "this is the greatest crisis in the history of British India since the Rebellion of 1857," and goes on to say that the general picture of India resembles that of Ireland in 1914-15. The conclusion is that the presence of Mr. Winston Churchill in the Cabinet is an evil factor in the Indian situation, since he had been "a stubborn opponent of Indian aspirations."

Other elements in the American press analyze, on the other hand, the predicament of Mr. Gandhi, who, as the *New York Times Weekly Magazine* says (October 1), "finds himself once more in a dilemma, lending moral support to the Allies, and demanding India's freedom."

A number of Indians lecturing in the United States of America get considerable space in the American press. These include:

Krishnalal Shridharani, who has had a series of articles in the *Nation*, nationalist, without being bitter; Mrs. Kamaladevi, who has been interviewed in the *New York Post*, the *Christian Science Monitor* and the *New York World Telegram*, and who emphasizes the need for education and social work; Rajni Patel, who has been on a very widespread lecture tour among college students; and Miss Bichoo Batlivala. Only two of these have sailed to America since the outbreak of war. They went to fulfil lecture contracts entered into before war began. The fact that Britain has given exit-permits from England to the United States of America at this time to persons known to be critical of our rule in India is living evidence of Britain's refusal to restrain freedom of speech and suppress criticism in war-time.

A writer in the *Boston Transcript* says that, in relation to India, the United States of America is Britain's greatest difficulty. "She could put down the Indians ruthlessly," writes Bruce Bliven, "were it not that she fears to alienate the Americans." This kind of irresponsible nonsense is, however, entirely uncharacteristic. Real knowledge of India does, of course, vary greatly. At the one end we get, at the war desk of the *New York Times*, a great journalist, like Mr. Birchell, who himself last year in India gave as penetrating a series of reports of Congress as appeared in any paper in the world. Similarly, the *Christian Science Monitor* sustains a valuable flow of first-hand news material. In a recent number an article sent direct from India by a special correspondent ran to something like five columns of analysis of the situation in India. Again, *Life*, with its wide circulation of two million copies, and its much greater number of readers, produced a long article on Jawaharlal Nehru by John and Frances Gunther. The authors, while their sympathy lies with India, present a scrupulously fair picture of the attitude of England. An article like this tends to strengthen American opinion in favour of the Nationalist cause, but it does not blind it at all to Britain's side of the case.

The desire to avoid maintaining the spotlight always on Mr. Gandhi is leading a number of American papers to give biographical treatment to Nehru and Jinnah. This has happened in papers as different from one another as the *Christian Science Monitor*

and the New York tabloid *Daily Mirror*. *Time*, indeed, has recently produced the life-story of Mr. Jinnah, of a singularly uncomplimentary character. His career is described as "a series of coat-turnings."

THE AMERICAN OUTLOOK

We may possibly best conclude this short study of the American press by saying that the general attitude of warm sympathy with Nationalist aspirations is tempered by two considerations. The first is that when Britain is in the unique crisis of her career, it is hardly playing the game to hold a pistol to her head in the form of threatened upheaval. The second is the position stated succinctly by the *Fort Worth* (Texas) *Star Telegram*, which says:

The theory of freedom for India is sound only if Gandhi can be certain it would be preserved after Britain granted it. China's fate is an instance of precarious freedom in the Orient during the era of aggression. Gandhi would be wise to wangle material reforms from the British Government at this time rather than break loose from the Empire.

The fact that Bruce Bairnsfather's "Old Bill" has penetrated the American consciousness is shown in the similar comment of the *Washington Post*, which puts its widely expressed view thus:

Until the present war is ended it appears the counsel of wisdom for the people of India not to undertake too strenuously the search for a "better 'ole."

Fresh reflections of the world's reactions to the most recent events in India keep coming into my hands. The Viceroy's third attempt to find agreement with Mr. Gandhi, with the subsequent interviews given by Gandhi and Nehru to the American press, secured a greater publicity space than all the previous events put together, much greater than it received in the London press. The Hearst Chicago paper published a column and a half report of Gandhi's statement featuring in bold type his warning: "If India's demands for self-rule do not succeed in the near future, heaven help India, Britain and the world."

The radio work in America on this breakdown was remarkable. Raymond Gram Swing and Steel discussed the reasons for the breakdown. Steel summed up in a balanced statement what is the dominant view of informed Americans. He said that there is a

good deal more harmony in the movement for independence "than the Viceroy cares to admit." But he stressed the strength and importance of the minority groups opposing Congress and concluded that Gandhi is fighting as much against his own people as against the British, ". . . who," he said, "are fundamentally inclined to grant India full Dominion status in the end."

The Columbia Broadcasting System printed in its Talks digest the talk by Edmund D. Lucas, the American Vice-Principal of Forman Christian College, Lahore, which is the best summary of the whole situation that I have read anywhere.

In reading the American editorial comment on that breakdown I have been struck by the degree to which they take the view that when the Congress leaders demand an Indian Constituent Assembly they envisage an assembly controlled by their own party. The New York *Daily News*, which has been isolationist throughout the war, came out surprisingly with the flat statement that if India suddenly got the self-determination that Gandhi wants, "it would be more than likely to turn into self-extermination." Practically the only note really hostile to the Viceroy was struck by the Boston *Globe*.

On the other hand, references to Lord Zetland's statements have reached me which are critical, but critical of their manner more than their matter. His statements are described as "unimaginative and minatory."

I have so far received no American reactions to the new crisis that has arisen following Lord Zetland's article in the *Sunday Times* and the cabled resolution of the Working Committee of Congress issued on February 29—a resolution put forward for adoption at the annual session of Congress at Ramgarh on March 19, forecasting an early practice of Civil Disobedience followed by a statement made to Reuter by Mr. Gandhi that it is Lord Zetland who has closed the door and not Congress.

We know that Lord Zetland in that article believed himself to be holding a door open. Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Nehru evidently honestly believe that he has closed it.

Many of us in Britain, with the terrific tension of this war on our minds day and night and with our hearts lacerated by the fear-

ful daily toll of innocent victims of bombs from the air and torpedoes from the sea, find it almost inconceivable that men of the calibre of Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Nehru can so fail in imaginative insight as to make no allowance for this incessant fraying of our nerve.

When I say this about our Indian friends I feel bound to add that on the British side we must try to comprehend the Indians' passionate intensity and their concentration upon that cause for which they have worked so long and suffered so much.

If, indeed, I had a voice that could reach the leaders on both sides I would urge that today in the heart of this supreme struggle for freedom and against the reign of violence, they should put aside exasperation and irritation and remember that the eyes of a wistful, watching world are upon them on both sides and should again, in a spirit of conciliation and with their eyes upon the longer perspectives of the future, seek afresh to find a way along which Britain and India can walk together into a new world of liberty and co-operation.

Not many days pass without one's receiving enquiry from entirely sympathetic but distressed Americans as to what they are to say when asked why Britain, who stands for freedom, can keep 370 million people in serfdom in India. The situation in America, we see, is precisely the opposite from that in Berlin and Moscow. By and large there is a desire in America to believe that we want to do the right thing, but, on the other side, there is on the whole extraordinarily little knowledge in the United States of America as to the almost revolutionary process of advance toward democracy that lies behind phrases like "Dominion Status under the Statute of Westminster" and "The Government of India Act, 1935." If you cross-questioned the membership of every Rotary Club from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and took 1,000 forums in women's clubs, and even went further and were able to talk with the occupants of editorial desks in all areas of the United States of America, you would find in comparatively few people any conception of the fact that since the Statute of Westminster the stupendous areas of the Dominions are absolutely self-governing nation-states, in all respects, and secondly that, under the India

Act, the eleven Provinces, most of them larger than the average European Scandinavian or Baltic or Balkan nation-state, have control of the government of their own life.

The vital thing here, it seems to me, is to secure a grasp, not simply of the details, but of the supreme fact of this continuous process of achieving increasing freedom among peoples with a common loyalty to the British Crown, involving a quarter of the human race. Once this process has impressed itself as a reality Britain can afford to admit her failures, and indeed her sins, in imperial government.

That these facts are not well known is natural enough. They are a part of a process that has gone on without catastrophic revolution. Therefore they are not news. But knowledge of them in America is of high importance for our future co-operation in the development of freedom and justice in the world.

We know that a continuous process toward increasing self-government is going on within the frontiers of the British Commonwealth of Nations. By and large that process has never been made clear to the peoples of the world. The Statute of Westminster, the India Act of 1935 are not dramatic in a superficial sense. Nor have they been interpreted to the teachers in schools and universities in different lands. They do not in themselves appeal to the imagination of the press and radio commentators, or the film directors of the world. Yet, in fact, they are capable of dramatic presentation in the press, over the air and in the pictures, as well as in educational and historical literature. To undertake so vast an educational process might well make men quail. If, however, this is indeed a war into which Britain has entered in order to secure a recovery and an extension of freedom and of justice in human relations, we might well turn some of our best energies to revealing the crucial importance of Britain's adventures within her own Commonwealth to those high aims.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, March 5, 1940, when a paper entitled "World-Wide Reaction to Events in India" was read by Professor Basil Mathews. The Right Hon. R. A. Butler, M.P. (Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs), was in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN: I have pleasure in introducing to you Professor Basil Mathews, whom we are fortunate enough to have with us here today. As you know, Professor Mathews is probably the most widely travelled man in a room consisting of many who have travelled very far indeed, and that is saying a good deal. In all that travel he has collected much knowledge and wisdom and, incidentally, a great many different points of view about India. We are now fortunate to have a man who can give us an impartial and varied picture of India as seen by world opinion today. Professor Mathews is Professor of World Christian Relations at Boston University, and in that capacity also has acquired a great deal of knowledge and experience. I have now pleasure in introducing him to you and asking him to read his paper.

Professor BASIL MATHEWS then read his paper.

The CHAIRMAN: It is my honour today to thank on your behalf Professor Mathews for his inspiring address. I now propose, if I may, to open the discussion by a few general observations. I would like to thank you, Mr. Mathews, for the comprehensive and scientific manner in which you have examined most carefully world opinion about India at the present time. Propaganda is, we are told, the fifth arm by which we conduct our war. That I believe is definitely so today. I shall have a word or two to say in the course of my remarks on the attitude which we adopt towards propaganda, an attitude of presenting the facts as they are. I believe that attitude has paid this country and our Empire in the past and will pay it in the future. I am convinced that it is on that attitude that our reputation is based. It is very comforting to feel that we and our experts here are devoting a little more scientific attention to propaganda than we used to do. I think you have an example of this in the speech made this afternoon, which has illustrated the manner in which those who are taking a particular interest in this question are examining in detail intelligent world opinion on every hand.

For myself it is a great privilege and indeed a pleasure to be amongst you today; I have recognized many old friends and this meeting recalls some of the happiest days of my life when I have been occupied in serving India. No doubt I helped to produce what we have heard described as the dullest document ever produced in the history of India, the Act of 1935, and I am proud of that fact. I remember, when I first entered politics,

shortly after the Statute of Westminster was passed, an argument with one of my inner friends who disagreed with me a good deal since, and whom I had the honour of fighting over the India Bill. He said that we should live to regret these developments. I am convinced we shall not, and I am thankful, at any rate, that my entry into public life coincided with these new phases in our imperial history. I am convinced that whatever struggles and adventures may lie ahead, the course which we have undertaken will be fully vindicated.

The paper to which we have just listened has been most valuable in that it has recalled the importance which the world attaches to India and to the British attitude towards India. We here do not need to be reminded of the importance of India at the present time. I was glad to hear the words of the lecturer this afternoon when he reminded us of the importance of keeping India in the front of our thoughts, despite the immense and terrible preoccupation with which we are faced at home. I can assure him that for those of us who are engaged in these strenuous tasks India remains in the front of our minds. Professor Mathews says "Obviously India is central in that Empire," and so indeed it is today. To us India is the touchstone of our imperial ideal. For her good or ill we have imparted to India the best in that civilization for which we are now fighting. That this has had a decisive effect upon her history is shown by a quotation from Lord Cromer when he says that upon India "the breath of the West, heavily charged with scientific thought, has left an enduring mark. The new foundations," he says, "must be of the Western, not of the Eastern, type." It is for deep reasons such as those that India's attitude in this war must be, and is, perfectly clear. Hence her remarkable war effort and hence our responsible attitude towards her at the present time before world opinion.

I am confident of one thing, that all those of us here or in India who serve or have served India and who look anxiously to her future are inspired by one aim, and that is to secure the unity of India and to assure her established nationhood. It is easy to say that our policy has been to divide and rule. It is better described as to unify and to encourage. There may have been on our side faults of expression or faults of pose. We may have carried on too sharply our well-established tradition for facing facts; but we have this consolation, that in facing the undoubted difficulties in the Indian situation we have not presented to world opinion any false picture, nor have we indulged in faked propaganda, of which you have heard such striking examples this afternoon. Those who have been responsible for supplying the world at large with information have supplied to the press, to literature, to the wireless and through other channels an indefinite amount of straightforward news and background material. The respect which I believe exists throughout the world for our publicity rests on a strict regard for objectivity and truth, whatever may be the impression created. We have always preferred in our propaganda to hold up a mirror rather than to paint a picture.

Those of us who have had the experience of having our pictures painted (I may say I have not yet succumbed) know that it is preferable to be cast

in oils than to be pictured in a mirror, and we realize that though our friends may say so, we hardly believe them when they say a good likeness is better than a bad portrait. The mirror of the world, however, is not one plain sheet of glass, as you will have observed from listening to Professor Mathews. It is many-sided, with different facets, some of which distort, others of which feature the subject in the throes of contortion. This we cannot help, nor can we complain if critics the world over make fun of the particular reflection in these distorting and contorting mirrors which suits them best. Remember this game can be played, too, by critics in India, or in England. But there is a subconscious feeling in all who play this game, that the genuine reflection, with all its reality, reveals a common sympathy between India and ourselves. I say, with all seriousness and with all hope, that in the struggle before us may we work out our joint destiny in such a manner as may comfort and encourage us both.

M. RENÉ MAHEU (of the Information Department, French Embassy): Before coming to this meeting I have been able to review, though in a very inadequate way, the various pronouncements, news and comments relative to India and British policy in India, which have been expressed since the outbreak of war through the French press and French wireless. In my mind two important impressions remain outstanding.

The first is the expression of a sincere admiration in the French press for the loyalty displayed by the various elements of the Indian community at the outbreak of war towards Britain in general, and also of a deep gratitude for the contribution of India to the common cause.

The second impression is that of a most sympathetic appreciation of the spirit in which the British Government is tackling, in difficult times and under quite exceptional conditions, the constitutional problem of India with a view to satisfying the needs, not easily harmonized, of a struggle for our very existence on the one hand, and a human progress towards self-government on the other.

The loyalty which was displayed at the outbreak of war by India, including the Indian States, has been hailed in France, first, of course, as welcome news of the co-operation of a great country, but also and perhaps chiefly as a splendid testimony to the merits of the work done in India by this country, our ally, which was a testimony to the virtue of the Western civilization which the British and the French race has brought, I think successfully, into contact with that of ancient Asia. This wonderful and spontaneous response gave the lie to the German and Bolshevik propaganda which wanted the world to be persuaded that we were a spent force and that our traditional ideas of tolerance, equality of man, irrespective of race and religion, had fallen out of date. This, at a time when we took up arms to defend this civilization in Europe against a foe who may be of our race, but who most certainly does not belong to our spiritual family, helped us in France to have full confidence in the justice of our cause.

But India's support has not been limited to the moral plane. We know it in France. We know her financial contribution; we know her military contribution as well. We have seen Indian troops on French soil. We

know there are still many more in the Near East, where they cannot have escaped the notice of General Weygand. Just as India helped us in giving recognition to the justice of our cause, she helps us in gathering the strength which makes a certainty of victory.

You certainly do not expect me to make any comment on the policy of His Majesty's Government in India, but I want to say this: as an imperial power, France fully realizes the difficulties with which the British Government is faced. We are quite aware of the magnitude of the task ahead, and there is deep sympathy in France for the spirit in which the various problems involved are being tackled. This task would not be so great if the ideals pursued were not so high.

Above all, we know how little truth there is in German and Soviet propaganda in their references to the situation in India. We have been taught by experience what little faith can be put in such propaganda. I do not think there has been in the last years any country more calumniated, more grossly abused by foreign propaganda than France. We have been calumniated in peace-time, as you British are now in war-time, and this alone would be enough to prevent the French public from believing any anti-British tale from Berlin or Moscow. Believe me, in this matter, as in any other, British and Indians alike will find France, my country, a true friend and a staunch Ally.

The CHAIRMAN: I am much obliged to the representative of our French Ally for coming here today and contributing to the discussion. It is to me typical of the co-operation which I find in my work, and I thank you very much. I am obliged, much to my regret, to leave for another meeting, and Sir Hugh O'Neill, Under-Secretary for India, has kindly consented to take my place.

The Right Hon. Sir Hugh O'Neill then took the chair.

Mr. WARD PERKINS (late I.C.S., Burma): I have just returned from a four months' tour in North America, and I can from a somewhat different angle endorse the speaker's conclusions. I would particularly congratulate him on their objectivity, for it is too easy to blame America at the moment. In the case of their attitude to India, my experience is summed up by the head of an International Hostel there: "Why do you people in England allow your case in India to go by default in this country?" A Scotch Canadian said: "Whatever happens we must retain our respect for the Americans." It is a hard task, but we have got to do it, and if we make up our minds we can do it. I have come back with much greater respect for them than I had before. We had not put before them our facts; at least, if we did they have not listened to what we said. There is unbelievable ignorance about India in America.

I suggest that it was hardly respectful on our part that for years we have allowed this anti-British and anti-Indian propaganda in America to go on and have taken no effective steps to stop it. For years America has been flooded with lecturers. I met some of them. Let me give you one gem from a lady with whom I spoke from the same platform. She said:

"The wicked British Government refuses to do anything to stop malaria; they have stopped the sale of quinine; last year a hundred million people died of malaria." There was not much difficulty in dealing faithfully with that story, and at the end one of the audience came up and said: "What is this woman doing coming along with these lies and insulting our intelligence?"

I am not quite sure that I would have found my job so easy a year ago. My impression is that September 3, 1939, was a key-day in America. Previous to that and since then these anti-British lecturers have been striving hard for results, and owing to their past immunity they have been getting careless. On September 3 two events happened. First, we took up the challenge in this country, and, secondly, *mirabile dictu*, the Empire did not disintegrate. Americans cannot understand that miracle. I found constant interest in it wherever I went, though I was not lecturing on India, but on the Far East. You see, this fact of September 3, the Empire coming in in a perfectly wonderful manner, went right against all the facts that the Americans had had pumped into them for years. And then on top of all that, owing to the fact that we have come into this war, their sympathies are with us, but they are muddled and worried, and that possibly explains some of their reactions at the present time. We must be patient with them; they will be all right in the end.

Let me tell you two or three of the things I heard. I was told that India has concentration camps, and they believed it. They did not want to believe it, but they believed it. They told me that tenants paid 85 per cent. of their produce in rents to the landlords in India. They said there was no higher education allowed in India. They also told me in my China lecture that we in England cannot blame Japan for what she has done in Nanking. "After all, it is like what you are doing in India." Let me make it quite clear, once for all, that we must not get annoyed with them for saying that sort of thing, because they have had it pumped into them for years. We have allowed our case to go by default. We have a case, and I believe if it is put up we can get away with it. I found when I was talking on Burma, my own province, that I obtained instant response from my audience when I told them how I had served in Burma and was proud of what we had done there. Burma fifty years ago was in a state of chaos, and now, owing to the work in which I had a small part, she has her own Prime Minister, who rode in the Coronation procession, responsible to a legislature, elected by universal suffrage. They did not know this and they wanted to hear more.

I would like to say something about the possibilities of this changed attitude in America. I suggest that these lying tales that have been current about India generally cannot be good for India in the long run. Some time or other, if not indeed in the near future, India is going to be faced with large social and economic problems, and in these she will not be too proud to accept the help and interest of America. Indeed, America has already done an enormous amount in that way—the Rockefeller hospitals, interest in education, and particularly the Jeanes Schools and many other things. On the other hand, India has a contribution to make to Western civiliza-

tion. That co-operation cannot be sincere and you cannot get full value from it unless there is respect on both sides.

Now, it would be quite easy for retired British officials to go round and tell the truth, and it does good, but if we want to get a fair factual statement, a statement of facts, I suggest that the only people who can do it are Indians, responsible Indians, if only because they would not at the present moment be so likely to be suspected of propaganda. If India does wish co-operation with the Western world, then here in the present atmosphere when America wishes to read well of England and the British Empire and all we stand for, here is an opportunity. Surely the responsibility, if she faces up to it, is India's, and she has an opportunity at the moment for making close and friendly contact with all that is best in America.

Mr. BALINSKI-JUNEZILL (Polish Research Centre in London): I should like to add a few words on behalf of Poland, and to pay a tribute to India's attitude to my country.

India immediately made common cause with the rest of the British Empire when Poland suffered aggression at Germany's hands. We not only had to suffer invasion from Germany, but also from Russia, a fact which must not be forgotten. The Polish people remember the message of Mahatma Gandhi expressing to our nation the profound sympathy felt for us throughout India. We shall also ever be grateful for the help given to the Polish refugees, and especially the relief that is now being organized in Bombay. I take the opportunity of this noteworthy occasion to acknowledge publicly the sympathy and help to which I have referred.

The news reaching us from our distressed land, whether in German or in Russian occupation, gives the very best proof of the blatant falsity of both the Nazi and Soviet propaganda. The ruthlessness and brutality shown by both Germany and Russia gives such proof of their totalitarian and anti-democratic spirit as to show that any attempt to impose their rule on mankind is doomed to failure. Indians may well be proud that they are linked with Great Britain, the other British Dominions and the French Empire in defending the noble cause of justice and freedom.

Sir ALFRED WATSON: I wholly agree with Professor Basil Mathews that the greatest problem we have in the sphere of information today is that of countering the impression created abroad, and especially in America, that the British attitude to Indian demands is a negation of our profession to be fighting for democracy. Unfortunately we have never been good advertisers in our own cause and have neglected to proclaim our deeds and the motives behind them. Our newspapers are today more limited in space, and there is a greater tendency than ever to subordinate the quieter acts of Government to the sensational. What the Indian Government may do in its efforts at conciliation is not news, while the more dramatic mad-house pronouncements of Congress are news.

Some of us believed that the difficulty of presenting the Indian Government case would be got over by the creation of the Ministry of Information. Unfortunately that Ministry by its own early blunders made itself news,

and the newspapers became far more concerned to criticize the internal organization of the department than with the products it offered them.

Now, I believe, a real effort to get things straight is being made along the lines suggested by Professor Basil Mathews. Various organizations are at work and at last the Ministry of Information is playing its part. Some real effort to educate the world regarding our position in India is being made. Much remains to be done; there is a vast leeway to make up; but our case is now being presented and we may put ourselves right with the world. We must do so if the British attitude to Indian demands is not to become a heavy liability in the war and not the enormous asset it should be in vindicating our cause in the democratic and liberty-loving countries.

Mr. H. S. L. POLAK : I just want to say one or two words in regard to the American aspect of Professor Mathew's contribution. It seems to me that there is a good deal of room for better understanding between our two countries, at least in one respect, and that is the question of facts. Most of us are still in touch with India by way of newspapers, and it will be recalled that at the beginning of the war we were deprived of our newspapers from India, and it was a very long time before we could get any information as to reaction occurring in that country. I personally made inquiries as to the cause of the delay in receiving these papers and was informed that probably, owing to difficulties of transport through the Mediterranean, they had in all likelihood been diverted by way of South Africa.

I happened to get information also of two other things in that connection. One was that at the India Office itself it was a very long time before they received any Indian newspapers, and the other that a large number of these papers had been dumped in South Africa and forgotten there. Some weeks later I received an extract from a newspaper in the United States pointing to the fact that there had been no receipt of newspapers in America since the beginning of the war, and attributing this to a closing down by the censorship in India forbidding the export and distribution of Indian newspapers. That kind of thing could quite easily have been tested upon inquiry, and it seems to me a very great pity that it is possible to meet such actual misstatements and that they should be so readily credited. There seems to me a great deal of room for mutual explanation and for the cultivation of public opinion in America by placing some of the real facts before the public.

Miss AGATHA HARRISON : May I ask a question? Would not one of the very best pieces of propaganda and the most disarming propaganda be if this country were able here and now to deal with the root cause of this distorted or otherwise propaganda—that is to say, to make a right and genuine settlement between this country and India? Could anything be more disarming to the whole world?

Professor BASIL MATHEWS : I have been interested all the way through in the way in which again and again we have come back to our sense of need for a real interpretation of the facts of the British relationship with India

both on its good and bad side, conscious that it is these facts, and not merely arguments about them, that will win our case in the long run. I would like, if I may, just to say one word about the remarks on the Ministry of Information, which has been actually the whipping-dog when there were other animals that might much more justly have received castigation. The Ministry was attacked for not giving information when it was working day and night to try to secure information from organizations in other parts of London, nearer ourselves here, which, very likely for good reasons of their own, were withholding the information as likely to do harm and give information to the enemy instead of to our friends.

In relation to America and the work of that Ministry, I think I ought to give a single sentence of explanation. The work of the American division of that Ministry is different from that of any other division. In the countries of Europe the Ministry is able, and rightly able, to carry out vigorous counter-propaganda to the things that are said by Germany or Russia. In relation to America, owing to the extraordinary sensitiveness of the American mind to the very thought of propaganda, they are conscious of it even where it does not exist at all. The American division of the Ministry therefore concentrates itself wholly and entirely and exclusively on the liberation of facts to America through predominantly American channels. There are in this city over 100 American newspaper men, radio commentators, news-reel photographers and others who are in regular contact with that division and who are receiving the facts. Often we can put them into relations with facts otherwise hidden from them.

I believe a large part of the solution of this problem in relation to America will come, not through allowing Indians to lecture in America, but more by the continuous effect on the Americans who are among us and who are friendly here with us. I believe that we ought, as I suggested at the end of my address, to harness some of the best brains in this country, some of its finest writers to give a first-class interpretation on the American scene of a kind that will command the attention of the reading public in the United States. I am not sure whether the India Office would regard this as a dangerous process, but I would like to see groups of American writers encouraged to travel through India, not personally conducted to the things we wanted them to see, but let loose over the whole range of India, and let them examine the things there at first hand and go back to their country and interpret them as they see them. I do believe it is of immense importance that this country and the United States of America should come to a common understanding, so that their backing of the democratic forces of the world may come through triumphantly in the end.

In regard to what Miss Agatha Harrison said, I would only wish to repeat the words I read and interjected into my speech, that at this very difficult time it does seem incumbent upon us, as I hope Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Nehru would feel it incumbent upon them, to get in contact, and make one more effort in the spirit of conciliation and statesmanship to come to an understanding. That would be the best propaganda that could be made in the whole world as to the honesty of our purpose and the unity of America, India and ourselves in a new democratic world-community.

LORD LAMINGTON: Ladies and Gentlemen, Before we leave it is a pleasant duty to pass a vote of thanks to those who have spoken here this afternoon, and especially to Professor Basil Mathews for his excellent address.

I imagine many here have, like myself, considered our rule in India to have been one of the most signal instances of good government that the world has even seen; it was rather a shock, therefore, to hear some of the criticisms read out. However, as the most virulent of these came from a country where cruelty is practised to a degree unsurpassed in history, we need not be unduly exercised in our minds. Again, other bitter criticism comes from the country with whom we are engaged in deadly war, so it may be regarded as pure propaganda.

I think we may take some credit that neutral countries like the United States do recognize to a great extent the marvellous work we have done in India.

We are much indebted to Mr. Mathews for having prepared his lecture and given us this masterly survey of the opinion of the world. We also feel honoured by the fact that the Foreign Office has allowed Mr. Butler to give an afternoon in his busy parliamentary life to come here and take the chair, to the neglect of other duties. He had to leave early, and his place has been taken by Sir Hugh O'Neill from the India Office. We are very grateful to these three gentlemen for coming here and for the very enlightening survey we have had. I ask you to show by acclamation your appreciation of the work of these three gentlemen this afternoon.

SIR HUGH O'NEILL: Perhaps you will allow me on behalf of Mr. Butler and myself, and also on behalf of Professor Basil Mathews, to thank Lord Lamington very much for the kind way in which he has proposed the vote of thanks. It has been an extremely interesting discussion. This is the first occasion on which I have been privileged to be present at these meetings, but I hope to be present at several more in the future, and if they are as interesting as this one has been I shall certainly learn a good deal about India and its problems. Thank you very much.

DR. PHILIP PANETH (who was in Prague as Press correspondent for the three years prior to the German occupation) writes: Never was the necessity of British propaganda in the press of the world so paramount as at the present moment.

Since the beginning of this century Russian and German imperialistic aspirations have been the inspiration of a rather hostile anti-British propaganda in this press. Out of envy that increased into hatred, this propaganda discovered an affection for the so-called "oppressed peoples of the British Empire." And today again the German and Russian press, these two extremes, have come to an understanding in the struggle against England in spite of their ideological differences, and are leading the anti-British campaign. In their propaganda warfare the problem of India plays a most important part.

The real structure of the Indian problem is in most cases unknown to

those of my American colleagues who deal with it. Although there is a place for political and economic arguments, the evidence is, so far as India and Indians are concerned, in favour of Britain. The reason why these facts are less known than the accusations against the present administration is to be sought in the fact that the press of the world has been either uninformed or misled on the Indian question. The sources of their information were either German-Russian propagandists or young and impetuous Indian students.

It must, however, be admitted that English official circles neglected to popularize the principles of the administration of India just as they neglected propaganda altogether. England is even today a rather unknown island to the greater part of the world, and the most contradictory opinions are in circulation about her insular mentality.

It should be the task of the Ministry of Information to conduct a propaganda campaign on a large scale, and the presentation of the real facts of India should form an integral part of this campaign. Great Britain's war aims should be made known to the whole of the world, even if the right-minded public are already convinced of the humane aims of the present struggle. In respect to India the positive facts should be the answer to the negative statements and misrepresentations of the hostile propaganda. Nor should Asia's geopolitical situation be lost sight of. It should be pointed out that the alternative to Great Britain's democratic administrative system is stimulation of the expansive appetite of Japan, Russia and Germany—this yellow, red and brown menace. The Indians will thus be convinced that their independence is threatened by Japan and Russia and that Britain's enemies are India's enemies.

It is of vital interest both to Europe and America that India should be preserved for democracy. Outside the British Commonwealth of Nations there is no possibility of a more advantageous development for India; on the contrary, she would be exposed to becoming a victim of the power politics of the aggressive states.

AFGHANISTAN : THE PRESENT POSITION

BY BRIGADIER-GENERAL SIR PERCY SYKES, K.C.I.E., C.B., C.M.G.

(Author of *A History of Persia*)

THE advance of Russia towards Afghanistan, the kernel of the problem of Central Asia, may be considered to have commenced in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, at which period she was separated from the British possessions in India by a zone that was some fourteen hundred miles in width. By 1867 she had taken Samarkand and Tashkent, while Bukhara had become a subsidiary ally, and a few years later all the Khanates had been annexed, Khiva being occupied in 1873.

During this period the British had advanced northwards to the borders of Afghanistan, of which country they claimed to be the virtual protectors. This position was recognized by Russia, whose attitude towards her rival was not unfriendly at this period, and in 1873 an Anglo-Russian Agreement was signed which delimited the northern boundary of Afghanistan as being formed by tributary rivers flowing into the Oxus, and finally by the Oxus itself as far as its great bend to the north. Further west the boundary was only laid down approximately.

Not long after the signing of this treaty the intervention of Great Britain on the side of Turkey in her war with Russia in 1877-78 caused the despatch of a Russian mission to Kabul, which, together with the refusal of the Amir Shir Ali Khan to receive a British mission, precipitated the Second Afghan War. The conclusion of the Treaty of Berlin in July, 1878, however, prevented the advance of a Russian army into Afghanistan, with its inevitable consequences of an Anglo-Russian war.

During this period Russia had established herself at Krasnovodsk on the eastern side of the Caspian Sea, and General Lomakin, who had advanced into the interior in 1879, was

defeated by the Tekke Turkoman at Geok Tepe. This disaster was avenged by General Skobeloff, who in 1881, after the explosion of mines, stormed the fortress of Geok Tepe* and killed the Tekke Turkoman by thousands. The tribe finally submitted, and Merv was occupied in 1884.

THE SECOND AFGHAN WAR

Meanwhile the British had invaded Afghanistan through the Khaibar Pass, by a second column which marched on Kandahar, while General Roberts, leading a third column up the Kurram Valley, won a notable victory at the Peiwar Kotal, accompanying in person the force that made a successful attack on the Afghan left flank.

Shir Ali, upon hearing of the victory of Roberts, fled northwards to Balkh, intending to seek the Tsar's protection, but was prevented from doing so by his treacherous Russian allies. Sir Alfred Lyall puts the following lines into the mouth of the Amir Abdur Rahman :

"And yet when I think of Shir Ali as he lies in his sepulchre low,
How he died betrayed, heart-broken 'twixt infidel friend and foe,
Driven from his throne by the English, and scorned by the Russian, his
guest,
I am well content with the vengeance, and I see God works for the best."

Shir Ali was succeeded by his son Yakub, who made a treaty with the British at Gandamak in May, 1879. This led to the establishment of a British Mission at Kabul under Sir Louis Cavagnari, who, with the members of his staff and his escort, were massacred by mutinous Afghan soldiers and the Kabul populace in the following July.

Once again three columns invaded Afghanistan. Roberts, who commanded his old force, which was much strengthened, crossed the Peiwar Kotal and marched on the capital. Yakub Khan surrendered, but Roberts found the Afghans occupying a strong position under the Amir's rule at Charasia, where he won a second notable victory. He then entered Kabul and accepted the abdication of Yakub Khan. During the winter Roberts' force

* Some fifty years ago I examined this ruined fort, which was little better than a strongly built caravanserai.

was attacked in the Sherpur Cantonment, which he had occupied, but he beat off the fanatically brave Afghans, inflicting severe losses upon them.

The situation now remained obscure from the political point of view, but the solution to this difficult problem was the reappearance of Sirdar Abdur Rahman in Afghan Turkestan. This truly great chief, after a remarkable career, in the course of which he had been driven out of the country by Shir Ali, was finally placed on the throne of Afghanistan by the British in 1880. He then set to work and gradually reunited all its provinces under an iron despotism.

The continued advance of Russia towards the frontiers of Afghanistan naturally caused the Amir intense anxiety, and in 1882 he strongly urged on the Viceroy (who at this time was Lord Ripon) the necessity for help to defend his frontiers against an attack by Russia.

Mr. (later Sir Mortimer) Durand, the Foreign Secretary, was strongly in favour of an understanding with Russia by which the boundaries of Afghanistan would be defined. Finally, in 1884, after the occupation of Merv, it was decided by the two Powers to appoint Commissioners, who would seek to lay down a line satisfactory to both parties. The British Commissioner, upon reaching the scene in the autumn, was informed that, owing to the alleged ill-health of the Russian Commissioner, the negotiations would have to be postponed until the spring.

Russia took advantage of this delay to march up the Murghab River to the vicinity of the oasis of Panjdeh, and in the spring of 1885, by attacking the Afghan garrison, created the famous Panjdeh crisis, which nearly precipitated an Anglo-Russian conflict. The speech of Mr. Gladstone, who demanded a war vote of £11,000,000—an enormous sum at that period—is not yet forgotten. Fortunately, however, negotiations were not broken off, and a Boundary Commission finally settled this very difficult question.

Before quitting this subject it is desirable to point out that these negotiations coincided with the failure of the British expedition to relieve General Gordon at Khartum, while Bismarck,

who had concluded a secret treaty with Russia outside the Triple Alliance, approved of a system of persistent annoyance against Great Britain.

THE ANGLO-RUSSIAN NEGOTIATIONS

The Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 may be described as a most important landmark in the relations between Great Britain and Russia. It dealt with Afghanistan, with Persia, and with Tibet. Here I only deal with it as affecting Anglo-Afghan relations. In 1900 Russian officials attempted to open up direct communication with the Amir Habibulla Khan. Lord Lansdowne objected, but Count Lamsdorff sought to justify such action, which, in 1903, caused serious friction between the two Powers.

In 1902 Great Britain, renouncing definitely her policy of isolation, negotiated a treaty of Japan, by the terms of which, in the event of either party becoming involved in war with a third Power, the other Power was to remain neutral unless any other Power or Powers should join in hostilities against that ally, when the contracting party should come to its assistance. Three years later a further treaty of alliance was concluded, which bound the contracting parties to come to each other's assistance in case of unprovoked attack on the part of any other Power; this treaty was renewed in 1911.

In 1905 the present Lord Hardinge of Penshurst, as British Ambassador, discussed the treaty mentioned with Count Lamsdorff. The Russian Foreign Minister declared that it had created a most unfavourable impression, whereupon Hardinge pointed out that Russia at great cost had constructed a series of strategical railways to the frontiers of Afghanistan and, indeed, to the gates of Herat, although she had frequently declared that that country lay outside the Russian sphere of influence. He added that the apparent object was to create a perpetual menace to India and thereby to exert pressure on Great Britain. Following this discussion pacific assurances were exchanged between the two Powers.

In July 1905, the Russo-German Treaty of Bjorko, by which

the weak Tsar Nicolas was persuaded by the intriguing Kaiser to enter the orbit of German diplomacy, was signed. The triumphant Kaiser thereupon wrote to the Tsar that it was directed against England and that France would be obliged to join it, thus converting it into a Pan-European alliance against Great Britain and Japan. Actually this treaty was not ratified by Russia, but it was clear to Great Britain that continued friction with that country would only play into the hands of the powerful pro-German party at the Russian Court.

The Russo-Japanese war was ended by the peace treaty that was signed in August, 1905. The defeat of Russia produced a genuine readiness on her side to effect a general settlement with Great Britain in Asia, the underlying idea being to remove all possible causes of friction in the present and also, as far as possible, in the future.

THE ANGLO-RUSSIAN CONVENTION

To turn to Afghanistan. Early in 1907 Lord Morley, the Secretary of State for India, informed Lord Minto, the Viceroy, that negotiations for an Anglo-Russian convention were taking place, and sent him an outline. Minto strongly pressed for permission to keep King Habibulla informed confidentially, but Morley tactlessly laid down that the Amir "should not be consulted, but be merely advised of its terms after signature." Minto, when the treaty had been signed, informed the Amir that, for the first time in a formal document, the Russian Government recognized that Afghanistan lay outside their sphere of influence, and that all their political relations with Afghanistan should be conducted through the intermediary of the British Government; that Great Britain concedes to Russia her permission for Russian and Afghan local officials to settle purely local questions; and, finally, the principle of equal treatment for British and Russian trade was laid down.

In his reply the Amir forwarded the views of his Council of State, of which Sirdar Nasrulla Khan, the Amir's brother, who was fanatically anti-British, was the chief member. Their finding was that the Convention destroyed the independence of Afghan-

istan and possessed no advantage. It also, in their opinion, gave the right to both Powers to construct railways in Afghanistan. Minto reported that the Amir himself was favourable to the convention, but could not overcome the opposition of the anti-British party. It had been stipulated that the Treaty would not be valid without the signature of the Amir, but in the autumn of 1908 Iswolsky fortunately declared the convention would, whether the Amir gave his formal adhesion or not, be considered to be a valid instrument. A proof of its importance will be found in the Kaiser's minute on the despatch which informed him of its conclusion. It ran: "Yes, when taken all round, it is aimed at us."

Early in 1907 King Habibulla had visited India, where royal honours were paid him. He also received many tokens of genuine friendship, so much so that he left India determined to base the policy of Afghanistan on friendship with Great Britain. Consequently, although he never signed the convention, King Habibulla, as we shall see, remained firm as a rock to this policy despite the severe strain that was shortly to test him.

THE FOUR YEARS' WAR

Upon the outbreak of the Great War the Amir declared the neutrality of Afghanistan. In January 1916, he stated to the British Agent that he would keep his pledges loyally, but was anxious about Turkey, whose influence on the minds of his subjects was considerable.

Of outstanding importance to the Amir was the despatch from Berlin of a Turko-German Mission to Afghanistan. Germans, in the rôle of explorers, archæologists, and scientists, travelled extensively in Persia during 1913. Among others, Captain Oskar Niedermayer, the future leader of the mission, fell ill at Meshed and was my guest for several weeks in that year, while Zugmayer, a scientist, had received permission to travel in British Baluchistan during the same period.

Upon the outbreak of war, under Enver Pasha's influence, *jihad*, or "holy war," was declared by the Sultan, who was also the Caliph, at Constantinople and at other Muslim centres.

Strengthened by it, the Turko-German Mission, which included Turks and Indian seditionists, started off with instructions to cross Persia to Afghanistan, preaching *jihad* as they passed. To support this mission, various parties, officered by Germans who had travelled in Persia, aided by the Swedish officers of the Persian gendarmerie, were organized to drive out British and Russian colonies from Central and Southern Persia and to seize the treasuries of the Russian and British banks. These parties would act as supports to the Afghan Mission. Nor was this all, since it was intended to strengthen them by German instructors, who would enlist and train troops for the invasion of India. It was the scheme of Napoleon revived under considerably more favourable conditions.*

To return to the Afghan Mission. Kazim Beg, who accompanied it with a staff of Turkish officers, was especially imbued with the idea of the union of Islam, as were his officers, and their incorporation in it was apparently nominal. The mission crossed Persia in midsummer, and, upon reaching Herat, was placed under guard in a garden outside the city. Similarly, upon reaching Kabul towards the end of September, it was again housed in a garden under guard. In both cases explanations were given that the guard was to serve as a protection to the visitors.

Niedermayer was not received by the Amir until about a month after his arrival at Kabul, when, to quote his letter to the German Minister at Tehran, "the Amir's explanations did not give us much hope." Another epistle, which, as in the case of the above letter, was seized and sent to the Amir, was written by Roehr, and contained the following sentence: "Perhaps we shall find it necessary to begin by organizing a *coup d'état*." In the summer of 1916 the mission was strengthened by the arrival of the supporting body under Von Hentig.

KING HABIBULLA'S POLICY

The position of the Amir was one of extreme difficulty. The declaration of *jihad* by the Caliph excited the mullas and the

* For Napoleon's designs *vide* Sykes' *History of Persia*, third edition, pp. 303-305. For German war activities, *vide op. cit.*, ii., pp. 542-545.

people generally, who, however, were aware that it was not binding in Afghanistan unless it was also proclaimed by their own ruler. What actually saved the situation was the fact that Great Britain and Russia were now allies and that the declaration of *jihād* might involve attack by both countries and the ruin of Afghanistan.

King Habibulla played his hand with consummate skill. In view of the strong pressure on him of the pro-Turkish party under Nasrulla Khan and his own eldest son Inayatulla Khan, he delayed matters by convening an Assembly and by engaging in interminable consultations with his advisers. To quote Niedermayer: "One day the Amir says he is for us and the next against us." Finally, Niedermayer realized that, without the arrival in Afghanistan of a powerful Turkish force, there was no hope of winning over the astute Amir.

The capture of Erzerum by the Russians in March, 1916, completed the failure of the German Mission. Leaving Kabul in May, owing to the seizure in South Persia of most of the supporting parties of Germans by my force, Niedermayer was fortunate to escape capture, but other members of his staff were taken by the British.

The Indians who had accompanied the mission remained at Kabul and, being joined by some students from the Punjab, wove a conspiracy which had its chief centres at Medina and Kabul. It was designed to unite all Muslim States in a combined effort to overthrow the British Raj. A Provisional Government and an Army of Allah were to be created, with Maulvi Obaydulla, the moving spirit, as Foreign Secretary. If the Amir, who was cognizant of the aims of the conspirators, agreed to join them he would be proclaimed King of India. Sirdar Nasrulla Khan was heart and soul with the conspirators.

In July, 1916, Obaydulla gave the leader of the Indian students three silk handkerchiefs, which contained a full written account of the conspiracy, with instructions to hand them over to a trusted shaykh in Sind, who would forward them to Medina. In due course Abdul Hak, the messenger, who evidently felt some misgivings, and who had been in charge of two sons of a

distinguished old Muslim officer at Multan, paid his respects to his employer. Upon the Khan Bahadur asking why he had returned without his young masters, the reply of Abdul Hak was so unsatisfactory that he was soundly beaten, and thereupon confessed and gave up the letters. The silk handkerchiefs proved to be of the utmost importance as revealing the plot with its wide ramifications, which by their seizure was nipped in the bud.

THE THIRD AFGHAN WAR

Some two months after the Armistice King Habibulla, who had guided the policy of his country with such skill, was assassinated near Jalalabad. The soldiers quite unjustly considered that Ahmad Shah Khan, who was in command of the Amir's body-guard, was responsible. They consequently arrested him, together with other members of the Musahiban family.*

Nasrulla Khan, the brother of the murdered monarch, was favoured by the army and the mullas, and was proclaimed Amir at Jalalabad. Meanwhile Amanulla, the third son of the deceased Amir, who, as Governor of Kabul, had possession of the fort, the arsenal, and the treasury, won over the army by promising the soldiers higher pay than that agreed upon by his uncle. This promise, combined with the influence of the Ulya Hazrat, Amanulla's mother, who was the late Amir's chief wife, was decisive. Amanulla, aged twenty-nine, was acclaimed as Amir by the army, and Nasrulla was sent a prisoner to Kabul, where he was declared to be guilty of instigating the assassination of his brother; he shortly afterwards died in prison.

The action of Amanulla in condemning his uncle, and his reinstatement of the suspected Musahiban family into favour, alienated both the mullas and the army. Discontent spread rapidly, and on April 25 the *Khutba*† was not read in his name at Kandahar. Realizing the seriousness of his position, the im-

* This family, which now occupies the throne of Afghanistan, belongs to the Muhammadzai branch of the Durranis, and Nadir Khan, who became King, through his mother was also descended from the Sadozai family. He thus united both branches of the Durranis. The family had acquired the name of Musahiban-i-Khas, or "Personal Equerries."

† The *Khutba* is the "prayer for the reigning Amir."

petuous young monarch decided to unite the nation by the proclamation of *jihad*. Thus, throwing to the winds the friendship with the British Government on which his grandfather and father had based their policy, he forced an entirely unjustifiable war on the British. This was termed "the Third Afghan War."

Coming at a time when many war-trained units were serving abroad, when demobilization was proceeding, and when large numbers of officers and men had proceeded on leave, this conflict constituted a great strain on the British army in India. On the other hand, that army possessed the advantages of aeroplanes (albeit they were few in number and of an inferior class) and also mechanical transport.

The first clash took place in the area of the historical Khaibar Pass, where the small garrison at Landi Kotal merely consisted of two companies of Indian infantry and five hundred men of the Khyber Rifles, whose loyalty in the face of the declaration of *jihad* could not be depended upon.* The Afghan commander had crossed the frontier on May 3 and had occupied the heights above Landi Kotal with a force consisting of three battalions of infantry and two guns. Had he attacked immediately and overpowered this weak force, the neighbouring tribes would undoubtedly have risen. However, he allowed this golden opportunity to pass, and before long the Afghans were driven from the field by a British column, while Dakka was bombed and subsequently occupied. Later the Afghan position at the Khurd Khaibar was carried, and Jalalabad was also bombed, causing a stampede among the Afghan troops. Again, on May 24 a notable feat was performed by the bombing of Kabul. These operations upset the moral of the Amir, who on May 31 made a formal request for an armistice.

The central front, with its salient of the Kurram Valley supported by Thal, was at this period threatened by Nadir Khan (the future King), who commanded a strong Afghan force in neighbouring Khost. In a position to have attacked Thal, Bannu, or Idak on the Tochi, he decided to attack Thal, and on May 26 he arrived before it with a force of 3,000 infantry and nine

* They were disbanded shortly afterwards.

Krupp guns. He was also supported by a large body of tribesmen. Fortunately, he attempted no serious attack and contented himself with artillery fire, his Krupp howitzers completely out-ranging the British artillery.

On June 1 General Dyer, despite intense heat, arrived on the scene and, in the first place, dispersed some 4,000 Khostwal and Wazir tribesmen who were holding a deep *nala* to the south of Thal. He then joined hands with the British. On the following day he attacked and captured the Afghan position, pursuing the retreating Afghans with aeroplanes and armoured cars, while the tired infantry were rested. Once again the Afghans had missed a golden opportunity.

On the southern front the situation was simplified by the fact that from the Gumal Pass southwards, with the exception of the Zhob Valley, there was no unadministered territory to be considered. The boundary cantonment was New Chaman, and five miles within Afghan territory was the fort of Spin-Baldak. The British and Afghan forces were numerically equal, although our strength in modern guns and machine-guns was far greater. It was decided to attack the Spin-Baldak fort, and in pursuance of this plan on May 29 it was surrounded and breached in several places and stormed. The Afghans, who displayed great bravery, fought to the death.

To conclude this brief outline of the Third Afghan War: In spite of the extreme heat and the difficulties of the situation, within eight days of the opening of hostilities the Afghan army in the Khaibar area had been defeated and broken up at a distance of some fifty miles from railhead, while on the central and southern fronts the Afghans were also definitely defeated. Coming so soon after the titanic conflict of the World War, this relatively insignificant campaign passed almost unnoticed in Great Britain, but yet, taking all the circumstances into account, it represented no mean achievement.

ARMISTICE AND TREATY

On May 28 a letter was received from the Amir, who, while complaining of the air bombardment of Kabul and Jalalabad,

was nevertheless "prepared to be magnanimous." The Viceroy in his reply laid down the terms on which an armistice would be granted. It was decided that the treaty for the restoration of peace should be followed by a probationary period of six months, during which the Amir should show signs of friendship, and upon the fulfilment of these conditions a "Treaty of Friendship" was to be concluded.

The Afghan delegates duly appeared at Rawalpindi, but their attitude was so truculent and their claims so preposterous that it was decided that the treaty should be presented to them as an ultimatum. Its terms included the confiscation of the arrears of subsidy due to the late Amir, and laid down that no subsidy would be granted to Amanulla. After interminable discussions it appeared that the delegates, permeated with the spirit of nationalism, were prepared to sign the treaty if the independence of Afghanistan and the freedom of her foreign relations were secured, and, on these terms, the Treaty of Peace was concluded on August 8, 1919.

This treaty was severely criticized by the army, whose leaders held that these peace terms should have been dictated at Kabul, after the capture of that city. Taking, however, into account our experience of events after the Second Afghan War, such a course might well have meant anarchy for a long period. As we know, in 1880 this was only saved by the providential appearance on the scene of Abdur Rahman Khan. Again, it was clearly impossible to continue the old arrangement without giving some form of guarantee to Afghanistan against foreign aggression. As was to be expected, the result was regarded as a triumph by Amanulla, who declared that he had drawn the sword to vindicate the claim of Afghanistan to independence, and had won it.

POST-WAR EVENTS

Before dealing with the next stage in these negotiations, it seems desirable to mention events occurring in other countries which materially influenced Indo-Afghan relations.

To take the case of Turkey. In June, 1919, military action by the Greeks in Anatolia was sanctioned. This policy was de-

nounced throughout the Muslim world. In India the Khalifat movement, in the following year, developed into *hijrat*,* or emigration, some 18,000 Indians leaving their land and homes and emigrating to Afghanistan. The first comers were welcomed, but admission was perforce finally refused. Disillusioned, the emigrants returned to their villages, where their property was restored to them. To continue this survey: In 1919 the Whites were steadily advancing in Russia, but were defeated by the Bolsheviks in the following year. In Persia the Anglo-Persian Agreement signed in 1919 was finally rejected by the Persian Parliament, while in Iraq there was the Arab revolt in 1920. Added to this list there were troubles in Ireland.

To turn to frontier affairs, the Afridis had surrendered Government arms and property and had paid a fine, but the Khyber Rifles were not reconstituted. In Waziristan the decision to occupy Razmak and to construct a circular road produced good results.

In the spring of 1920 the Mussoorie Conference, as it was termed, took place, but, owing to Afghan claims that the frontier tribes should be handed over to them and also on account of various Afghan outrages, merely an *aide-mémoire* containing a summary of the intentions and wishes of the British was given to the delegates.

Later in the year the expulsion by the Bolsheviks of the Amir of Bukhara, who took refuge in Afghanistan, produced a revulsion of feeling and a readiness to negotiate an alliance with the British. Accordingly, in response to the Amir's invitation, Sir Henry Dobbs, who had represented Great Britain at the Mussoorie Conference, reached Kabul in January, 1921. There the position was made difficult by the signature of a Russo-Afghan treaty in February of that year. By its terms Russian consulates were allowed to be established in Afghanistan, while the Russians promised a yearly subsidy of one million gold roubles, together with a supply of munitions.

During this same period an Afghan Mission toured Europe

* *Hijrat* in this sense signifies quitting a country ruled by a ruler who cannot be accepted by Muslims.

signing various agreements. It reached England, where the leader, who had specific instructions to ignore the India Office, was curtly informed by Lord Curzon at the Foreign Office that he had nothing to do with Afghan matters. It was most inopportune that this mission was despatched before the conclusion of the treaty at Kabul. Naturally, relations became strained at that city, but finally, after the mission had decided to withdraw, the Amir, apparently acting under a sudden impulse, signed the treaty.

Of considerable importance at this period was the signature in March, 1921, of a Turko-Afghan treaty. Russo-Turkish, Russo-Persian, and Turko-Persian treaties were also signed at Moscow, thus proving that Russia's policy was to build up a strong entente with these Muslim States and to unite them with one another. Probably a hostile feeling to Great Britain constituted the underlying motive of the contracting Powers.

In March, 1922, the British Legation at Kabul was founded by Sir Francis Humphrys, a distinguished frontier officer who was thoroughly conversant with Afghan mentality. At that time Russia, paying, as she did, a handsome subsidy in money and munitions, occupied a strong position at Kabul, albeit the Amir must have realized that any Russian threat to India could only be made good at the expense of Afghanistan. As regards the tribes of the North-West Frontier, Amanulla fished continually in these troubled waters. He also particularly disliked the construction of the Khaibar railway. The Soviet Minister thus found numerous agents to conduct his sinister intrigues with the turbulent Wazirs, Mahsuds, and other tribes. There were frequent murders of British officers and their wives, and other outrages. The Afghan Government, at first, failed to keep its promises to seize the guilty, but was finally induced to comply with the reasonable demands of the British Government, in spite of the fear of "thinning the prickly hedge," to use the Afghan expression.

In 1922 and the following years France, Germany, Italy, and Turkey founded legations or other establishments at Kabul. The French colony included distinguished archæologists, who com-

menced their successful excavations at Bamian. The German colony, which was at first represented by a *chargé d'affaires*, and consisted of engineers, doctors, and teachers, rapidly increased, an Afghan-German treaty being signed in 1926. Later Germany played a leading rôle in commercial matters. Finally, Turkey was represented by Fakhri Pasha, a fanatical Anglophobe. He was accompanied by a staff of instructors, whose services were not, however, utilized by the Afghan Government—much to his annoyance. At this period the abolition of the Caliphate by Turkey dumbfounded the leaders of the Khalifat movement in India and improved the British position in that country.

KING AMANULLA'S REFORMS

To turn to Afghan home affairs. The Amir attempted to push through reforms, some of which were excellent, far too rapidly. Especially obnoxious was the new Administrative Code, drafted by a Turkish adviser, which the mullas declared to be unlawful. In 1924 a serious rebellion broke out in Khost, and an Afghan force was cut to pieces by the rebels. However, tribesmen were enlisted by a lavish expenditure of money, and in January, 1925, the rebellion was crushed. Apparently its main cause was opposition to a section in the Code which deprived the husband and the father of his power to treat his wives and daughters as mere chattels!

The cost of the rebellion was very heavy, and, had the army been properly paid and well led, it could never have lasted for nearly a year. Actually the soldiers could barely live on the miserable pittance they received, while their equipment was very bad. The staff and senior regimental officers were recruited from young Afghans who had received a smattering of military education in Europe or at Kabul. They superseded the older and more experienced officers, who bitterly resented the change. Amanulla, except at a crisis, most unwisely grudged money to the army.

In 1928 King Amanulla and Queen Souriya visited Europe. They were welcomed in Egypt by King Fuad, by the King and Pope in Italy, by the President in France, and by President

Hindenburg in Berlin. In England they were welcomed at Victoria Station by King George, Queen Mary, and the Prime Minister. After the usual functions in London, the royal visitors spent busy days in inspecting various branches of the navy, the army, and the air force. They also inspected factories. Nor were sporting events neglected. Generally speaking, the cordiality of their reception, the conferring upon Amanulla the Collar of the Royal Victorian Order, and the friendly attitude of all classes, created the deepest impression upon our Afghan visitors.

In somewhat bleak contrast was the subsequent visit paid to Russia, which was distinctly summed up by the suite, if not by the King himself, as anticlimax. In Muslim Turkey the reception was genuinely warm, as also in Persia, although the successful progress in modernization in these two countries possibly led to the ruin of Amanulla. He celebrated his return to Kabul by a speech which lasted five days, during which he referred with pride to the treaties he had negotiated and the friendships he had made.

THE 1928-29 REBELLION

During the long absence of their King the mullas had excited the people, more especially against the appearance of the Queen unveiled while in Europe, as proved by the Press photographs, and fuel was added to the fire when, after her return to Kabul, she appeared unveiled at a banquet. Amanulla, heedless of the rising storm, increased the length of compulsory service in the army, while a month's pay was taken from every official to cover the purchase of armaments. He next ordered that any Government servant who took a second wife would be called on to resign his appointment. Perhaps his most foolish order was to insist on all Afghans wearing complete European dress, including hats, in Kabul. The result of this truly preposterous edict was the creation of a body of men who set up booths on each highway and hired out clothes for the day to villagers bound for the market!

The storm broke, and that quickly. In the district of Kuhistan a successful brigand, Habibulla by name, but generally

known as Bacha-i-Sakau, or "Child of the Water-Carrier," organized a rebellion. He began by closing the roads to Kabul and by constant sniping. He soon found out that the army was with him, while merchants and shopkeepers, realizing the serious situation, shut their doors and hid their property. Hapless Amanulla thereupon abdicated in favour of Inayatulla, and fled to Kandahar by car. Inayatulla, who was in an impossible position, opened up negotiations with Habibulla, who requested Humphrys to evacuate him by air, which was done.

The situation at the British Legation was serious. Occupying an area of twenty acres to the west of Kabul, it was merely protected by a wall of sun-dried bricks. Habibulla's men wished to take possession of it as being an advantageous military position, but although Humphrys, by his knowledge of *pashtu* and by his personality, was able to avert this danger, the buildings suffered alike from shell and rifle fire throughout this period. The British women were in hourly danger of their lives, but they bravely carried on. Finally, it was decided to evacuate the British women and children without delay, and subsequently members of the foreign community. It is to the usurper's credit that he guarded the aerodrome when necessary.

Habibulla had entered the citadel shortly after the departure of Inayatulla in January, 1929, and proclaimed his assumption of sovereignty under the title of Amir Habibulla, Ghazi. He then issued a proclamation, by the terms of which he abolished the unpopular reforms and also conscription. His treasury was, however, empty, and he set to work to "squeeze" wealthy merchants to obtain money. His position was always insecure. He was of mean birth and merely a peasant, and therefore despised by every Afghan tribesman. Equally the powerful body of Afghan merchants at Peshawar, realizing that they would be ruined under this régime, were bitterly hostile to the usurper and on the lookout for a new Amir.

At this juncture Amanulla, supported by the Durrani tribesmen at Kandahar, again proclaimed himself King. Had he possessed the courage of his ancestors, he might have regained his throne early in 1929, when his troops had defeated the Ghilzais and

were entering Ghazni. However, fearing treachery, he fled to India and later to Europe. Thus passed off the scene King Amanulla, who stands condemned at the bar of history for inflicting on Afghanistan the scourge of "the Son of the Water-Carrier." Yet in his defence it may be pleaded that many of his reforms were sound. Had he treated his army liberally, as it deserved to be treated, and moved slowly, he might still be ruling Afghanistan. But he exemplified the Persian proverb, which runs: "Haste is from the Devil."

In February, 1929, since conditions in Afghanistan had become chaotic, it was decided to evacuate the Legation. Last to leave was Humphrys, who bore with him the British flag, which he had kept flying with such courage. The King congratulated Humphrys, as also the Royal Air Force, which in eighty-two flights, carried out over snow-clad ranges in a country practically devoid of landing-grounds, had evacuated 580 passengers of many nationalities without incurring a single casualty. It was indeed a great feat.

KING NADIR SHAH

Nadir Khan was recovering from an illness at Nice when he heard of the capture of Kabul by the brigand Bacha-i-Sakau. Carried on board the P. and O. steamer on a stretcher, he reached Peshawar on February 28, 1929. He decided to proceed to Khost, where, as we have seen, he had commanded the troops during the Third Afghan War, but, owing to tribal jealousies, his reception was most disappointing. Although the general feeling was anger that a mere peasant should usurp the throne, the tribesmen revelled in looting and reviving ancient feuds, and were not keen on the re-establishment of law and order.

Nadir Khan, with the men he could muster, attacked the Kabul forces at Baraki, but was defeated by the treachery of Ghaus-ud-Din, a Ghilzai chief, who fell on his rear. Again and again the gallant Afghan leader had no luck and was driven back. Finally, however, his appeals, published in a weekly paper aptly termed *Islah*, or "Peace," won over sections of the Wazirs and Mohmands, who joined him in force. Although a Kabul

army at this period defeated Hashim Khan, the brother of Nadir who was driven to take refuge in British territory, Nadir himself, supported by the Wazirs, reached the historical battlefield of Charasia. There, by a feigned retreat, the usurper's troops were drawn out of their entrenchments and decisively beaten. Nadir Khan thereupon entered Kabul and was proclaimed King. Habi-bulla, who had fled, surrendered and was shot, each tribesman firing a bullet into his corpse so as to be able to boast: "I helped kill the Bacha-i-Sakau."

The position of King Nadir Shah was one of very great difficulty. There was no money in the treasury; there were risings of the Shinwaris and of the followers of the late usurper; these were promptly suppressed. More difficult was the rebellion in the northern provinces, which was only broken after much hard fighting. Finally, however, peace was restored to blood-stained Afghanistan, and in 1930 the British Legation was re-opened by Mr. (now Sir Richard) Maconachie.

The declared policy of Nadir Shah was the gradual introduction of law and order, of education, and the development of commerce; but the foundation was to be built on the tenets of Islam. He realized that "hasten slowly" was the best policy in conservative Afghanistan.

THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE

At this point a reference to the sinister activities of some Muslim inhabitants of the North-West Frontier Province, who are termed Red Shirts, is desirable. Its moving spirits are Abdul Ghaffar and his brother Khan Sahib, sons of a landowner on the Peshawar border. Both brothers were educated at the Church Missionary Society school at Peshawar, and Khan Sahib later took a medical degree at Edinburgh. Their sister married the Haji of Turangzai, a notable firebrand.

Abdul Ghaffar in 1919 started a violent agitation against the Rowlatt Act, and, but for the defeat of the Afghans in the Khaibar Pass, the trouble would have been more serious.

Later the brothers joined the Congress party and organized an unscrupulous campaign of hatred and vituperation against the

British Raj. The result was a serious attack on Peshawar by tribal *lashkars* in 1930.

Winning the votes of the unsophisticated tribesmen by the promise of free land without taxation, Khan Sahib defeated the Ministry of the late Sir Abdul Qaiyum in September, 1937, by a narrow majority, and was Chief Minister until the Congress Government resigned towards the close of 1939 under orders of the Congress Working Committee. The difficulties of the British officials who were called upon to co-operate with men who had been avowed enemies of Great Britain in India merit our deep sympathy. It is obvious that the disturbances caused by the mischievous activities of the Red Shirts must have reacted unfavourably on our position in Afghanistan. It is, however, satisfactory to know that the Afghan Government discouraged the movement, while the Afghans, generally speaking, disapproved of the alliance between Muslim Red Shirts and "the idolators," as they termed the Hindus.

ASSASSINATION OF KING NADIR SHAH

The new order in Afghanistan was not destined to be established without three tragedies. The first was the murder at Berlin in July, 1933, of Aziz Khan, an elder brother of the King, who was Afghan Minister. The assassin was a member of a body of Afghan students who were drug addicts. Upon his arrest he declared that his action constituted a protest against the British being permitted to take control of the tribes of the North-West Frontier. In the same year another member of the same body, after failing to reach the British Minister, murdered the Mir Munshi and an English chauffeur.

The culminating tragedy occurred on November 8, 1933, when Nadir Shah, who had summarily executed a certain Gholam Nabi Khan for high treason, was assassinated by one of his retainers. Thus fell King Nadir Shah, who ranks among the greatest of Afghan rulers. Without money or following, and suffering from permanent bad health, by sheer valour and force of personality he had rescued his country from a cruel usurper and had probably saved it from a long period of anarchy.

Thanks to the stability of the Government and the affection felt for the murdered monarch, his son was immediately proclaimed as King Zahir Shah. The youthful monarch, who ascended the throne under such tragical circumstances, was born in 1914, and at the age of ten accompanied his father to France, where he studied for some six years. He married a cousin in 1931 and is the father of two sons. He takes a keen interest in his army, and more especially in the air force.

THE PRESENT RÉGIME

The Government of Afghanistan is now a constitutional monarchy. The Premier is Sirdar Hashim Khan, a brother of Nadir Shah, and there are the usual Departments for War, Foreign Affairs, and so forth. The questions of finance and trade have been extremely difficult, since Nadir Shah was faced with an empty treasury and impoverished subjects. Consequently the Afghani rupee (worth about one-quarter of the Indian rupee), which had been supported for many years by the British subsidies to the Amirs, began to fall sharply, and it became a vital matter to correct the adverse balance of trade which existed. To effect this, in 1933 a National Bank was founded to deal with exchange, of which it was granted a monopoly, while commerce was handled by the formation of the Ashami (or Joint-Stock) Company. To it monopolies were granted which covered (a) the import of sugar and petroleum products, (b) purchases and sales on behalf of Government, and (c) exploitation of mines, establishment of factories, etc.

Afghanistan is a poor country, and its chief export is that of Karakuli lambskins, averaging, perhaps, one million sterling per annum. The second important export, which is valued at one-half of the former, is the fruit crop. The fact that the chief export is distinctly a luxury commodity, depending alike on prosperity and fashion, constitutes a distinct economic weakness.

The sound policy has been followed by reducing imports by growing cotton and sugar beet. Factories for cloth and sugar were also established by the Ashami Company, but are now being sold to private capitalists. To conclude this brief outline: The

existence of oil was proved in the Herat province, but the field was not of sufficient importance to justify the very heavy cost of constructing a pipe-line to the Arabian Sea. No other minerals of any commercial value have been found, and a German prospecting company, from lack of results, surrendered its concession.

To turn to the position on the North-West Frontier. For the first time the Afghan Government has ceased to encourage the warlike, fanatical tribesmen to give trouble to the British. On our side, British policy, which includes roads, hospitals, and schools, is slowly creating a new and a better feeling; it also improves the economic position of the tribesmen, who were extremely poor, but who now have access to markets. In view of the fact that Kabul has become a centre of law and order and of civilizing influences, is it not reasonable to hope that the tribesmen, who are now living between two areas of civilization, may gradually give up their passion for feuds and raiding and become law-abiding citizens?

THE FOUR-POWER TREATY

Afghanistan did not join the League of Nations upon its foundation in 1920, but held aloof, as also did Turkey and Russia. Persia had joined the League before negotiating her treaty with Russia in 1921; Turkey followed in the same year; while Russia and Afghanistan both became members in 1934. Of much greater importance is the treaty of the four Muslim Powers—Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan, and Iraq. To give some account of its formation in 1934, there was a dispute between Iraq and Persia as to the rights of each Power on the Shatt-al-Arab, which came before the League Council in January, 1935, without any result. However, in that year the two Powers agreed to come to terms. Furthermore, on the initiative of Persia, with the strong support of Turkey, negotiations were undertaken for the formation of a Middle Eastern Pact, in which Afghanistan would be included. As a preliminary, on July 4, 1937, an Iranian-Iraq Agreement, which settled on reasonable terms the Shatt-al-Arab dispute, was signed, and a few days later the Treaty of Saadabad was also

signed at Tehran. This pact may be described as one of friendship, non-aggression, and consultation with one another.

RUSSIA AND INDIA

Before concluding this lecture it seems desirable to make a few remarks on the strategical situation of Afghanistan. The army is recruited by a mixture of compulsory service for two years and voluntary service for life. Officers are recruited for life. The peace strength of the army is 60,000, but its armed tribesmen, who may be half a million strong, constitute a formidable second line. Mechanized transport has been introduced to some extent, and a small air force has been established.

It is clear that Russia alone is her potential enemy, and will be treated as such. Kabul, the capital, is protected from invasion by the U.S.S.R. owing to the lofty and rugged double range of the Hindu Kush. But Badakhshan and her other districts in the Oxus Valley could not be effectually held against large Russian forces that the railway could transport to Termez, more especially as no reinforcements could be sent from Kabul during the winter months. Again, Russia, from the Trans-Caspian Railway (which runs from that sea to the main northern line), constructed a strategical branch line from Merv to New Kushk, which is situated only some eighty miles from Herat, with no intervening physical barrier, and Herat could offer little resistance to Russian heavy artillery. From Herat to Kandahar is some 200 miles by the caravan route via Sabzawar and Farah. The country to be crossed presents few physical difficulties and is suitable for tanks, whippets, and lorries. If Persia were allied to Afghanistan, she might be able to attack the Russian lines of communication to some small extent.

We now take the other side of the situation. From the days of the Moghul Empire, Kabul and Kandahar have been held to be the Keys of India, and I should not envy the position of a Russian army which could only be supplied by a single-track railway from an immense distance, whether we reckon from Moscow via Orenburg and Bukhara or via the Caucasus and the Caspian Sea; the distance in both cases is about 2,200 miles. I

have travelled along both these routes on more than one occasion, and was struck by the lack of towns of any importance and of commercial activity throughout. The recently constructed town of Magnitogorodsk in the Ural Mountains, with its rich iron mines, will, however, have improved the Russians' position to some extent. There is also the recently badly constructed Turk-Sib railway, which runs from the Trans-Siberian railway at Novo-Sibirsk to a junction between Pishpok (Frunze) and the Sir Daria, not far from Tashkent. But the whole province of Russian Turkestan is now devoted to growing cotton, and food supplies for a large force would be unobtainable.

It would, then, seem to be unwise for Russia to attempt to invade India across Afghanistan, as she would presumably be met on the Kabul-Kandahar line by Afghan troops, strongly supported by British troops holding a strong position. Moreover, her lines of communication would be repeatedly attacked by the tribes on her flanks. On the other hand, Russia might be tempted to occupy Afghan-Turkestan in the Oxus Valley or even the Herat province. Yet to hold these conquests would need large forces, which it would be difficult to keep in the field. Stalin, however, might conceivably undertake a venture in which he would be doomed to failure.

Dr. Johnson laid down that the greatest of virtues was courage, since without it there is no security for any other. I know no race braver than the Afghans, and I sincerely wish them the prosperous future that they surely merit.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a meeting of the Association and the Royal Central Asian Society held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Wednesday, March 13, 1940, at 3 p.m., Sir Percy Sykes read a paper on "Afghanistan: the Present Position." The Marquess of Zetland was in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: There is clearly on this occasion no need to give the audience a little margin of time to arrive. They have already arrived in such large numbers that I feel justified in starting the proceedings on the tick of time.

We are, as you know, to have a lecture on the present position in Afghanistan, and there is perhaps no one amongst living men who is better qualified to speak upon such a subject than our lecturer this afternoon, Sir Percy Sykes. (Applause.)

I think it would be true to say that it must be very nearly half a century since Sir Percy first went to Central Asia. It was actually, I think, in 1892, and very shortly thereafter he was attracted more particularly by Persia. It so happened that I myself spent the Christmas of the year 1900 at a distant spot where Persia, Afghanistan and Baluchistan meet—namely, Sistan—and it was when I was in Sistan that I first heard of the activities of Sir Percy Sykes.

In those days, as many of you will remember, there was acute rivalry—shall we say, commercial rivalry and to some extent political rivalry—between Great Britain and Russia in that part of the world, and Sir Percy Sykes, realizing the importance of establishing British interests in southern Persia, by sheer force of character and determination compelled—I do not think I am saying too much in using that word—the Government of India to establish a consulate at Kerman in south-eastern Persia, and the obvious person to become Consul was naturally Sir Percy Sykes himself.

His interest in Persia was only briefly interrupted during a period of leave, I think in 1902, when he went in command of a body of Yeomanry to South Africa, was wounded, and needless to say was mentioned in despatches. (Applause.)

But, as soon as might be, he returned to his first love and was soon in Persia once more. He became Consul-General in Khurasan with his headquarters at Mashed, and during the Great War he raised the Southern Persia Rifles and commanded the forces in the southern parts of that country. In addition to that, he has also served His Majesty as his representative in Chinese Turkestan.

He possesses what I should think is a quite unusual number of gold medals—the gold medal of the Royal Geographical Society, the gold medal of the Royal Empire Society and a special MacGregor gold medal for explorations of military value.

Finally, at a time when you would have thought that he might have looked for some leisure after a life of strenuous labour, he has been devoting his energies and his interests to the writing of a history of Afghanistan. It is no doubt the cream of the work, which will in due course be published as the History of Afghanistan, that he is going to lay before us this afternoon.

I have pleasure in calling upon him to do so. (Applause.)

(Sir PERCY SYKES then read his paper.)

The CHAIRMAN: Not even in the Mother of Parliaments, where in the course of a fairly long experience I have sometimes suffered from the necessity of listening to long speeches, would our most vocal legislators venture, I think, into competition with the ex-Amir Amanulla, who, we have been told this afternoon, on one historic occasion made a speech lasting for five days. I am certainly not going to enter into any such competition, but since it is customary at these meetings to hold some discussion at the end of the lecture, I may perhaps be permitted to occupy not five days but some five minutes in making one or two observations on the subject matter of the really most valuable and informative lecture to which we have listened this afternoon. (Applause.)

Our lecturer has told us of the attraction which Western inventions and Western customs had for the ex-Amir Amanulla. I remember being present at an interesting and somewhat amusing display of this characteristic on the part of Amanulla. We were at Hatfield, Lord Salisbury's famous house and garden, where a reception had been organized in honour of our distinguished guest. I shall never forget the delight which spread over Amanulla's face, when he insisted upon one of his staff entering the famous maze there without a guide, and found his unfortunate official quite incapable of finding his way out of the maze. He declared that this was a thing which he must institute at Kabul, since it would provide a more merciful means than was sometimes customary in that country of getting rid of an inconvenient rival!

Then I feel that I must say a word in favour of Dr. Khan Sahib, who has been painted in somewhat lurid colours by our distinguished lecturer. I have only been brought into contact with Dr. Khan Sahib in very recent times. He was at one time the medical officer of that famous frontier regiment the Guides, but more recently he has been the Prime Minister of the North-West Frontier Province, and I do not think that the Governor of that province would dissent if I were to say that Dr. Khan Sahib proved to be a most charming man to work with. He provides us indeed with a very striking illustration of the universal experience of mankind, I think; that when a man is once charged with real responsibility his outlook upon the affairs of men is apt to undergo a very marked change.

In the course of his lecture Sir Percy Sykes has given us a very graphic picture of the vicissitudes which have accompanied the evolution of Afghanistan since it became a sovereign independent State at the end of the third Afghan War in 1919. A strong, stable and friendly Afghan administration has always been a British interest, and never more so perhaps than it is

today; and if in the past we sought to secure our interests by a measure of control over and by granting subsidies to the Government of that country, we have now recognized the advantages of securing them through the agency of a stable, friendly and independent kingdom; for we are satisfied that the friendship of an independent State is a surer foundation on which to rest our common interests than a State subject to an uneasy subserviency, irksome to the freedom-loving spirit of the Afghan people. That there is a powerful bond of common interest between India and Afghanistan must be apparent to anyone who considers the geographical, the political and the economic circumstances of the two countries.

Hence the satisfaction and the sympathy with which we have watched the internal progress of the country during the past ten years under the wise policy of orderly development inaugurated by Nadir Shah and continued under the present King with the powerful aid of his uncles, Muhammad Hashim, the Prime Minister, Shah Mahmoud, the Defence Minister, who visited us here in London in 1937 and 1936 respectively, and Shah Wali, who was King Nadir's first representative at the Court of St. James's. Neither has our sympathy lacked practical expression, for we have been able to render the present Afghan Government assistance from time to time in various ways, as, for example, by the provision of facilities for them in India to train the cadets of their young but growing Air Force. The two countries have likewise a common interest in the maintenance of peace in the tribal areas which lie between their respective boundaries, and when, as unhappily sometimes occurs, we are driven by the lawlessness of the tribes to embark upon military action against them, we always bear closely in mind the possible repercussions of any action which we may have in mind upon the tribes upon the Afghan side of the border and upon the interests, consequently, of the Afghan régime.

But there is today, when whole nations are ranged against one another in battle array, a bond of sympathy between us which derives from more general circumstances. Not to mention the powerful Turkish State, with which we have recently contracted an agreement indicative of our friendship and of our common interests, it is not too much to say, I think, that in this war the sympathies of the whole world of Islam are ranged on the side of the Western Allies. ("Hear, hear.") Egypt and Iraq are in alliance with us. With the ruler of Saudi-Arabia our relations could not be more friendly than in fact they are. In India the Muslims of that country, through the mouthpiece of the Muslim Prime Minister of the Punjab, have offered unconditionally their support to the Allies in this great contest. (Applause.)

This solidarity has been brought about partly by a common fear of the aggressive megalomania of the Dictators of Munich and Moscow, and partly by abhorrence of the contemptuous treatment meted out by them to the religious beliefs of other peoples; for in large parts of Asia religion is still the *summum bonum* of existence for which men are prepared cheerfully to lay down their lives. (Applause.)

I have occupied more than my five minutes. Let me therefore now ask Sir Michael O'Dwyer, who requires no introduction to an audience of this

kind, whether he would make some contribution to the discussion which I have inaugurated.

Sir MICHAEL O'DWYER: I am sure I am expressing the feelings of this great audience when I say how much indebted we are to our lecturer. He has with wonderful skill and clearness and impartiality unravelled the tangled skein of Afghan relations with Great Britain and other parts of the world. We are glad to hear from our Chairman that the history of Afghanistan is about to appear from the pen of a man who combines distinction as an historian with unique local knowledge of Central Asia. (Applause.)

I think we are chiefly interested in Afghanistan here from the point of view of its relations with India, and those relations are determined by three factors—geography, race and religion.

In Afghanistan we find warlike races, often fiercely fanatical and living in arid surroundings. From their mountain areas they look down on the rich cities and the well-watered plains of India, inhabited by what they used to consider a soft, unwarlike race, and a race chiefly of non-believers. What would be the feelings of an Afghan of the old type, and one of a comparatively recent type, when he surveyed that position? They are crystallized in four lines:

“The mountain sheep is sweeter,
But the valley sheep is fatter.
We therefore think it meet
To carry off the latter.”

That is what the Afghans had been doing for hundreds of years, from the eleventh century.

Later on, when another Afghan invader carried off the Koh-i-noor, it found its way back to the British Crown: and in the middle of the eighteenth century when Nadir Shah looted Delhi and carried away the peacock throne, twenty years later he was followed by another great Afghan conqueror who extended the boundaries of Afghanistan over practically all the Punjab and Kashmir, and in his time his followers established principalities in British India, like Cawnpore, Bhopal and others. You see, therefore, what a large part the Afghans played, in Northern India especially.

It is a trite fact that these invasions came to a halt at the end of the eighteenth century. Why? The British power arrived on the scene. Up till then no invader from Afghanistan into India ever failed. After the rise of British power, no invasion from Afghanistan ever succeeded. One only was attempted, and that was the mad enterprise of the King Amanulla to which our lecturer referred.

I was in the Punjab at the time of that invasion, and I would like to supplement what the lecturer said by a few words. In March, 1918, a great agitation, fomented by wicked propaganda, was carried on against the Government. It was headed by Mr. Gandhi, who led the civil disobedience movement. That agitation gave rise to serious outrages in Northern India. At the end of March there were serious collisions between the police and the revolutionaries at Delhi. A week later we in the Punjab found a storm had broken over us. By April 10 the tribes were in a state of open revolution,

and the revolutionaries had sent emissaries to Amanulla, asking him to come as their deliverer. He was only too ready to proclaim a *jihad*, and at once began to mass his armies against the Indian frontier.

We in the Punjab knew what was coming. We knew that if, as was intended, the Afghan invasion synchronized with our troubles in the Punjab, the trouble would be more serious. We had to act promptly and drastically. By April 25 we had the rebellion under control, and fortunately the invasion did not materialize on our frontier till a week later. Amanulla had been told that he would be welcomed in India as the liberator; instead of that he found twenty thousand men barring his approach. The Afghan armies were overwhelmed in a few weeks and driven back, and we carried war into the enemy's territory. The Amir sued for peace, and the result was the Treaty of Rawalpindi. Many people thought, and perhaps with some justice, that though we had won the war, we had lost the peace. Anyhow, Amanulla was able to claim the victory, and to erect a war memorial in which he showed a British soldier at the feet of a triumphant Afghan soldier. That triumph enabled Amanulla, in spite of his foolish and mad policy, to carry on with his mad rule for seven or eight years longer, until his own people got tired of his follies and turned him out.

After a short interregnum Nadir Shah came to the throne. After his murder he was succeeded by his son, King Zahir Shah, and today our relations with Afghanistan are most friendly and cordial. It is most important that this should be so. I do not think we realize how essential it is to have a friendly Afghanistan. We had two great crises in the last century in India, one in the Mutiny and one in the Great War. In both these crises the Afghans, in spite of many temptations to take advantage of our difficulties, were invaluable to us, and I am pretty sure that will last under the present régime. Of course, the tribal follies will still go on. The tribal leaders will still sing the old song,

"The mountain sheep is sweeter,
But the valley sheep is fatter,"

but we will be able to deal with those.

As regards the future, in this war—as our Chairman has told us—we are in a much stronger position in India than we were in the last war. Then we had a hostile Turkey, and Iran and the Arab races in a state of flux. Today we have a friendly Turkey. Every Muslim country from Istanbul to Peshawar is for us or a friendly neutral. They all know that our cause is a right one, and they are all equally determined, as we are, to resist the godless forces of aggression.

We have been told today that we have much in common with the Afghans. We have. They are delightful people to make friends with. They have a great sense of humour. Here is one instance. When the Amir was returning to Afghanistan in 1907 the Chief Commissioner gave a dinner party to him and his party. I happened to be at the party and was sitting beside the King. The Afghans love the pipes, and to do him honour we asked the pipes of the Black Watch to come and play during the dinner. They came in full strength, sixteen of them, headed by a magnificent drum

major. They went round and round the table, bursting their diaphragms almost and raising the roof. Finally, when the royal toasts were about to be proposed, they massed up behind the Amir's chair. Then to our intense relief they gradually filed out. We said, "We hope Your Majesty enjoyed the pipes. We are very proud of them." He replied, "Yes, they were splendid," and then with a twinkle in his eye he went on, "One would have been sufficient." (Laughter.) It took the Black Watch a long time to get over that. (Applause.)

Mrs. EDWARD MALAN (formerly Miss Audrey Harris): In his very interesting observations in connection with the possible invasion of Afghanistan by Russia across the Oxus, our speaker made reference to the wonderful natural protection that Kabul has in the Hindu Kush range. I cannot help just wondering whether there is not a certain amount of natural protection in the northern plain, in the great sand dunes and marshes that follow the river. It seemed to me that they would be quite impossible for any heavy transport. Of course, aircraft could fly over them, but for any big campaign it would be really impossible for wheeled traffic to pass.

We rode across about twelve miles of these sand dunes, and the horses were sinking into the soft sand at every step. I was told that the only wheeled traffic that had ever crossed the plain was a Baby Austin. The wonderful tracks that seemed to run between these extraordinary sand dunes were continually being obliterated by blowing sand. Even my military escort entirely lost the road, and we rode in the opposite direction for about three hours. Then we got on to marshy land, in which it was impossible for the horses to go more than a few feet. In the dark even the local military officer and his soldier could not find a single little track that crossed this marsh. After two or three hours we discovered a shepherd, who knew it well enough to find it in the dark. It was a single track pathway. According to the map this sand dune seems to stretch right along the river to the westward of the Afghan frontier.

Then from the Turkestan side, I do not know what facilities there are for bringing across great military necessities now. I was there at the end of 1936, and they were attempting to build a very small quay, but then there was no landing stage and only about three ferry steamers, paddle boats. The river there is full of sand shallows.

I could not help thinking, when we heard these encouraging remarks of the very friendly relations between Afghanistan and the British, that it is a pity we allow the Germans to have practically the entire monopoly of supplying the Afghans with machinery and technical experts as advisers in all their new modern concerns, which they are developing with great activity. An Afghan friend said to me, "We should like to buy our machinery from England and to have British experts here to help us, but Afghanistan is a very poor country and we simply cannot afford it." The Germans can meet them because they have their Government subsidy. In the cotton mills they were getting quotations and good samples from Germany at 12s. 6d.; similar samples from the British cost £3. They wanted to have British managers for the cotton mills they were starting. He said:

"I can get very good men from Germany for £30, whereas I should have to pay an Englishman £80."

It seems a pity not to cement these very happy relationships with Afghanistan in the way of mutual trading backwards and forwards. (Applause.)

Sir LOUIS DANE : I suppose the reason for my being asked to speak is that I was responsible for making the treaty with Amir Habibulla on March 21, 1905. It is a much disputed treaty, and it was only very painfully acquired. I was there from December till March, and at times we rejoiced in a temperature of 52 degrees of frost with a howling blizzard through the gorges of the western hills. It was almost colder than anything we have had in Europe this winter. The Amir was overcome by the cold and gout, and took to his bed. Several of our meetings were held round his bed, and it was very uncertain that he would survive. The question was, what would happen to the Mission if he did not survive. Some suggestions were made that we should depart with a suitable excuse, but I had vividly in mind the débâcle of 1842, when the people retired from Kabul in the winter, and I decided to remain where I was, because we could not get down to India, and we were far too valuable as hostages not to be well looked after, whatever happened to the Amir. Eventually the treaty was signed.

The Government of India and Lord Curzon desired that it should be a purely military treaty to arrange for the co-operation of Afghanistan and India in military matters. Lord Curzon desired that the Amir should come down to India and make a treaty there with him personally, which would be a sign to all the world of the relations between Afghanistan and the British Government. H.M. Government thought it would be quite sufficient if we renewed the arrangements we had made with Amanulla, his father. Habibulla himself said that Japan had cut off the legs of Russia, and now I was being sent by His Majesty the King to cut off the head of Russia. So altogether I think you will agree that the lot of the unfortunate envoy was not a happy one. Whatever he did, he was bound to irritate somebody. I am not sure that I did not succeed in irritating all of them.

It was quite possible I could have broken off the arrangements, or even forced Habibulla to go down to India; but, if I had, the very first time there was any trouble he would have gone against us. And so it happened.

Habibulla about that time married a lady who was a very charming person and had been educated in Dehra Dun. All went well. The father and uncle were in high favour and pressed the Indian alliance on Habibulla, and Habibulla said he would like to go down and see Lord Minto, but there was to be no business talked. If that lady had only produced an heir the whole history of Afghanistan might have been changed, but unfortunately she only had a daughter.

The fourth wife of the Amir was not of royal family. She was a very clever woman. She had a son. I am afraid I am a male Cassandra. I can always prophesy evil with the greatest success. I expressed the opinion that if Habibulla lived for another ten or twelve years an attempt would certainly be made by this lady to have her son put upon the throne in preference to the others.

One of the three men who were present just about the time that Habibulla was murdered in 1919 gave me a most graphic account of the whole proceedings. Amanulla and his mother were in Kabul, and Amanulla became Amir, and that really led to all the troubles that we have had ever since. He had to justify his position, and he did that by declaring a *jihad*.

The only thing I feel is that for nearly a hundred and fifty years we have always regarded the advance of Russia to India with feelings of considerable apprehension. It has led us to more than one war, and certainly Russia has made the most extraordinary and gigantic strides. There is no question about it, and with the railways from the Caspian to Kush, and with two broad gauge lines from the centre of Russia and Siberia, Russia is in a very much more promising position to attack India, if she wanted to do so, than she ever has been before.

It is true she is slow to move and her troops are not of the highest quality, but she has the most extraordinary capacity of persistence. You have just seen what has happened in Finland. She has waited her time. She has got back the whole of Poland that she had, and the Baltic States that she had, and I can only say I hope Sir Percy Sykes is right, but at the same time we shall do well to follow Cromwell's advice and, while trusting in Providence, to keep our powder dry.

It is quite true that at present we have this Islamic bloc of Turkey, Iran, Iraq and certain support from Arabia. As long as we can retain that we shall do well; but unfortunately sometimes, quite recently, in fact, there was a tendency to decry the Muslims and find comfort, in India at any rate, with the more numerous bodies of other religions. Some time ago I ventured to suggest that, if we could only assure the Oslo bloc of Scandinavian Powers and the Balkan bloc, if they would form a definite, strong offensive and defensive alliance, we would be prepared to support them; but that if they would not do so, we were not going to pull other people's chestnuts out of the fire for them. I think something ought to be done for the Islamic bloc. They ought to have a definite assurance that if they would co-operate we would support them, and then I believe we would be perfectly safe against Russia.

LORD LAMINGTON : The Secretary of State for India has mentioned various distinctions which have been gained by our lecturer this afternoon. He did not mention one—that Sir Percy Sykes has filled this hall today as I have never seen it filled before.

Our lecturer gave us a very interesting recent account of the history of Afghanistan. He said Kabul was a centre of trade. Also he said it was rather comforting that the security of Afghanistan is fairly assured, however desirous Russia may be to acquire control over that country.

Altogether we have had a very interesting afternoon, and we are very grateful to Sir Percy Sykes and also to Lord Zetland for having done so much to give us information on that very remarkable country. I now ask you to show by acclamation your appreciation of what these two gentlemen have done for us. (Applause.)

THE CAXTON HALL TRAGEDY

At a Special Meeting of the Council, held at the rooms of the East India Association on March 18, with Sir Atul Chatterjee in the Chair, the following Resolution was passed unanimously by a standing vote :

The Council hereby conveys to Lady O'Dwyer and the members of her family its profound grief at the loss they and the country sustained under such tragic circumstances on March 13. It recalls Sir Michael's long service and affection for the people of India, and in particular his signal part as Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab in developing India's contribution of military man-power in the last war. The Council takes pride in his long membership of the Association, and his frequent and welcome share in its discussions of current Indian problems.

Resolutions of sympathy with Lord Zetland, Lord Lamington and Sir Louis Dane, the other sufferers from the outrage perpetrated at the Meeting at the Caxton Hall on March 13, were passed. Lady Zetland, Lady Lamington and Lady Dane were included in the expressions of sympathy.

THE INDIAN ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE WAR AIMS OF THE ALLIES

BY SIR ALBION BANERJI, C.S.I., C.I.E.

AFTER seven months of the war it may be that no clear conception of the Indian attitude towards the war aims of the Allies prevails not only in England and France, but also amongst the neutral countries, including the United States of America. The reason is not far to seek. We all know to what extent news was controlled and censored by the Ministry of Information during the first weeks of the war. Today the Press of the Allied countries gives little space for news from India. A good deal of attention was paid to the response from the Indian Princes and the offer of their personal services as well as the whole resources of their State for the vigorous prosecution of the war. The National Congress, through its leaders, from Mahatma Gandhi as the dictator behind the scenes, and passing on to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and the lesser satellites, made important declarations and pronouncements which, owing to the great political influence of the Congress, put in the background the opinions of other parties or groups in the Indian political field.

In the first place be it remembered that the Congress, being the most highly organized political party, has the best means of propaganda. The withdrawal of the Congress Ministries in eight of the eleven British Provinces where they had majorities was a result of the inability of the Viceroy, on behalf of H.M. Government, to accede to the demands of the Congress for a specific declaration of war aims with special reference to the future of India. In respect of the latter, the Congress demanded full independence and the right to frame India's Constitution, with the aid of a Constitutional Assembly. In the end seven Provinces were left without Ministries. The Congress attitude has been expressed by its most brilliant exponent, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Soon after the outbreak of the war he sent a contribution to the *News Chronicle*, in which he wrote :

" . . . India has reacted strongly against the philosophy and methods of Fascism and Nazi aggression and brutality, and has seen in them the negation of all she stands for. World peace for India means Freedom and Democracy and the ending of the domination of one nation over another."

The *New Statesman and Nation*, in a powerful article on "India and the Test Question," soon after the Congress declaration was made, interpreted it thus :

"If the present war is for defending the *status quo*, Imperialist possessions, colonies and vested interests, then India can have nothing to do with it. If the issue, however, is democracy and a new world order, then Indian is intensely interested.

The test for Indians is simple. 'Freedom,' as they see it, is 'indivisible,' and 'India is the crux of the problem as she is the outstanding example of modern imperialism.' There follows the logical challenge :

If Britain fights for democracy then also she must necessarily end imperialism, and establish full democracy in India."

It is unnecessary to go back to the stage from which commenced the negotiations between the Viceroy on the one hand and Mr. Gandhi and the leader of the Muslims, Mr. Jinnah, on the other. It suffices to say that these negotiations have ended in a deadlock, but it is important to note that at that stage even the National Liberal Federation and the Muslim League declared the Viceroy's attitude to be unsatisfactory, as it indicated the desire to postpone the consideration of any modifications in the Constitution Act of India till after the war. Since it may be the opinion of many, especially in neutral countries as well as in Germany itself, that the Congress holds the field and represents the majority opinion in India about this matter, it will serve a very useful purpose if the attitude of other political parties and groups in India is also specifically stated.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly early in December last a resolution was carried to the following effect :

"This Assembly associates itself with the world-wide abhorrence of the aggressive and ruthless methods pursued by the Totalitarian Governments in Europe, and declares its complete sympathy with the British Government for taking up arms against Nazi Germany in defence of democracy, and of the right of self-determination of the smaller and weaker nations. . . .

This Assembly, therefore, authorizes the Government to assure the Government of India of its full co-operation in the successful prosecution of the war. . . ."

They added a rider that the British Government, in consonance with the aims of the present war, should grant India full Dominion Status as defined in the Statute of Westminster. It should be remembered, however, that in this Province the Muslims were in the majority.

In the same month, at the annual All-India Women's Conference, the President moved a resolution from the Chair in the following terms :

"The women of India, while dissociating themselves from the present war and unequivocally and emphatically recording their protest against all kinds of wars, should pledge their fullest co-operation to all those forces engaged in safeguarding liberty.

It was stated by Britain that the present war was being waged in the name of democracy and for the preservation of the independence of free nations. So long as there was domination and exploitation of one nation by another, there could be no enduring peace."

The next pronouncement was made later in December by the All-India Hindu Mahasabha at its twenty-first session in Calcutta. The resolution of this body on the war declared that there was ample room for whole-hearted co-operation between India and England. In order to make such co-operation effective, the British Government should, *inter alia*, introduce responsible government at the Centre, redress the grievous wrong done to Hindus by the communal award, completely Indianize the Army as early as possible, and make adequate arrangements for the training of the people in branches of the military force.

The next responsible declaration comes from the National Liberal Federation of India, and its resolution was couched in the following terms:

The Federation appealed to all Indians to give their support to the cause for which the democracies were fighting, but expressed the opinion that in order to enable India to put forth whole-hearted support, the imagination of the people should be captured by a change of attitude on the part of the British Government regarding the future of India.

In passing, I may state that the Muslim League and the Liberal Federation are groups against and outside the Congress respectively.

The All-India Muslim League, while considering the Viceroy's attitude regarding the future Constitutional advance in India as unsatisfactory, withheld co-operation in the war unless the grievances of the Muslims in the Congress-administered Provinces were investigated through a Royal Commission. The Depressed Classes as a body have whole-heartedly supported the Allied cause unconditionally.

In these past months India has been flooded with political speeches regarding the British war aims, to which the Indian publicists and politicians have linked the problem of India's future Constitutional advance within the British Empire. Only recently the Secretary of State for India, the Marquess of Zetland, made a reference to "the tyranny of phrases." A similar view was expressed by the Independent Labour M.P., Sir Stafford Cripps, speaking at Allahabad at a students' meeting on December 10. He said that talk of democracy became a mere catch phrase, and its significance differed in the mouths of different people, and added that, "to make democracy really assert itself, planned economy should be coupled with *essential freedom and liberty for the common people of the world*. There should be no personal or sectional interests." Here again, one may ask whether Sir Stafford, while condemning catch phrases, was not himself indulging in them when he talked of "planned economy." What is "planned economy" in one country may be just the opposite in another, for economic conditions in advanced countries are totally different

from those prevailing in backward and undeveloped parts of the world. Pandit Nehru early this year in the same centre, Allahabad, from which emanates many of India's best brains, said that this war will see the end of Capitalism, and he foreshadowed some form of State control of production, transport and distribution, and he indulged in catch phrases when he concluded by saying that "there is no way out except a socialist economy."

It is refreshing, amidst the repetition of catch phrases about war aims and India, to find Dr. C. R. Reddi, Vice-Chancellor of Andhra University, discussing India's part in the war in a different way. Referring to Imperialism, as he saw it in Germany, in Russia, Britain, France, and Japan, he said, "What about India?" and asked, "Was not there Imperialism of caste over different caste? Were there not also many varieties of exploitation and exploited—the essence of Imperialism? Could real order be evolved out of so much confusion?" and concluded that "India seemed to be full of *chota* Imperialism; Muslims were afraid of Hindus and *vice versa*."

The brief survey that I have attempted to make of the reactions of India as a whole to the war situation in Europe does not help to clarify the issues plainly, and, truth to tell, all the discussions that have been going on during the past seven months in England have not, even up to this day, clarified this issue. For instance, the *Daily Herald* on February 26 published an article with the title, "What are we fighting for?" and quoted from another which said that "We were not fighting for democracy or for liberty or for any nonsense of that sort; we were fighting for England."

I say all this to show that India is not altogether to be blamed for her criticisms of the war aims of the Allies, or for demanding a more precise declaration, especially with reference to India and her future relationship with England. One thing, however, is clear, and that is, the underlying unity amongst all classes and sections in India, irrespective of race or religion, in condemning strongly the philosophy and methods of Fascism and Nazism, and India's determination to throw in all her resources for a new order. The misgivings, if any, lurking in the minds of all the groups and which are not being exploited for any political purpose, except the Congress group, are, in fact, founded on British policy pursued in the past, according to which British pledges, solemnly given, still remain to be fulfilled. The situation, therefore, can be vastly improved if, besides over and above all that the Viceroy has been able to announce on behalf of H.M. Government, that Parliament will authorize the establishment of a War Cabinet at the Centre, consisting of the representatives, firstly, of the British Administration; secondly, of the Princes; and, thirdly,

of all the political parties, including Minorities. The third group can easily be chosen by a panel from the legislatures of the different Provinces. It should be definitely stated that India will be granted full Dominion Status in a settlement of differences and after consulting all interests concerned. Such a gesture may induce Congress Ministers to resume their responsibilities and thus end the present deadlock, and also bring about unity of action and full co-operation in the present emergency. Later, further elaboration of the Constitution of India on a federal democratic basis may be carried out, but this surely cannot be done during the war.

Truth to tell, there is no working basis of unity so far as the Constitutional problem is concerned between the Hindus and Muslims. Perhaps I should qualify that statement by saying that differences are acute between the Congress Party and the Muslims, as both are bent upon laying greater emphasis on the political issues and not on the emergent situation created by the war. If undivided attention is to be paid to the vigorous prosecution of the war, all controversies about the future Constitution will have to be laid aside, and these can be brought up for final discussion at the Peace Conference. If England, therefore, declares that Indian opinion will be adequately represented at the Peace Conference, perhaps the mingling of the two issues—namely, the vigorous prosecution of the war and the Constitutional problem—may be avoided. In the other alternative, the two being linked together will, I fear, create a situation which the well-wishers of both England and India should make every endeavour to guard against.

There is, moreover, a greater chance of co-operation if the present acute economic problems of India are dealt with as a part of the war effort. India, which is prospering from Allied demands on her products and her industries, should not hesitate to employ the best foreign and Indian experts in the representative fields of war and economic activities. We have a vast number of theoretical experts in India, but practical work has yet to be developed for the increase of agricultural production, distribution of produce through shipping and railway and other transport facilities, and the organization of industries on a large scale, to give employment to the half-starved millions. If the war today is partly an economic war, without full co-operation with Great Britain, India surely will have to face within its own borders economic war between province and province, state and state. This will weaken her present economic solidarity and bring about complications with other European Powers.

INDIA'S CONSTITUTIONAL FUTURE

CONFERENCE AT BIRMINGHAM UNIVERSITY

BY SIR ALFRED WATSON

[In the course of a two days' conference on "India's Place in World Affairs" at Birmingham University, Sir Alfred Watson spoke on "The Future of Indian Rule." The following article is a somewhat abbreviated report of his address.]

THE subject chosen for today's conference is "The Future of Indian Rule." But before passing to it I cannot leave unchallenged the statements made by the previous speaker in defending the Congress position. What he has described as "India's enforced participation in the war is," he tells us, "totally rejected by the Indian people." It is certainly not rejected by the three Ministries in Bengal, the Punjab and in Sind. These are giving the Indian effort their full support. Without exception the Indian Princes, ruling over a quarter of India's peoples and under no obligation to proffer their services, have placed their resources at the disposal of the Government. The great Muslim community, numbering between eighty and ninety millions, has through its leaders declared its adherence to the Allied cause. Most significant of all, Sikander Hyat Khan, Premier in the Punjab and describing the Punjab as "the sword-arm of India," was first in pledging the Indians for whom he speaks to full support of Great Britain. That does not look as if India were unanimous in its opposition.

The Congress speaker has asked you to believe that at the very beginning of the war the Provincial Ministries were deprived of their powers. I answer that in the Provinces of Bengal, the Punjab and Sind, where there are Coalition Ministries, these have felt no difficulty in carrying on and no derogation of the authority they exercise. That a Central Government should assume increased control is an inescapable consequence of war. In this country not one but something like 140 Bills have been rushed through Parliament depriving the citizen of liberties he enjoys in peace, and our people have accepted that situation without complaint.

Again, we have been told that if left free the Provincial Ministries might have decided not to participate in the war. Provincial Ministries have, in fact, no voice in questions of defence, which are solely reserved to the Viceroy and will continue to be so until Dominion Status has been achieved. A contrast has been made between the submission of the issue of peace or war to the Dominion Parliaments and what is called "the arbitrary act of the Viceroy." The real difference is that the Dominions have accepted full responsibility for their own defence by land and sea. India has not. Without the British Army, which cannot be placed under Indian control, her defence by land would be inadequate; without the British Navy her five thousand miles of coast would be vulnerable to any invader.

From these matters I pass to the general indictment of British rule to which we have listened. India's systems of land tenure have been held up to scorn and it has been asserted that the one remedy is "for the people to have control." That they already have. Nobody would gather from what has been said that land and its revenue are provincial matters and have been under the control of Indian Ministers for twenty years past. In the last two years Congress Ministers have embarked on much land legislation. If things are still wrong the responsibility must rest elsewhere than upon British rule, which inherited the land systems from its Indian predecessors.

Irrigation has been described as inadequate because "the foreign investor must have his pound of flesh" and railways as unprofitable because the capitalist exacts his 5 per cent. It is true that capital for irrigation and for the railways was raised abroad when India was unable or unwilling to find the money herself. But in view of what has been said you will be surprised to know that capital for irrigation raised at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. has yielded about 8 per cent., and India has had the advantage of that difference. Indian railways, however financed, are not unprofitable. After the investor has taken his interest there remains a large sum for the relief of Indian taxation. And let it be remembered when there is this talk of exploitation in commercial matters that last year India, while importing thirty-five million pounds' worth of goods from us, sold to us forty-one million pounds' value of her own products—the balance of the exchange was heavily in her favour.

Nobody disputes the serious nature of rural indebtedness in India, but when that is laid at the door of British rule the reply can only be that most rural indebtedness, sometimes passing from generation to generation, arises out of social and religious customs with which the British have been unwilling to interfere. The indebtedness is not to the Government, as might be supposed from the manner in which it has been described, but to the Indian moneylender.

I am not sure what conclusion we were expected to draw from the statistics quoted of the high birth-rates and high death-rates in India, but if increase of population be an advantage it is not easy to understand the slighting reference to an increase "of only 10 per cent. in ten years." No population of a Western country is growing at anything like that speed. Since the first census was taken India's population has increased by about eighty million people, and not the least achievement of British rule is that with that swift growth the standard of life has been maintained.

As to the complaint that defence absorbs a large proportion of the central revenues of India and keeps the country in poverty, the simple fact is that in proportion to its population and its area India spends less upon its defences than any great country in the world. Whenever India assumes responsibility for its own safety by land and sea, as it must under Independence or even Dominion Status, the military and naval budgets will become very much larger than they are today.

Turning to the real purpose of this discussion, which is the form that government is to take in India in the future, we have been told this afternoon that in spite of the emphasis laid by the British upon differences of view, there is in India a "fundamental unity at the base." That is to avoid the whole issue; it is a repetition of the claim that the voice of the Indian National Congress should be accepted as the voice of India, that the Princes do not count, and that Congress is more representative of Muslim opinion than the Muslim League itself.

Any such assertion can scarcely survive the recent correspondence between Pandit Nehru and Mr. Jinnah, for in that it is abandoned altogether. In his letter of December 19, Pandit Nehru says: "You have rightly pointed out that Congress does not represent everybody in India. Of course not. It does not represent those who disagree with it, whether they are Muslims or Hindus. In an ultimate analysis it represents its members and sympathizers. There are many, as you know, in Hindu Mahasabha, Hindus who oppose the idea of Congress representing Hindus as such. Then there are Sikhs and others who claim that they should be heard when communal matters are considered."

Pandit Nehru speaks in the same letter of "the vastness of the Congress organization." The number of its members has been claimed today as six million, and it has been stated that it has more Muslims than are en-

rolled in the Muslim League. In controversies of this nature figures of political organizations in India are apt to take on astronomical proportions which have very little relation to facts. During my own time in Bengal the number of paying members of Congress never exceeded 50,000, which is one in a thousand of the population, and I do not imagine there has been much growth since. It is sufficient to admit that Congress is the largest of the political organizations and that it holds the field in seven out of the eleven provinces. Pandit Nehru has given final quietus to the claim that it can speak for all India or is competent of itself to determine the future form of Indian government.

In the average Englishman the deadlock in Indian constitutional advance provokes a sense of bewilderment and some soreness. To those of us who have given years of our lives in an effort to reconcile the Indian and the British points of view, the situation is a deep disappointment. We believed, and not without warrant, that by the Act of 1935 India had been set fairly on the way to attain, in her own time and at her own pace, that full form of self-government within the Empire which is known as Dominion Status. Nothing that has happened in the intervening years reduces our confidence that with Indian co-operation that goal can be attained within the lifetime of the present generation.

What, then, has gone wrong? The fault is not in the Act itself. That contains every needed provision for first the setting up of a Federal Constitution which would make of India one nation, and through Federation for the ultimate surrender of all those powers of control which the British Government has hitherto exercised. Today there is no organized opinion in this country which does not look with goodwill upon political advance in India.

Where, then, are the obstacles to the smooth working of the Constitution? India is on the threshold of such complete freedom as is enjoyed by Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, and she can cross that threshold whenever she settles her internal differences.

In that phrase, "whenever she can settle her internal differences," lies the whole Indian problem. Events since the passing of the 1935 Act have brought into clear outline the two main difficulties. On the one hand is the question of the terms upon which the Indian States are to come into the Federation. On the other hand is the demand by the minorities, which are not minorities in the ordinary European acceptance of the term—for the Muslims alone number more than double the inhabitants of Great Britain—that they shall have an unbreakable assurance of full equality of rights under forms of government that must be predominantly Hindu in sentiment. It serves no purpose to assert, as Mr. Gandhi and other Congress leaders have done, that the settlement of communal differences is not a necessary preliminary to any agreed constitution for India.

Speaking generally, the larger political parties in India have found some common ground in their objection to a Federation in which the States would be represented, not by elected delegates of their own people, but by nominees of the Princes. The point is perhaps well taken, but if India is to wait until all the States have as fully representative institutions as have been accorded to British India, then Federation will be postponed to the Greek Kalends, and the welding of India into a nation will probably not be seen in the lifetime of any statesman now living.

Meanwhile the doubts of the Princes have been quickened by the efforts of Congress to promote agitation in the Indian States. If the approach of Federation is to be heralded by convulsive political activities against the Indian rulers it is not surprising that their desire for union with the remainder of the country should become lukewarm, and that they should seriously ask themselves whether in entering a Federation which Congress

aims to dominate they will not be exchanging King Log for King Stork. This much is certain. The Princes cling resolutely to their treaties with the Crown. They are not prepared to exchange these for treaties with any Indian Government. That difficulty has to be faced and dealt with before full self-government is possible in India.

It has been asked why, if the attitude of the Princes and British obligations to them under their treaties constitute a formidable difficulty, there should not be a Federation of British India, leaving the Indian States to join it, if they so will, at some future date. There one comes to the second of the obstacles and by far the more serious. For the moment I may leave out of account the fears of the smaller minorities, and fix attention upon the resolute determination of the eighty or ninety million Muslims not to come under the rule of a Hindu Raj unless upon their own terms. To the convinced democrat it may appear right that the majority should rule and that power should be determined by a counting of votes. In that sense the Muslim is far from being democrat. That is what Mr. Jinnah means when he says that democracy is unsuited to Indian conditions, although at the same time he and all other leaders of the community are as zealous as Mr. Gandhi himself for self-government for India.

Nor can we ignore the background of the Muslim contention. For centuries they ruled India, although a minority, and ruled it by the strength of their own arms. For even more centuries the Hindu had not ruled in his own country until he was given power by the introduction of Western political institutions, including the ballot-box. And the Muslim stoutly affirms that in the brief period of Hindu, or should I say Congress, rule he has not been given a square deal.

Congress, if the truth is to be told, has not wielded power in a manner that could convince the minorities of its impartiality. In the provinces of Bengal, the Punjab and Sind, where the Muslims have a majority, the Ministries were from the beginning and have continued to be coalitions, in which the minorities had their representatives. In the eight Congress provinces, although here and there Ministers have been chosen who were not Hindus, no man was given office who was not a pledged member of Congress. "To the victor the spoils" is never likely to be a good working compromise in Indian conditions.

What, then, do the Muhammadans demand? I think it would be fair to say that the prevailing idea in the Muhammadan mind is that governments everywhere in India should be coalitions. That applies in particular to any form of Central Government that the future may bring, that Muhammadans as such should be assured of their due proportion of power. The claim extends further to holding that in every branch of administration, from the highest to the lowest, Muhammadans should have their due proportion of places.

One cannot say that the Muhammadan conviction that the triumph of the Indian Congress would mean subjection to Hindu rule is without warrant. Mr. Subhas Bose, until recently President of the Congress, has outlined what he holds should be the future form of government in India in *The Indian Struggle*. His programme involves "a strong Central Government with dictatorial powers for some years to come, government by a strong party bound together by military discipline as the only means of holding India together and preventing chaos when Indians are free and are thrown entirely on their own resources." Mr. Jinnah's answer is plain and emphatic. "We will not submit," he says.

Such in very simple outline is the Indian background to the constitutional position. Anybody who considers it will understand why the British Government was compelled to say "No" at the commencement of the war to the Congress demand that Indians in a constituent assembly should

frame their own constitution to be endorsed without question by the British Parliament. That was to take the honest course, to say, in the words of Lord Zetland, that the British connection with India has left us with obligations impossible for us to shed—obligations to the Princes, to the minorities, in particular to the depressed classes, who for centuries have been held down and denied the most elementary rights of men by their Hindu fellows.

No constituent assembly has ever evolved a constitution that has stood the test of practical working. In nearly every case such constitutions have been drowned in blood and followed by dictatorship. In India such an assembly could not be gathered together. The Princes would never submit the form of their rule to the votes of such a body. The Muhammadans have said with emphasis that if the form of the constitution is to be decided by votes in a gathering in which they would be outnumbered on every division then they will have nothing to do with the business. They would rather create their own kingdoms in Northern India.

Even to talk of a constituent assembly is absurd enough when every effort of the Viceroy has failed to bring about preliminary discussions between the communal leaders. Not only is there an absence of the first point of agreement; every approach to discussion serves only to intensify the bitterness of the differences.

In the correspondence already quoted Pandit Nehru writes to Mr. Jinnah, "Now the gulf appears wider than ever. Under these circumstances I wonder what purpose can be served by our discussing with each other the problem confronting us. There must be some common ground for discussions to yield fruit." That admission gives the lie to the repeated assertion that Hindu-Muslim political differences are a figment of the imagination of the Indian Government, and would disappear if India were left to its own devices.

The stumbling-block to the acceptance of the Viceroy's offer of an immediate part in the Central Government and to the return of the Congress Ministries to the power that they have abandoned is the word "independence." It has become a shibboleth of political discussion. If by independence is meant that India should walk out of the British Empire, that the British Army should retire, that the protection of the British Navy should be withdrawn, and that the small British elements in the Services should go, then its true and inescapable meaning is that India should die a slow death, in which the elements that are now only quarrelling in words would resort to arms against each other. If independence means no more than that India should shape her own government within the British Commonwealth of Nations, then that is what every Englishman desires.

I am asked what is my own specific for the present situation. I have none that is not fully shared by the Viceroy, by the Central Indian Government and by the British Parliament. It is that Indians should resume the work of rule that they have wantonly laid aside, that they should take the proffered opportunity of sharing in the work of the Central Government, and that they should utilize the interval provided by the war for discussions, not at long range and in public, but in private conferences, for settling the differences between themselves and coming to some agreed conclusion about the wants of India as a whole. In that work they can be assured of all reasonable co-operation from the British. Aid has been proffered again and again without result.

In the meantime the Act of 1935 holds the field. It gives to Indians the largest measure of control over rule in the provinces, which deals with 90 per cent. of the things that affect the day-to-day life of the people. It provides the machinery for a Federation of all India whenever India is ready. It prepares the way for Dominion Status when India adopts the

prerequisites of that status which have been accepted without question by the other Dominions. The speed of advance and the time at which full self-government will be reached are alike in the hands of India. They can only be lessened and delayed by the efforts at this time to sand the machine.

A main purpose of this conference is to ask and answer the question whether the Indian demand for self-determination is a challenge to our war aims. I suggest that self-determination for the weaker nations has lost something of its savour with the fate of Albania, Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland. It has proved a snare for those unable to defend themselves. Self-determination in the true sense of the words is given to the great Dominions of the British Empire. Any or all of them may, if they so will, contract themselves out of the Empire under the terms of the Statute of Westminster. That they do not do so, that on the contrary they freely and willingly devote the whole of their resources to what they believe to be the cause of freedom, is the surest evidence that they feel no irksome tie.

India is offered the same status when she has prepared herself for its acceptance. She may go from the British Commonwealth of Nations if her people so will. There is not the smallest danger that she will make that choice. Bereft of the sure shield of all the forces of the British Empire, charged with her own defence by sea and land, she would again fall a prey either to internal struggles or to the ambitious Powers that wait upon any evidence of the weakening of British power. Whether the virile races of the north, calling the Muhammadan peoples on their borders to their aid, again asserted dominion over the whole of India; whether Russia saw in India, as in Finland, a promising field for the spread of Communist doctrine; or whether Japan, whose publicists have for years marked out India as destined to become a Japanese sphere of influence, would seek another victim of Imperial expansion would matter little. The substantial result would be the same. India would pass out of the category of the nations that can determine their own fate. For her there is the alternate possibility of arranging by agreement among her own peoples the forms under which she will be governed. If Great Britain wins the war the pledge to India stands embodied in the Act of 1935. Should she fail to win, then the fate of India, as of all else in the Empire, will rest in other hands.

THE SOLDIERS OF INDIA ON DUTY

BY FIELD-MARSHAL LORD BIRDWOOD, G.C.B., G.C.S.I.,
G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., C.I.E., D.S.O.

IN attempting to say something about the part now being played by the Army in India in this latest war, I know that I shall find many who from personal knowledge can underline my sentiments and endorse my appreciation. Australian contacts with India are close. Has not the "waler" been the medium of introduction of Australian horse lovers to the officers and men of the cavalry in India? Australian officers have long been seconded for service with the Indian Army. Above all, my old comrades of Anzac have no need to be told of the valour of the Indian soldier. The never-to-be-forgotten heroism of the men of the Indian Mountain Batteries, the Gurkhas and the 14th Sikhs is honoured by all who fought alongside of them on the Gallipoli peninsula. Today the Indian Army is profoundly gratified by the knowledge that, in this war, the gallant foe of those Gallipoli days is our staunch friend.

When I read of the Russian invasion of Finland and could see how strongly the Imperial ambitions of the Czars were rising in the breast of Stalin, my mind was thrown back to the years just before I entered the Indian Army, nearly fifty-five years ago, when Russia's advance to within measurable distance of the Indian border created disquietude in England and disturbed the sleep of Foreign Secretaries in Simla for several decades.

The Army in India, which embraces the British units serving in that country and the Indian Army, with strengths respectively of about 50,000 and 150,000 in peacetime, has for its main function the defence of India against outside aggression. Misunderstanding on this point leads me to the map. Of the four Army Commands in India, only one—the Southern Command at Poona—lies south of the Ganges. The other three—the Northern at Murree, the Western at Quetta, and the Eastern at Naini Tal—all have their headquarters to the north of that river. This obviously shows that the chief duty of the Army is to keep itself in readiness to repel attack on the North-West Frontier. If protection of India against internal trouble were primarily required, such an arrangement would be irrelevant.

The North-West Frontier is India's vulnerable spot. Her 3,000-mile coast line is protected by the Royal Navy, with the young Royal Indian Navy's special duties in Indian waters. Of her land frontiers of 3,000 miles the stretch from the Pamirs eastward and

south-eastward is mainly guarded by the gigantic snow curtains of the Himalayan Mountains. Directly to the east is Burma, now responsible for her own affairs. There remains the North-West Frontier, where the boundary between India and Afghanistan partly coinciding with the administrative border of British India and forming with that border, between the Zhob Valley and the Pamirs, a strip of independent tribal territory, gives continual cause for vigilance. Before the British came, the story of India was one of a succession of invasions by the Khyber Pass or its vicinity, on to the rich plains of the Punjab and beyond. Three times in her history has India's fate been determined in pitched battle near the little village of Panipat—sixty miles north of Delhi—and each time the invader won.

The British "shuttered up the north." Now, long experience of the Army in India in holding the rugged fastnesses of that difficult terrain has given India a sure shield against the aggressor. So successful has this watch and ward been, that I often think that India herself—peacefully working out her political salvation over the expanse of a vast sub-continent—does not realize its vital importance. Such vigilance is not lightly purchased. Even when the Empire is at peace British and Indian soldiers are on active service in the north-west, whether in the torrid fierce heat of the Frontier summer or in the bitter cold of its snow-capped hills in the winter.

In the problem of Frontier defence, prime preoccupation arises over the situation in that independent tribal territory—a "no man's land" where there are 500,000 fighting men, half of whom at least are armed with modern rifles. Bound together loosely by a common Pathan blood, these tribesmen are split up into clans, which owe no allegiance to any one accepted leader. Their problem is mainly economic. The country breeds faster than it can feed them. Fine warriors, they have their rough-and-ready codes of honour, but they lack nothing in resolution or ruthlessness. The maxim that to be a man one must have "begot a man and shot a man" is characteristic of their outlook.

In handling these unruly tribes the Government has a twofold policy. It establishes military posts linked up with roads in certain dominating points in the territory, and gives the tribesmen the opportunity of sharing in the policing of the country by a system of recruitment as road guardians with allowances. Order is thus maintained on lines which do not weigh too heavily upon tribal turbulence. By thus allowing the tribesmen to conduct their own affairs in their own way it is hoped to discourage them from adventures into administrative territory. The inevitable firebrand crops up, of course, for religion can quickly fan the flame of fanaticism, and then pacification has to be strengthened by puni-

TYPES OF THE INDIAN ARMY



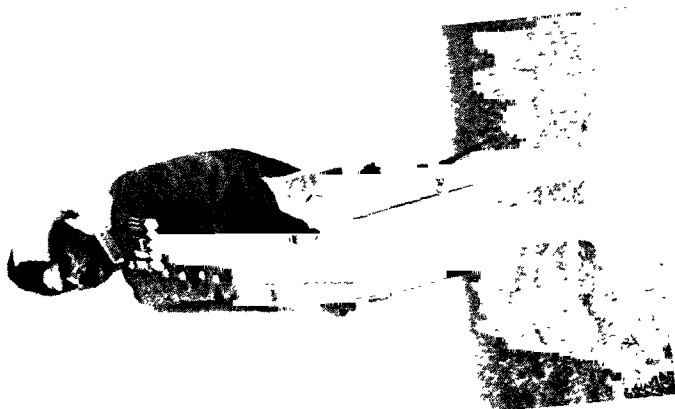
PUNJABI (CAVALRY).

TYPES OF THE INDIAN ARMY



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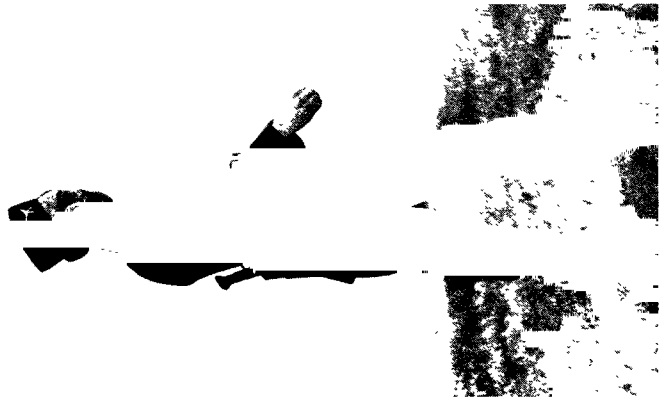
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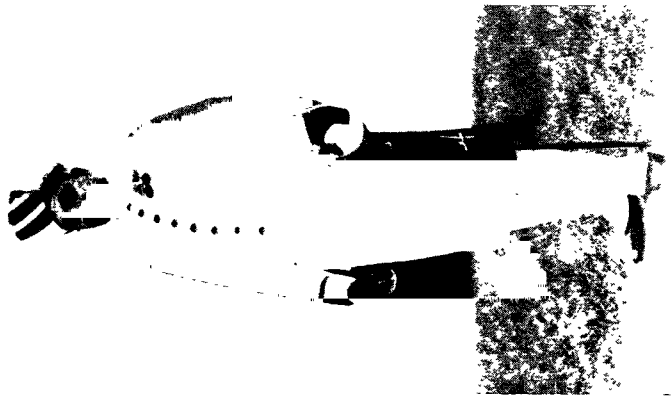
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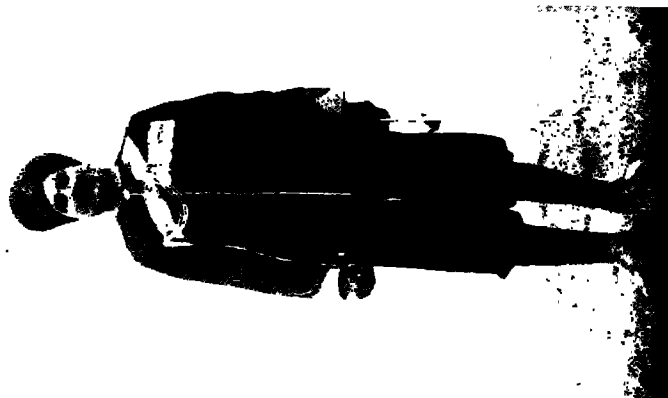
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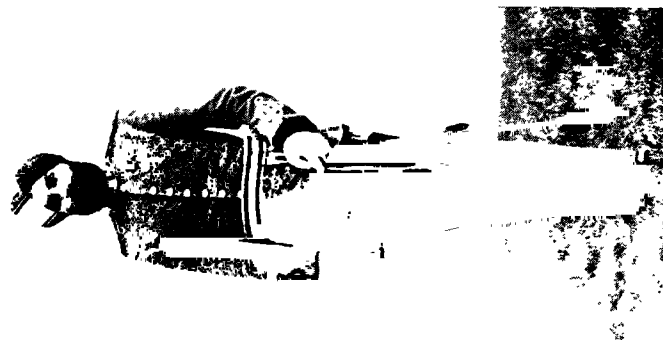
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TYPES OF THE INDIAN ARMY



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tive action. Yet the Government recognizes the need for devising economic relief over and above subventions to the guardians of law and order. So plans for improving irrigation facilities in this mountainous country are among the measures designed to bring real peace in no man's land. The ultimate goal is to make the administrative border coincide everywhere with the true Frontier, but so long as the tribesmen feel they must always carry rifles on their backs for immediate defence and accept the obligations of the blood feud this is impracticable. The forcible disarmament of them and advance to the Durand Line, as the Frontier is called, would be an operation unjustified financially as well as morally.

Meanwhile, especially when the Empire is at war, the watch on the Frontier must be a heavy responsibility for the Army in India. Today Afghanistan, independent and a member of the League of Nations, is a true friend of Great Britain, but beyond Afghanistan lies Soviet Russia, and Russian intrigue on the Frontier, and indeed in Afghanistan itself, is a plant of long and persistent growth. In the last war Germany made pertinacious attempts to shake the then Amir Habibullah of Afghanistan from his sage policy of friendship with India. Those attempts ignominiously failed. The story cannot be too faithfully remembered.

In this task of defending India, British and Indian officers and men have a wonderful comradeship. It strikes the keynote of service in the Indian Army, and I account myself fortunate in having enjoyed its privilege ever since as a subaltern from a British Cavalry Regiment, I entered the 11th Bengal Lancers, now the 5th King Edward's Own Probyn's Horse, well over 50 years ago. My family's close association with India for nearly 150 years is a matter of great pride to me, covering as it does service in the Army as well as in the Civil Service. In writing about the Army I do not discuss politics—a soldier has no politics—but I have never permitted my military life to cut me off from study of the Indian administration. My old colleagues in the Indian Legislature will, I think, bear me out in the assertion that I have been a whole-hearted champion of India's advance toward self-government within the Empire which the Indian Army has served so gallantly—997 decorations were won by that Army in the Great War—and which has greatly benefited the moral and material progress of India. The co-operation of British and Indians in the Civil Services has been as splendid as that in the Army itself and has made notable contributions to the consolidation of Indian policy, for the good of the many peoples of that country.

The Army side of Indian life is naturally most, indeed I may say very, familiar to me. In some ways the British officer in that Army sees India at her best. He enjoys the companionship in war, in sport, in the countryside of Indian comrades, who, by

tradition, temperament, and family ties are bound whole-heartedly to the service of the King-Emperor under the Commander-in-Chief. As Commander-in-Chief myself I knew how much that meant. Drawn from martial classes, mostly of peasant stock, the men of the Indian Army are of the finest type which India produces. For them the duty of defending the community with the sword is paramount. They are no mere swashbucklers. Underlying their martial spirit is the thrift and domesticity of the yeoman or peasant. When the Indian soldier goes on service, whether in wartime or on garrison duty overseas, the manner in which he remits substantial sums of money to his people at home is an object-lesson in conjugal or filial piety. It explains, too, the traditions which bring recruits to the Army to the third and fourth generation.

The relations between the officer of the Indian Army and his men are intimate and really healthy. In themselves they greatly strengthen the ties which bind the people to the Government. They create friendships which persist throughout a lifetime and even for many generations. Today I have the honour to be Colonel of the regiment which I first joined as a subaltern. My son is a serving officer of that regiment. So the tale proceeds. Somehow I feel that it will continue to proceed; for whatever changes occur, the virility, sense of fair play and chivalrous honour of the Indian soldier must play their full part in the development of India's nationhood. They are alert today when India hears the call to defend mankind against oppression and arrogant dominance.

THE FRENCH EMPIRE AND THE WAR

By J. L. GHEERBRANDT

(Director of the Institut Colonial Français)

THE building of the French Colonial Empire was for many years much more the result of individual initiative than of a united and well-defined desire of the nation. French "Colonial Policy" in its early stages often ignored those who were setting out to plant the flag in new territory, or only gave them meagre support. It sometimes came about that their deeds of prowess were admired abroad before they were recognized or rewarded by their own countrymen. French colonial conquests date mainly from after our defeat in 1870, and the Third Republic, therefore, had less than fifty years in which to acquire some of the most beautiful areas in the world, and from them to create a France twenty-two times greater than before.

After 1815 only a million square kilometres remained in our possession. If it was the Monarchy which in 1830 first gained a footing in Algeria, it was the Republic which, no sooner than it had freed the territory occupied in 1870-71, took Tunis under her protection, as well as Annam and Tonkin, then Laos and Cambodia. As early as 1887 it established the Union of Indo-China. Dahomey became French in 1893, Madagascar in 1894-98, West Africa in 1904. In 1910 Brazza gave us Equatorial Africa. Lyautey with Morocco, in 1912, completed our North African trinity. Lastly, the war of 1914 gave us the mandates of the Cameroons, Togoland, and Syria.

The conquest of these lands was succeeded by a policy of social and administrative organization which was to pave the way for our first efforts at economic development. As in the case of the conquests of the early period, the efforts made in this new field were once again the result of individual initiative. A comparatively small number of pioneers took part in them, and during this phase of "clearing," so to speak, private interests sometimes took first place before national interests. French capital was not invested on a large scale in overseas undertakings. France, however, put approximately 50 to 60 milliards of francs into her colonies—perhaps more, as it is difficult to arrive at an exact figure. We feel that we are not lessening the importance of this sum by comparing it with the total investments made by Great Britain in her overseas possessions, which may be estimated at some 3 or

4 hundred milliards, allowance being made for the difference in wealth, territorial strength, and the period of time.

Apart from the old colonies which have formed part of our Empire for over three hundred years—the West Indies, Guiana, and Réunion—and from Algeria, which has been French for 110 years, our present Colonial Empire really dates from the last fifty years, thirty in the case of Morocco, twenty for the Cameroons and Togoland. This explains, to a certain extent, the lack of any defined doctrine for the use of those who worked or wanted to work in the colonies. Our first Imperial Conference was held only a few years ago, and 1938 found us still in the midst of preparing that co-ordination of the effort of the Metropolis and the possessions overseas, that integration of home and colonial economy which, together with the political solidarity of nations, goes to make up what we call an “Empire.”

This very youth, however, is a source of undoubted dynamism. It explains the rapidly achieved progress, for example, in Morocco, for which the German author Sieburg, before the war, publicly expressed his sincere admiration; or the results obtained from our management of the African mandates, which won the favourable opinion of the League of Nations. Thus, in spite of its youth, our Colonial Empire already brings an important and ever-growing contribution to our national capital equipment and commercial balance. To this must be added the human potential of the population which is continuously developing, and which constitutes the most reliable factor of material prosperity.

In referring to the share that this young Empire was able twenty years ago to take in the war of 1914-1918, Marshal Lyautey declared: “Our colonial campaigns have tempered the steel of victory.” The phrase should not be taken in its strictly military sense; it refers to the total contribution of the Empire during the four years of the war, from the leaders whose experience had been derived from the colonial wars, and their Imperial troops of soldiers, sailors, and airmen, to the great volume of produce and monetary gifts which came to us from the four corners of the earth.

Let us gauge, with the aid of some figures, the scale of economic resources that our Empire brings to our war effort. Raw materials were sent to France by her overseas possessions in 1937-38 to the value of nearly 9 milliards and a half francs. Of the 46 milliards of francs' worth of goods which the Mother Country had to acquire in 1938 to meet the requirements of the nation, about 22 milliards and a half were supplied by the Empire. Three million tons of textiles, iron, and coal, and 900,000 tons of oil-producing products were supplied to our



MADAGASCAR.

TYPES OF FRENCH COLONIAL INFANTRY.

By courtesy of the *Monde Colonial Illustré*.



SENEGAL.

TYPES OF FRENCH COLONIAL INFANTRY.

By courtesy of the *Monde Colonial Illustré*.



SAHARA.

TYPES OF FRENCH COLONIAL INFANTRY.

By courtesy of the *Monde Colonial Illustré*.



INDOCHINA.

TYPES OF FRENCH COLONIAL INFANTRY.

By courtesy of the *Monde Colonial Illustré*.

industry. The present proportion of these products to our total imports is as follows:

	<i>Per Cent.</i>
Bananas, rum, and brandy	100
Vanilla	99
Pepper	98
Wine	97
Rice and phosphates	93
Sugar	89
Cocoa and cereals	84
Oils	70
Meat and tinned meats	68
Tartaric acid	62
Oil-producing seeds and fruits	54
Tea and coffee	20
Rubber	19

(As regards rubber, our total overseas production will exceed in 1939 the tonnage consumed by the Metropolis.)

The share of our Colonial Empire in our foreign trade amounts to nearly 2 milliard francs in exports abroad. It contributes 12 to 13 million tons of freight to our armaments in imports and exports, and the local tourist industry, salaries, pensions, interest, and liquidation of the compulsory loans recovered or distributed in the Metropolis bring in milliards to the credit of the franc.

It may be recalled here that, following on the recent friendly monetary agreement concluded between Great Britain and France, the franc is now an Imperial currency. The fate of the franc is linked with the future of the Empire to such an extent that the Indo-Chinese piastre, for example, has been called "the crutch of the franc." The financial contribution of our possessions overseas in 1914-1918, mentioned above, shows how deeply the inhabitants of the colonies were aware of this reality. Recently they gave their money beyond the demands put forward by our Minister for the Colonies, at the time of the issue of local loans instituted to meet the expenses of the material equipment and armament of our Colonial Empire. Thus, invited to subscribe 33 million piastres—330 million francs—Indo-China subscribed 44 millions in a few weeks—440 million francs.

This contribution by our overseas possessions will, during the present war, considerably exceed the records of the past, which are as yet far from corresponding to the potentialities of our colonies.

Money, food products and raw materials, certain manufactured articles also—for some of our overseas provinces are becoming

industrialized—will be placed by our colonial populations in ever-increasing quantities at the disposal of the Mother Country. They are not only confident in the stability of the currency and Imperial economy, but they also feel themselves a part of the nation of the "Rights of Man." They call themselves, in the words of the old Gaelic expression of the Highlanders of Scotland, "*les enfants du boudrier*." Proof of this is furnished by the innumerable volunteers who join up to serve with the Colours. We cannot even in the present emergency accept them all, for some must be kept for work in their own country, in tilling the soil and work underground. But these voluntary enlistments are the best reply to the lying charges brought against us and against Great Britain.

Montchrétien wrote: "*Il n'est de richesses que d'hommes*." France has realized this truth, and has left nothing undone which might increase the wealth which in this respect she owes to her Colonial Empire.

The population of our overseas possessions actually numbers 72,000,000; it will soon reach 80,000,000, thus raising the total population of France to 120,000,000. Seven million today live in Algeria, which only supported a million in 1830; the population of Tunis has doubled. Everywhere the numbers of births increase from year to year in such a way that the colonial contingents which came in 1914-1918 to fight at our side could be doubled tomorrow.

The value of these troops, which have grown up under our care, whether they be the soldiers trained in our discipline and our schools, or the officers to whom we have entrusted well-deserved commands, proves them every day more worthy of our respect and our affection. They are fully conscious of the greatness of the struggle which has to be faced by the Imperial front of France and Great Britain. There is nothing that they do not realize of what would be the fate reserved for them under German domination and the cruelty of German exploiters and oppressors. Their will to win and their willingness to sacrifice everything they possess in the common cause spring from the fact that they feel themselves today the champions of the freedom and peace of the world. Such men, with all the moral and material energy of such an Empire, allied to that of the British Empire, are destined, as Paul Reynaud has said, to give us the victory of the strongest as well as the triumph of Right.

THE EASTERN QUESTION

BY BURHAN BELGE

(Chief Counsellor, The Press Department, Ministry of the
Interior, Ankara)

THERE have been at least two causes of discord among nations: their desire to control the sources of the world's riches, and the continual raising of the question of colonies in the hope of discovering a new formula for their distribution. If these elements have tended to mar agreement between certain European States, then a factor which has intensified these disagreements, and at times provoked those States even to resort to arms, has been, for over a century and a half, the famous Eastern Question.

The Eastern Question has two characteristics. The first is that that part of the world referred to by the term "the Near East," or, better, "Near Asia," consists of countries rich enough to arouse the economic ambitions of certain European Powers, and weak enough to arouse their political ambitions.

The second characteristic is that the countries situated in the area termed Near East are situated on both the sea and land routes leading to Europe's "World of Colonies."

Both these characteristics were features of the old Ottoman Empire, which suffered on account of them.

The ideal of national independence, so much to the fore in the first half of the nineteenth century, paved the way for the conditions which led to the fall of the Ottoman Empire, as, indeed, they have done in every other mixed community. The leaders of Austria-Hungary and of Tsarist Russia saw the danger earlier than did the Ottoman rulers. At a time when the Eastern Question was just coming to the fore, Metternich, in particular, took the stage as the greatest and most bitter antagonist of a French Revolution which appeared to sow the seeds of nationalistic ideas, and devoted his life to stamping out the claims of nationalism.

But neither Metternich nor those who followed him were successful. The Ottoman Empire, crumbling bit by bit, finally disappeared after the Great War. Austria-Hungary, on the other hand, was fortunate enough to meet a quicker and less painful end.

The fate of the Ottoman Empire, however, did not in itself suffice to remove the geo-political peculiarities mentioned above. It is true that several independent States appeared in the Balkans,

and it is also true that Arabia witnessed the birth of Arab States of various forms. Turkey herself, deprived of her foreign minorities in Arabia as well as in Roumelia, became a national State inhabited by Turks alone. But Near Asia, the cradle of all these States, continued, as though nothing had happened and nothing were changed, to attract the economic and political ambition of the same European Powers, and to contain the same land and sea routes leading to the same World of Colonies.

It is evident, therefore, that while the fall of the Ottoman Empire helped the several national sections of which it was composed to attain the status of independent nations, it failed to put an end to the ambitions of the Great States which surrounded it, nor did it alter or efface the routes leading to the World of Colonies. This is why the eyes of such among these Great States as cannot secure other communications and achieve other non-European interests are continually attracted by the geography of Near Asia, which is so placed as to afford them a right of way. Their one desire is to travel along these routes and, in order to do so, to seize, one by one, the gates which bar the passage.

In order to accomplish this, pretexts must be found for treading underfoot independent nations situated on the southern bank of the Danube or on the shores of the Eastern Mediterranean, even as far as the Red Sea. Moreover, denial must first be made of the very principle of Nationalism, which was one of the most powerful forces of the nineteenth century. In the light of these facts, recent events in Central Europe and the pressure which has, for years past, been brought to bear on the Balkans clearly prove that those who are without apprehensions can be conspicuous only by their absence.

The whole Eastern Question originated in the failing power of the Ottoman Empire and continued until its demise, leaving no unchallenged heir to its political and economic heritage. The collapse of the Empire led to the formation of a well-defined area in Near Asia which its neighbours chose to consider ownerless, and political currents originating in Europe have sometimes taken the form of veritable torrents threatening to engulf this ownerless area.

The hub of Near Asia is Turkey, and it is surprising to note that neither the appearance of men of the calibre of Atatürk and İnönü, nor countless steps forward in the fields of culture during fifteen years of active progress and achievement, have sufficed to convince certain European statesmen that this area is no longer so "ownerless" as they believed it to be. Similarly, it was not so much the apparent reluctance of the Balkans to unite as the efforts of Great Powers to draw one or other of the Balkan States into their own orbit which delayed the birth of a Balkan Entente

and all that it stands for. It is on this account that the new Ankara Pact is especially important, and it is from this point of view that it should be examined.

Ever since the birth of an Eastern Question there has been need of a strong political combination in Near Asia. The real and obvious reason why European States have never succeeded in bringing about inter-continental understanding and unity has been the continued weakness of Near Asia, lying as it does across the road to colonial conquests. Just as negligence and failure to adopt proper precautionary measures encourage every sort of aggressive design, so a weak Near Asia and the roads which lead to conquest might be taken by force.

It is obvious that, should Near Asia become the nucleus of a strong political combination of nations, the dream of marching across this part of the globe in order to seek new worlds to conquer will fade away of itself. All European States, big or small, including those of Northern Europe and Scandinavia, will then accustom themselves to thinking in terms of inter-continental relationship.

In our opinion, the main cause of the disasters from which Europe has suffered during the past century lies in the state of affairs known as the Eastern Question—that is, the general economic and political weakness of Near Asia.

From this point of view a powerful Turkey is an essential condition of an harmonious Near Asiatic system. Because of the Straits and of Turkey's frontiers in the east, south-east, and south, Anatolia has been from time immemorial the corner-stone of the Near Asiatic problem. The signing of the Ankara Pact was merely the strengthening of this corner-stone and a first step towards the powerful Near Asiatic combination of tomorrow.

If a full understanding of the reasons which drew both the Balkans and the Saadabad States (Iraq, Iran, and Afghanistan) into association with Turkey, which lies between them, can be borne in upon the minds of the intelligentsia and the statesmen of the countries concerned, so as gradually to affect their actions appreciably, then the whole of Near Asia will become a contented and prosperous community, inhabited by nations on terms of friendship, trust, and collaboration with one another. The very existence in the world of such a community will bring peace and quiet to at least three continents, and will prove a sure obstacle to the recurrence of the disease from which Darius and Alexander suffered.

SOME ASPECTS OF CHINA'S RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION

BY DR. W. W. YEN

This authoritative record of Sino-Soviet relations by the late Chinese Ambassador to the U.S.S.R. is based on an address delivered by him recently to the Foreign Policy Association in Philadelphia.

CHINA and Russia, with a boundary coterminous for over four thousand miles, have had a colourful and eventful history in their dealings with one another. The two countries were first brought into contact by the Mongol conquest in the thirteenth century. Some of the effects of this Asiatic domination can still be seen today in the life and habits of the Russian people, as well as in the historical relics existent in Russia. The Mongolian conquest was short-lived. It was followed by the extension of Russia's influence and domination across northern Asia, from the Ural Mountains to the Pacific, in search of an ice-free port in the Far East. In this process the Russians came into conflict with our people, and on September 9, 1689, was concluded the Treaty of Nertchinsk, the first international engagement entered into by the Celestial Empire with a foreign Power, on the basis of equality and reciprocity.

After the defeat of China in the Sino-Japanese War of 1895, Russia increased her influence in northern Manchuria, and in 1896 in the Li-Lobanoff treaty she secured from China the right to build a railway (the Chinese Eastern Railway) across that province from west to east, as well as entering into a definite military alliance with China which was to operate in case of an aggression directed by Japan against Russian territory in eastern Asia, or against the territory of China or of Korea. This treaty, however, died almost as soon as it was born.

In the lease by Russia in 1898 of the Liaotung Peninsula, with the avowed objects of "still further strengthening the friendly relations between the two Empires and mutually wishing to ensure the means whereby to show reciprocal support," Russia was on the verge of realizing her dream of an Asiatic Empire with an unfrozen port on the Pacific coast. But the Russo-Japanese War of 1905 frustrated Russia's ambition in this direction, and by the Treaty of Portsmouth, which terminated the war, Russia was obliged to transfer the lease of Port Arthur and adjacent territory to Japan.

At that moment two courses seemed open to Russia in shaping her Far Eastern policy. She might align herself with China

against Japan, or she might ally with Japan for the division of Chinese spoils. Of the two alternatives she chose the latter, and from 1907 to 1916 Russia and Japan entered into four secret treaties, the earlier ones providing for the demarcation of their respective spheres of influence in China, and the last treaty, that of 1916, providing for a military alliance between Russia and Japan, to the effect that it was vital to the interests of the two Parties that China should not fall under the political domination of any third Power hostile to Russia or Japan, and that should this threaten, the two Parties would agree upon the measures to be taken to prevent such a situation from being brought about. Thus forgetting the war which ended in the Portsmouth Treaty, Russia and Japan, in view of their supposedly common interests, thought it feasible to set aside their old enmities and become fast friends, working hand in glove for their share in the division of China into spheres of influence. Destiny, however, frustrated their malevolent schemes, and the 1917 revolution in Russia tore the secret treaties to pieces and nullified a decade's work of unholy diplomacy.

With the advent of the Soviet régime, it would seem that a new chapter in the relations between China and Russia began. Contrary to all expectations, and breaking well-nigh half a century-old diplomacy, the Russian Soviets in their first and second declarations of 1919 and 1920 announced:

“The Government of Workers and Peasants declares null and void all the treaties concluded with China by the former Governments of Russia, renounces all seizure of Chinese territory and all Russian concessions in China, and restores to China without any compensation and forever, all that had been predatorily seized from her by the Tsar's Government and the Russian bourgeoisie.”

This opened the way for formal negotiations, which resulted in the conclusion, on May 31, 1924, of the Agreement of General Principles for the Settlement of the Questions between the Republic of China and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. This Agreement has been and remains the basis upon which the new and present relations between China and the Soviet Union rest.

Notwithstanding the agreement reached in 1924, disputes arose between China and Soviet Russia with regard to their respective rights and interests in the administration of the Chinese Eastern Railway. The matter came to a head in July, 1929, and diplomatic relations were severed. Failure to bring about a peaceful settlement brought the two countries to the brink of war. Hostilities on a comparatively limited scale took place in North Manchuria and continued for a time. Peace was restored on December 3, 1929, and an honourable settlement was reached in the signature of the Harbarovsk Protocol by which the management of the railway returned to the *status quo ante*, and the outstanding

questions were to be settled at the forthcoming Sino-Soviet Conference to be convened.

This Conference never met. Meanwhile, the Japanese invasion of Manchuria completely altered the character of the usefulness of the railway as a commercial enterprise, for which it was intended. With the extension of Japanese military activities to northern Manchuria, thus drawing Soviet interests directly into the orbit of war, disputes arose between the two regarding abuses of railway employees, forced use of the railway for military purposes, seizure of the rolling stock, etc.—disputes which threatened to lead Soviet Russia into an armed conflict with Japan. As a solution of this problem, the Soviet Government in May, 1933, proposed to Japan the sale of the railway. After some negotiations the deal was completed in March, 1935, and for a paltry sum of 170,000,000 yen the railway was sold to the Japanese puppets, the Manchurian authorities.

As the sale of the Chinese Eastern Railway affected China's interests in the line, the Chinese Government, when negotiations were in progress as well as after their conclusion, was constrained to protest in the most solemn terms that the sale was in complete contravention of the provisions of the agreement reached in 1924, and that, as it was contracted without China's consent, it would not be regarded by the Chinese Government as valid.

Aside from Manchuria, Outer Mongolia has had a long history of special relations with the Russians. These relations have been greatly accentuated by the incursion of Japanese military forces into North China. Economic considerations apart, Outer Mongolia holds an important strategic position in the event of hostilities between the Soviet Union and Japan. A glance at the map shows that if the Japanese had control of Urga, now Ulan-Bator, the capital of Outer Mongolia, they would have at their mercy the Lake Baikal region, the occupation of which would minimize the importance of the formidable Soviet military concentrations in the Maritime Provinces. It is very likely the intention to forestall a possible Japanese attack against this vulnerable point and upon this the foreign policy of the Soviet Union in respect of Outer Mongolia has been based. From the Russian standpoint, Outer Mongolia must, under present circumstances, be kept intact as a buffer State. Soviet Russia is determined, therefore, to render assistance to Outer Mongolia in the event of an attack upon its territory by Japan, hence the Soviet-Outer Mongolian Protocol of Mutual Assistance which was signed on March 12, 1936, at Ulan-Bator.

China naturally objected to the signing of this pact, inasmuch as Soviet Russia, in the agreement of 1924, recognized Outer Mongolia as an integral part of the Chinese Republic, and undertook

to respect the sovereignty of China over it. The Chinese Government protested against the conclusion of the Protocol accordingly, and averred that it would consider the act as illegal and could under no circumstances recognize such a Protocol, or be bound in any way by it.

The Soviet Government, on the other hand, maintained that neither the fact of the signing of the protocol, nor the individual articles in it, in the slightest degree violated the sovereignty of China, and that in signing the instrument the Soviet Union proceeded on the basis that the Soviet-Chinese agreement signed in Peking in 1924 had suffered no change and retained its force. Thus, juridically speaking, Outer Mongolia is still an integral part of China and recognized as such by the Soviet Government.

Another of China's frontier territories to be considered is Sinkiang. Owing to its proximity to Soviet territory, Sinkiang naturally gravitates towards Russia. Soviet geographical advantage is enhanced by the many facilities for motor access, and by the completion of the Turkestan-Siberian Railway in 1930, which has brought the Russians to within a few score miles of the western frontier of Sinkiang, as against some 1,600 miles to rail-head in China. However, with the Sino-Japanese War receding more and more into the interior, and with the development of better and improved means of communication, Sinkiang has been brought closer to the Chinese political centre of gravity. It serves as a link between Soviet Russia and China. Supplies of arms and ammunition from the Soviet Union have been transported on the highway from Sinkiang to Lanchow, capital of Kansu Province, and from thence to all points in the north and south-west of China. An airway extending from Urumtsi in Sinkiang to China and the Soviet Union has been in operation. It is also said that parallel to the Sinkiang highway is a railway roadbed, awaiting only the placing of rails and sleepers to make it complete. Sinkiang is destined, therefore, to play a vital part in the relations between China and the Soviet Union.

The relations between China and the Soviet Union before the outbreak of the present hostilities with Japan might and could have been strengthened. There has been a certain amount of misunderstanding, suspicions and misgiving on the part of one toward the other. But the Japanese invasion of China has brought out the fact that the two countries have many interests in common, and that it is to their advantage that the menace of Japan should be curbed. Soviet-Chinese relations have definitely improved because of the war.

According to the press, shortly before the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937, M. Bogomoloff, the Soviet Ambassador in China, when he returned to his post from home leave on April 1,

1937, brought with him three proposals from Moscow to the effect that (1) China should take the initiative in proposing a Pacific Peace Conference; (2) China and Soviet Russia should enter into a non-aggression pact; and (3) China and Russia should sign a Mutual Assistance Pact.

The first proposal, it has been reported, was not regarded as practical by the Chinese Government, owing to the probable refusal of Japan to participate. With regard to the Non-Aggression Pact, the proposals which had been made in 1933, when I was Ambassador in Moscow, were re-studied and its conclusion was expedited, due to the outbreak of hostilities in North China. Negotiations for a pact of Mutual Assistance did not materialize in an agreement, if they were begun at all. In view of the tenseness of Sino-Japanese relations at the time, responsible Chinese political circles did not regard, perhaps, such a military understanding as expedient, in view of the desire on the part of China to maintain peaceful relations as long as possible with Japan. It is not beyond the bounds of possibility, however, to suppose that the Japanese must have got wind of the Soviet offer, and that hostilities were precipitated by them—not appreciating China's determination to maintain friendly relations.

Nevertheless, as has been indicated, a Treaty of Non-Aggression was concluded on August 21, 1937, between China and the Soviet Union, by which, among other things, the two parties undertook to refrain from any aggression against each other, either individually or jointly with one or more other Powers. It also provided that in the event of one of the contracting parties being subjected to aggression on the part of one or more third Powers, the other contracting party obligated itself not to render assistance of any kind, either directly or indirectly, to such third Power or Powers at any time during the conflict, and also to refrain from taking any action, or entering into any agreement, which might be used by the aggressor or aggressors to the disadvantage of the party subject to aggression.

Soviet Russia has rendered, perhaps more than any other Power, material aid to China, in the form of arms, ammunition and planes in the latter's resistance against Japanese aggression. At the same time, Soviet trade with Japan has fallen off considerably. Statistics show that in 1936 the Soviet Union was the source of 2.2 per cent. of Japan's imports essential for war purposes, largely pig iron, and in the years following no imports of war materials are recorded in the customs returns.

The latest manifestation of Soviet assistance to China is the new commercial agreement which was signed on June 25, 1939. Although its terms were not made public, it is generally supposed that it includes provision of Soviet credits to China to facilitate

expansion of Chinese purchases of war materials through credit or barter. Soviet Russia's assistance to China will continue, therefore, notwithstanding speculation to the contrary.

It is safe to say that so long as Japan pursues her aggressive military policies in eastern Asia, China and Russia will have a common interest in opposing them.

This leads me to the subject of Communism, which requires examination and elucidation, if anything like an adequate picture is to be drawn of the relations between China and the Soviet Union.

What in China is termed Communism exists on a comparatively small scale. That the growth of this Communism has been partly due to Russian influence is certain, but Chinese Communism, in its economic and social philosophy as well as in its political implications, is by no means the same as Soviet Communism.

The Russian Communistic influence in China can be traced back to the time of Dr. Sun Yat Sen, the founder of the movement which led to the Chinese Revolution of 1911. Dr. Sun was not a Marxist. Indeed, he strongly attacked the theories of Marx. He did not accept Marx's doctrines of historical materialism or his theory of class-war which furnished the foundation of his social philosophy. However, in the third of Dr. Sun's "Three Principles," which, he declared, stated the aims of revolutionary effort, there was presented a basis for a certain amount of co-operation between the Communists of Russia and Dr. Sun's own followers. Dr. Sun's three great principles, it will be remembered, relate to "Nationalism," that is, to the securing and maintaining of the sovereignty of China and the political unity of her people; to "Democracy," that is, the establishment of a Government which should be by the people; and, thirdly, to "General Welfare," or, as Dr. Sun termed it, to the people's livelihood. Under this third principle, Dr. Sun had in mind the same economic and cultural welfare of the people or proletariat which the Soviet Communists were also seeking to realize. In this common effort Dr. Sun welcomed the advice and aid of the Russian Communists.

However, both he and the Russian leaders with whom he came into contact recognized that it was not feasible or desirable that the Russian and Chinese Communists should proceed along the same lines and by identical methods. This was shown in a formal statement jointly made on January 20, 1923, by Dr. Sun and Mr. Joffe, the Soviet Representative in China. The most important paragraph of the statement reads:

"Dr. Sun Yat Sen holds that the Communist order, or even the Soviet system, cannot actually be introduced into China because there do not exist here the conditions for the successful establishment of either Communism or Sovietism. This view is entirely shared by Mr. Joffe, who is further of the

opinion that China's paramount and most pressing problem is to achieve national unification and attain full national independence; and regarding this great task, he has assured Dr. Sun Yat Sen that China has the warmest sympathy of the Russian people and can count on the support of Russia."

I have not the time to trace the interplay in China of the Russian and Chinese political and economic views, and, therefore, shall have to content myself with simply referring to the fact that, while for a time there was union and co-operation between the right and left wings of the Nationalist Party in China which had come into existence under the leadership of General Chiang Kai Shek, the left wing representing the more Radical and Communistic elements, friction later developed between the two wings which led to open conflict and finally to the expulsion of the so-called Communists from the Nationalist Party. Consequent upon this, a warfare developed between the Communists and the Nationalists, which was carried on for a number of years and on a very considerable scale, and finally resulted in the Communist forces consolidating themselves in the north-west and leaving the Nationalist forces in possession and control of all other parts of China.

In 1931 Japan began her military invasion of China, first in Manchuria then in North China south of the Great Wall, then at Shanghai, and finally south of the Yellow and Yangtse rivers. This invasion aroused the intense indignation of the Communists as much as it did that of the Nationalists under General Chiang Kai Shek, with the result that since the end of 1937 the Nationalists and Communists have united their efforts to expel the Japanese forces from their common country. To make this union possible, the Chinese Communists have agreed to abandon certain of their more extreme practices and policies, and in return have been received into the Nationalist Party, and their troops incorporated integrally into the armies of the National Government of China.

As may be gathered from what I have already said, though terming themselves Communists, the Chinese Communists by no means have accepted all the ideological doctrines and practices of the Russian Communists. In fact, they constitute what, in America, would be termed a radical social reform party or agrarian reform party. The Lytton Report, speaking of the programme of the Chinese Communists, says that it consists "in the cancellation of debts, the distribution among the landless proletarians and small farmers of lands forcibly seized, either from large private owners or from religious institutions and churches. Taxation is simplified; the peasants have to contribute a certain part of the produce of their lands. With a view to the improvement of agriculture, steps are taken to develop irrigation, rural

credit systems and co-operatives. Public schools, hospitals and dispensaries may also be established."

When, in 1937, these Communists reunited with the Nationalists of China under the leadership of General Chiang Kai Shek, they pledged themselves to abandon the practice of expropriating lands, to abolish certain types of Soviet organization which had vested the political power in the poorest classes, and to establish a "capitalist-democratic" Government, with equal opportunities open to all classes of the people.

Lastly, a few words in respect to recent reports, the sources of which are obvious, of serious dissensions existent between the Kuomintang (the Chinese Nationalist Party) and the Chinese Communist Party. That these are malicious fabrications aimed at disrupting China's united front and undermining the relations between China and the friendly nations, has now been proved by a statement made public by the Chinese Communist Party, itself, to that effect. The united front will remain as long as the war. Of this there is no doubt. What will be the final amalgam of the Chinese Nationalist and Communist ideologies after the war cannot now be predicted. But one thing is sure—namely, that after the termination of hostilities, public opinion in China will be so strong against recrudescence of internal strife that some working arrangement will be reached between the ruling Kuomintang and the minor parties.

NEW ROUTES INTO OLD CHINA

BY W. A. FARMER

(An Australian war correspondent who travelled some 14,000 miles in China, covering the Sino-Japanese War onwards from the first shot in Shanghai to last autumn)

IN Bombay recently I met a couple of friends savouring the spices of life east of Suez at that tremendous rate peculiar to people born in Australia and other young countries. They fired questions at me like bullets, and in a Morse code manner of speech told me they had hoped to do China and India in a month, making up for time lost in the cities by using the skyways of travel which now link all big cities in the East. They told me their only sorrow was that they had seen no more of China than Hong-Kong because of the Sino-Japanese War.

Before I regained my breath they were on their way. I tried to shout to them that China was still an open book for tourists and business people, but they were moving like greyhounds through the crowded street, their minds on the impending aerial dash to Calcutta.

I asked Bombay friends about China and received much the same answer. They thought that since the Japanese had blockaded the whole coastline it was now impossible to get into the country. They had forgotten that highly developed French Indo-China flanks the south-western boundaries of China, and were unaware of the immense development in those Chinese areas over the past three years.

Actually I was well able to disillusion them, because within the previous few months I had made one perfectly delightful trip out of China via French Indo-China and a not so pleasant return journey into China by running the Japanese blockade into one of the little ports near Shanghai and then sneaking through the guerilla lines. But the second trip is not recommended unless the traveller has the same zest for excitement as the late Richard Haliburton.

There are still four perfectly simple ways of journeying to the huge and vivid area of Western China, where the flag of the Chinese Republic flies unruffled save for the draught from an occasional bomb. Nearest to England is, of course, the famous "Road above the Clouds," as the Chinese are wont to call the Burma highway. It is not, by-the-by, generally known how thoroughly international is that famous road. From Kunming

(or Yunnanfu), the main roadhead in South-Western China, it continues its mountainous way 750 miles to Chungking, China's war-time capital; runs through the marvellously fertile Szechuan plains for another 400 miles to Chengtu, dubbed the Peiping of West China because of its antiquity and beauty; and then wanders off almost 3,000 miles to Russia via Lanchow, the old Mongol capital, and that amazing place Chinese Turkestan (Sinkiang), which is more frequently known as China's ethnological museum. If ever universal peace returns to this world, it will be possible for a London motorist to drive clean around Europe and Asia, thanks to the building of the Road above the Clouds and the Route Rouge to Russia. What an adventure!

For the motoring enthusiast who would like to see the immortal Angkor ruins and get in some big-game hunting, the ideal route to China is by boat to Saigon and then the 2,500-kilometre Route Mandarin up to French Indo-China. The way into China for the man in an awful hurry is by aeroplane. I wonder if it is generally known that far-away Chungking, which is much closer to Thibet than to Shanghai, is still connected by direct air routes to America, Europe, and Australia. The air trip from Hong-Kong is a most vivid experience. A hotel boy wakes the traveller at 2 a.m. with early morning tea. An hour later a big Douglas plane operated by an American pilot lifts him from Kai Tek aerodrome in Kowloon, and shortly after 9 a.m. he is having breakfast in Chungking, which is nearly a thousand miles away. The early morning flight is due to the fact that the first part of the trip is made over territory now patrolled by an air force which once made the unfortunate error of shooting down a commercial plane in mistake for a rival bomber. Though passenger planes have now been removed from the aerial big-game list in the Far East, travellers have been known to jump nearly out of the cabin as their sleep-bemused eyes suddenly spotted a dead fly stuck on a window in almost perfect imitation of a distant pursuit plane. It is much more costly to get into China by aeroplane than to get out. For, owing to the collapse of the Chinese dollar, which has dropped from about 16.2 to the pound sterling to about 50, it costs about £20 or thereabouts to fly to Chungking, and only about £8 (Ch.N.C. 400) to return.

There still remains the most picturesque and pleasant route into China, via the French Indo-China Railway, or, to be correct, *Compagnie Française des Chemins de Fer de l'Indochine et du Yunnan*. This is the route for opening one's eyes to the remarkable colonizing abilities of the French. The southern railhead of the line is at Haiphong, the little port that became one of the busiest trading centres in the Far East when Canton was barred to international shipping in October, 1938. It is two and a half

days' voyage from Hong-Kong, and is a short and pleasant trip from Singapore. It is the main port of a French colonial possession considerably larger than its mother country. Its old, yellow buildings hold unquestionably the best bronze work in the Far East, and its pavement artists are beyond compare in the skilful fashioning of tortoise-shell. The streets are thronged with Annamese. The men are inordinately lazy and the young women are unquestionably lovely. They have the Paris pout and the real carriage of the Chinese dancing-girl combined with the gracious walk of the Indian. When they laugh their beauty vanishes. They chew the betel-nut; opened lips disclose mouths like black caverns. This, of course, does not apply to the better-class Annamites, who are most highly cultured and artistic. But let us not tarry in Haiphong, for the main interest lies ahead.

From Haiphong to Hanoi, the capital of French Indo-China, is two hours by train, one hour by high-powered car over that section of the colony's 12,000 miles of fine all-weather roads. Hanoi is the real gem of the Far East, the one place where the foreigner has reduced the tropics to an abode of coolness and comfort. Manila, Shanghai, and Hong-Kong crowd upwards from narrow streets; Hanoi has stretched her city outward and breathes freely. The streets could take six lanes of cars, and growing from the wide, grass-planted pavements great trees throw cool shade over gardens and roadway.

There is never an ungracious house in this city. They are big and square and coloured in soothing pastel shades of green, brown, yellow, blue, and red. Their shutters are as gay as their flower gardens. In such surroundings their owners could never feel exiles from home, as do so many inhabitants of other big Far Eastern cities. Women who know have told me that the shops in Hanoi are the best in the Far East, and the first evening that I sat at one of the little green tables in the Taverne Royale I believed them. The Taverne Royale is an institution. It is where the people of Hanoi take their *apéritif* as the sun begins to throw long shadows over the hot buildings. The tables of the café extend far out into the pavement, and people shout to their friends as they fly past in underslung cars imported from France.

Life here is the prelude to gay diners with the best wine served east of Suez. French officials, army officers, and business men wear only shorts, shirts, and stockings in the hot months. That is almost a regulation uniform. The Frenchwomen of Hanoi do not wear formal clothes by day. In bright-coloured shorts, shirts, and bare legs they come from the flying club or the swimming club for their *apéritif* at the Taverne Royale, and their concessions to the climate undoubtedly account for their good looks.

To the left of the café is a little mid-city lake, where the blood-

red petals of the Flame of the Forest tree drip into water that mirrors an encirclement of beautiful buildings. One of these fine edifices is the Banque d'Indochine, in whose main hall I once took the trouble to count 300 giant ceiling fans. There is no doubt about it, the French know how to be happy when far from home. Hanoi showed every evidence of tremendous prosperity and of tolerant but good administration over the 23,000,000 people who form the population of the five countries comprising the Indo-Chinese Union.

Hanoi is only twenty-three hours by rail from Kunming, capital of the huge Chinese province of Yunnan, which is now the main commercial, industrial, and transportation centre of China at war. As the Burma highway is the wonder of today, the Hanoi-Kunming narrow-gauge railway is the Far Eastern wonder of yesteryear. Coney Island's miniature railway is unexciting by comparison with this little line which brilliant French engineers laid across some of the wildest country on the face of the earth. The survey was made about 1898, and construction began with the turn of the century. The engineers had to conquer both nature and disease. Malaria was a fierce enemy. It is said that every metre of line cost a human life, but engineers who actually worked on this marvel of railway engineering have told me that the mortality was even higher during the ten years of construction.

In its 863 kil. (398 in French Indo-China and 465 in Yunnan) the railway winds through tropic jungles, hugs wild torrents, skirts vast precipices, skims over tiny bridges with a sheer drop of a thousand feet or more, passes 107 viaducts of not less than 65-foot span, plunges through 172 tunnels whose total length is over fifteen miles, and, after running alongside the Tang Tche Lake 6,600 feet above sea-level, it reaches Kunming.

This journey can be done in a day by the stream-lined Diesel-engined Michelin, or in two days of sighing over scenery in the ordinary train. The trains are excellently appointed, with fans and very good restaurant cars. Owing to the fear of landslides along this tortuous line, passenger trains do not run at night, and stop-overs are made in commodious rest-houses. This is a matter of keen appreciation by all travellers, as it provides an opportunity to see far more of the native life and industries than would be possible in the ordinary manner of train travel. The French railway authorities actually own the rail-bed and one metre on either side of the track in Chinese territory. They have concession areas as well at all stations, and in those compounds they have performed wonders. I doubt if any other railway concern in a tropic zone looks after its staff so well. Staff quarters are invariably well-constructed, gaily coloured buildings, whose surroundings are bright with gardens and flowering trees. In each

there is a well-appointed club and tennis courts. There are hospitals and schools for the children of the foreign and native staffs. Nowhere else in the Far East did I see such precision and efficiency in the administration of a great undertaking. When West China reaches full development this line will be a gold-mine, and that will be a very just reward for the far-seeing company.

Kunming, the northern railhead, is old China at its unspoilt best. Whereas buildings in all other parts of China have been painted black to minimize danger from night air raids, those in Kunming are still yellow and mellow. The climate of the Yunnan plateau is wellnigh perfect, varying only from about 55 degrees to 85 degrees. Its beauty spots are the city itself, scores of wonderful pagodas, and a huge lake, beyond which temples have been cut into a rock wall towering 3,000 feet from the water. French influence is very strong in this old Chinese city ornamented with giant eucalyptus trees that have outstripped their brothers in Australia's forests. When I was in Kunming late last year a very sad decision had just been reached by the city fathers. Once the Chinese bought all their railway sleepers from Australia. The war has interrupted that traffic, but sleepers are urgently wanted for the new railway gradually creeping from Kunming towards the Burma border. Australia will still provide the sleepers, but it will be a sort of godfather's gift, for all the lovely eucalypts that now flank Kunming's waterways, lakes, and highways are to be felled.

Kunming is the great holiday centre of South-West China and attracts many tourists from Hanoi. It is filled with first-class hotels run by Frenchmen, whose culinary art makes them a paradise for foreigners returning from long spells in the interior. Now most of the hotels are filled with men from the four corners of the earth, who have been attracted by the business boom created since the Chinese Government established its headquarters in West China. With the slump in Chinese national currency, these people, who are being paid from overseas, are almost dollar millionaires. Kunming, practically an unknown city three years ago, has now become a centre of cultural activity as the home of three great universities forced to move westward by the war. One of the city's most interesting features is a huge motor school, where 3,000 young Chinese are being taught to handle the trucks now being brought into China in great quantities from overseas. Kunming may very well be the heart of the new China now in the making.

MALACOLOGY: SCIENCE OF MOLLUSKS AND ITS RELATION TO HUMAN WELFARE

BY TENG-CHIEN YEN

"Each shell, each crawling insect, holds a rank
Important in the plan of Him who fram'd
This scale of being; holds a rank, which lost
Would break the chain, and leave behind a gap
Which Nature's self would rue."

THE SPECIES OF MOLLUSKS

ONE of the most interesting objects with which every student of Nature is brought face to face is the unceasing search for a system—a way of living—for the most primitive organism or unicellular *Amœba proteus* as well as for the highest advanced human being. It is true that Nature is full of conflicts; we like to think of her beauties, to admire her outward appearance of peacefulness, and yet under her seeming calm there is going on everywhere, in every pool, in every meadow, and in every forest, murder, pillage, starvation, and suffering. But, nevertheless, it is also true that for millions of millions of years, under such conditions of conflict, various types of organic beings have remained in existence, and it is no less interesting to notice that such survivals are not necessarily the strongest nor the most gigantic!

For years naturalists have been trying to wrest these secrets from Nature, and to find in what way these types of survival exist. Botanists as well as zoologists are engaged in the work in their respective spheres, entomologists as well as ichthyologists, are entitled to this privilege in their own branch, with but one end in common. Malacologists—*i.e.*, those who devote themselves to the study of mollusks—likewise take their part in this co-operative scheme; they are but specializing in the group that also "holds a rank important in the plan."

Let us first direct our attention to defining what is a mollusk. The usual confusion of this kind of animal with other shell-bearing organisms needs here to be clearly defined. In fact, not all mollusks, at least externally, bear shells, and some animals other than mollusks, for instance Foraminifera, also possess shell parts, however different its morphological significance might be. The mollusks, so familiarly exemplified by slugs and snails, oysters and cuttlefish, form a well-marked phylum in the animal kingdom, the study of which, named malacology, is now recognized as an important branch of zoological science.

According to morphological categories, the phylum of mollusks is classified into the following five main groups or classes: The *Amphineura*, which includes chitons and its relative forms, is a primitive group of the existing mollusks, most of them possessing an oval, creeping body with a joint armour of a few transversal plates. They have a certain serial repetition of body-parts and breathe by means of a double row of plume-like gills.

The *Pelucypoda*, which includes oysters, mussels, clams, and other bivalves, is so named because the foot or anterior muscular projection of the body often has the shape of a hatchet. They are variously classed as Lamellibranchiata because of their leaf-like gills or breathing organs. The shell always consists of two parts, mostly equal in size and convexity, but in a few inequality prevails.

The *Scaphopoda*, which includes only tusk-shells, comprises comparatively fewer species. The animal is symmetrical with a rudimentary head, and a long cylindrical foot used for burrowing in the mud. The shell resembles an elephant tusk in shape, open at both ends.

The *Gastropoda*, which includes snails, slugs, limpets, and all other forms that crawl in a similar manner, is the most important group in the number of species, distribution, and the extent of diversification. The animal consists of a head furnished with one or two pairs of contractile sense organs, and a pair of eyes situated on these tentacles. The ventral foot forms a creeping disc, and surmounting it the visceral organs within the covering mantle are borne as a twisted hump, generally covered by a shell formed in a single piece. This shell is attached to the body by a powerful muscle. But not in all gastropods is the shell part prominent and external; in some forms it has become reduced, and in others has disappeared entirely.

The *Cephalopoda*, which includes cuttlefish, octopus, nautilus, and numerous fossil forms known as ammonites. The animal has a more or less distinct head, on either side of which there is a large, well-developed eye, around which the feet, or more properly the arms, are so attached as to form a circle round the mouth. The shell is well developed in the nautilus, but shows progressive degeneration in most of the cuttlefish, where it becomes internal, and is practically absent in the octopus.

THEIR GEOLOGICAL IMPORTANCE

Since mollusks are known as one of the oldest groups, representatives being abundant among the fossils of the lower Cambrian epoch, laid down more than 600,000,000 years ago, the shell remains may thus claim an important part in geological records.

It is, of course, the hard part of the animal that is suitable for preservation, and it here furnishes decisive evidence that mollusk shells are the most advantageous for the study of palæontology. In general, the shell of mollusks is composed of calcareous salts, either carbonate of lime or mixed carbonate and phosphate of lime, penetrated and bound together by an organic network of *conchiolin*. When it exhibits a crystalline formation the carbonate of lime may take the form of calcite or aragonite. The calcite crystals are rhombohedral, optically uniaxial, and cleave easily; while the aragonite cleave badly, belong to the rhombic system, and are harder and denser, and optically biaxial. The structure of the shell usually consists of three layers: (1) the periostracum or the outer layer, which is a horny integument without lime; (2) the middle prismatic or porcellaneous layer, which consists of slender prisms, perpendicular to the surface and closely crowded together; and (3) the nacreous or inner layer, which has a finely lamellate structure parallel to the shell surface.

The first process of alternation in shell fossilization is the removal by decay of the horny periostracum covering the shell and of the conchiolin which penetrates the calcareous mass. As a result the shell is rendered porous, and this can be proved by applying it to the tongue, when it will be found to be adhesive. Frequently shells composed of aragonite are entirely destroyed, while in those in which both calcite and aragonite occur the latter becomes dissolved and the calcite remains unimpaired. Water carrying salts in solution enters the pores and there deposits its mineral matter until they are filled. If the matter in solution is carbonate of lime, this process of infiltration will result in the complete calcification of the shell, whereby the finest structural details of the shell become fully preserved. If the infiltrating substance is silica, the process of fossilization does not stop with the filling of the pores, but, owing to the marked insolubility of silica, the latter becomes the dominating substance and gradually replaces the more soluble lime.

These fossilized mollusks, being found in various geological horizons, are sometimes the typical representatives of that particular formation, so that geological strata may be identified by fossils, and this has been found by geologists to be one of the most useful methods, and likewise a good indication of the presence of mineral sources contained in the strata. Geology was at first a science of minerals and rocks, and it was not until the significance of fossils as determinants of age was first worked out in England by William Smith at the end of the seventeenth century, that the stratigraphy and geological chronology began. However, these remains indicate not only the kinds of animals which lived, but a great deal about the nature of their home surroundings as well.

For example, the remains of marine mollusks, such as ammonites, now found naturally entombed in strata anywhere on the present land indicate that where the relics now occur the sea existed at the time when the organisms were living. Moreover, an abundance of *Bulimus* (= *Bithynia*) may indicate that where formerly a freshwater body existed, possibly many aquatic plants were also growing. It is true that from the composition and structure of the stratified rocks themselves we may learn about the geographical conditions in which they are formed, and of the subsequent geographical changes of the region in which they occur. But fossils supplement this information regarding the depth of water in which the rocks lay, whether fresh or salt, deep or shallow, near or far from land, in an open sea or a closed basin, and whether such a closed basin had occasional or constant communication with the ocean. It is in this way that our knowledge is progressively advanced by studying the fossil remains. Mollusk shells thus play an important and prominent part in the intellectual field.

THEIR IMPORTANCE IN PARASITOLOGY

On the other hand, the soft parts of mollusk animals also claim our attention in the field of parasitology, and its study has acquired considerable importance from the medical and veterinary point of view through the discovery that certain freshwater snails act as intermediate hosts of parasites.

First of all let me cite an example from the life-history of a liver fluke, for which *Fasciola hepatica* may be taken as a classic illustration. In this case the adult parasite lives in the bile passages and liver tissue of sheep, goats, and other ruminants; its eggs leave the uterus before the beginning of embryonic development and pass to the outer world by way of the bile ducts and intestines. After a period of embryonal development which only occurs providing the eggs have reached water and under suitable conditions of temperature, the larva escapes by the lifting of the operculum of the shell. It is then in the stage of *miracidium*. During its free swimming period *it must meet with a suitable host within a few hours or it will perish*. This host is an aquatic snail, *Lymnaea truncatula* (Mueller), which commonly occurs in Europe and also in southern Asia. If it arrives at a suitable location within the snail, usually the pulmonary chamber, the larva loses its cilia and digestive tube and transforms into sporocyst. The cyst now becomes filled with the germ-cells which are disposed in masses and reach the stage of *rediae*. When they have attained a certain stage of development the *rediae* become actively motile, finally rupturing the maternal cyst and passing to another organ of the snail, usually the liver. Within the body of *rediae*

are germ-cells formed into six to ten cellular masses which are in turn transformed into so many daughter rediæ, or directly into fifteen to twenty *cercariæ*. The *cercariæ* leave the body of the snail and swim about in the water, eventually finding their way to an aquatic plant or grass stalk. Here the *cercariæ* encyst themselves with some mucoid substance and attach themselves on the grass. When the plants bearing these cysts are eaten by grazing animals, the cysts, upon reaching the stomach, are dissolved, setting free the parasites which, passing into the intestine, enter the bile ducts and there become mature.

However, much the most important species of liver flukes from the standpoint of human disease is *Clonorchis sinensis*, which is widely distributed in the Far East from Korea, Japan, through China to Indo-China. It is also a common parasite in cats, dogs, pigs, and various wild carnivores as well as man. This parasite migrates through three hosts: the *adult* is found in vertebrates; the encysted *cercariæ* occur in freshwater fish; while the host in which the *miracidia* develop into *cercariæ* is a freshwater snail, usually *Parafossarulus striatulus*. This snail is very common in a great part of Asia, hence human infections are also very common in many local areas in Japan, South China and Indo-China where the people are very fond of fish eaten raw or insufficiently cooked. The parasites are thus introduced into the stomach together with the fish-meat, and they find their way into the bile duct, migrate to the biliary passages of the liver, and there grow to maturity.

The lung fluke, *Paragonimus westermanni*, which also affects freshwater snails as intermediate hosts, causes a serious disease in man and animal in many parts of the Far East, including Korea, Japan, Formosa, Indo-China, Siam, Philippines, Malayan States, and parts of India. But there is no authentic record of its occurrence in China. The adult worms live normally in the lungs of a vertebrate host, and they rupture the eggs into the bronchial tubes. The eggs are excreted with sputum, and slowly develop miracidia within themselves when immersed in water. In the stage of miracidia they are found to take some species of semi-sulcospira as intermediate hosts, in which they transform into round or ellipsoidal sporocysts, and a first generation of rediæ are produced. The latter, on becoming free, produce a second generation of rediæ, and these in turn produce *cercariæ*. After escaping from the snail, the *cercariæ* attack some freshwater crabs or crayfish, penetrate into their gills or other soft parts, and encyst. Human infection is therefore limited to certain localities where these second intermediate hosts are eaten without being cooked.

Another parasite which man shares with domestic animals is a kind of intestinal fluke, *Fasciolopsis buski*, which affects millions of people, reducing their efficiency and is the cause of great loss

of life. It is widely distributed in the Far East, and cases also occur in some parts of India. Its life-cycle in some ways is similar to *Fasciola hepatica* mentioned above, and its intermediate hosts, in China, are found to be *Hippeutis schmackeri*, *Segmentina hemisphaerula*, and their relative forms, which occur quite commonly in the Yangtze valley as well as in the south part of the country. Human infection is traced mainly to the eating of the nuts of a water plant known as red caltrop, *Trapa natans*, or "Hung-ling," which is extensively cultivated in the ponds in the endemic areas, where the infected snails live, and the escaped cercariae frequently encyst on the plants and nuts.

The most important flukes parasitic in man are a species of *Schistosoma* or blood flukes, which produce a disease known as schistosomiasis. In the Far East the endemic worm is *S. japonicum*. In this parasite the two sexes are separate, the adult male carrying the adult female in a ventral groove. They live in the mesenteric veins of a vertebrate, feeding primarily on blood corpuscles. The eggs contain fully developed miracidia by the time they escape from the host through the body. Dilution of these discharges causes the eggs to split open within a few minutes and the miracidium emerges. The miracidia live for only a few hours, and therefore must find an intermediate host, which is also a freshwater snail, for example, *Oncomelania hupensis*, in China. After they have attacked a snail, they make their way into the liver of their intermediate host, where they transform into tubular sporocysts and produce, out of germ-cells in their body, a second generation of similar sporocysts instead of rediae. These sporocysts in turn produce fork-tailed cercariae. The latter burst the walls of the parent sporocyst and finally escape from the snail. The cercariae alternately swim and rest in the water for from two to three days, during which time they must reach a final host, otherwise they die. If successful, they burrow through the skin until they reach a blood-vessel, whence they are carried to their final destination in the mesenteric veins.

These examples are sufficient to illustrate the important connection of some freshwater mollusks with the control and prevention of the diseases that are caused by these parasites. It is clear that to understand the distribution of the parasites requires a knowledge of distribution of their intermediate hosts. However, such a knowledge of mollusks may also furnish useful information from the industrial or economic standpoint.

INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC USES

Of cephalopods, *Sepia* or cuttlefish, and *Loligo* or squids, are eaten quite extensively by inhabitants of various countries both in

the West and the East. In China they are preserved in the dry state, so that they can be transported further into the interior, where they are also prized as favourite dishes. A special kind of boat is taken for catching them and is used both by day and in the night-time. At night a fire is lighted on the deck, so that the glare may attract the "fish" to the surface. They are quite common along our south-eastern coast, but the method of catching them needs improvement, if this industry is to be further developed. The present production does not meet the demand, and considerable quantities are annually imported from neighbouring countries.

Of gastropods, some *Patella* or limpets are used for food in certain parts of Europe; for instance, at Naples the people make them into a soup, which is greatly relished. *Haliotis* or sea-ears are more commonly eaten in the East than in the West. The species that occurs in Chinese water is the *Haliotis gigantea discus*, and its distribution is practically confined to the northern coast, but the demand is at present met mainly from abroad. *Helix pomatia*, or vine snails, living on the land, are quite commonly eaten on the Continent in Europe, but in the Far East land form so far has not been taken for food. Other groups in this class of mollusks that are consumed as food include some *Rapana*, *Thais*, *Strombus*, *Trochus*, *Buccinum*, *Viviparus*, etc., but they are limited to some people who inhabit the coast lands and a few local areas.

Pelecypods occupy a large place in our food. *Ostrea*, *Pecten*, *Mytilus*, *Modiolus*, *Arca*, *Solen*, *Sinonovacula*, *Pholas*, *Mya*, *Tellina*, *Mactra*, *Tapes*, etc., are all considered to be commonly edible. A few of them are cultivated on a large scale as a commercial undertaking. In China the common edible forms are *Ostrea* or "Shih-hao" and "Hu-tzu-hao," *Modiolus* or "Tant-sai," *Sinonovacula* or "Sheng-tzu," *Pecten* or "Kanpei," and *Arca* or "Han-tzu," and they are to be found along our coast quite abundantly, although, here again, our methods of collecting and cultivating them need improvement to meet the demand for them.

Besides providing food, mollusks afford also many ornamental and other practical uses. The most important industry in this connection is the "pearl-oyster," although the forms that produce pearls or such silvery secretion are not necessarily all "oysters." The "mother-of-pearl" which is extensively employed for the manufacture of buttons, studs, knife-handles, fans, boxes, and every kind of inlaid work, is the internal nacreous laminæ of the shell. As a result of a disease in the animal, the valuable natural pearls are produced. When the shell is large, well formed, and with ample space for individual development, pearls scarcely occur at all, but when the shells are crowded together, and become

humped and distorted, and afford cover for all kinds of marine worms and parasitic creatures, then pearls are sure to be found. The marine forms, such as Pteria, Placenta, Pinna, Tridacna, and freshwater forms like Unio and Anodonta, all produce pearls, although the qualities vary a great deal in different species.

There are also numerous other incidental uses for mollusk shells. Thus in Southern Asia many houses in villages are provided with skylights and windows made of shells, usually the semi-transparent valves of *Placenta placenta*. In early history and among the uncivilized peoples of today in many parts of the world, shells are employed as a medium of exchange. Among the Chinese characters many signs indicating treasures or valuables are partly composed by "Pei," which means shells. Numerous such examples can be easily referred to in our dictionary. Clearly the mollusk shells played an important part in ancient civilization as well as in modern life.

Malacology is one of the largest branches of zoology; it comprises nearly 80,000 forms in the phylum, a number which is only inferior to the insects in the animal kingdom. It indeed "holds a rank," an important rank, in the study of natural history, and our knowledge in this vast field has to be advanced through continuous co-operation among our naturalists, and such co-operation in fact has laid a solid foundation on which the edifice of science has since many years been under construction.

Man often considers himself as possessing a larger volume of grey matter in his brain, and it is true that such superior intelligence has given him an insuperable advantage over the wild beasts which might otherwise prey upon him; his inventive genius defies the attacks of the climate and the elements; his eminent sagacity inspires him to make full use of all the sources of nature; his altruism protects the weak and defective individuals from quick elimination.

NOTES ON MINERAL RESEARCH IN NORTH BORNEO

By W. J. WORTH

THE State of North Borneo, with its charming landscapes, unsophisticated native peoples, and fascinating fauna and flora, may justly be accounted one of the most attractive corners of the Empire. Roughly the size of Scotland, it occupies less than a tenth part of the huge island of Borneo, of which it nevertheless possesses the only good harbours and the loftiest mountain—the majestic Kinabalu, 13,455 feet high. Governed by the British North Borneo Company, whose charter was granted in 1881, and enjoying the protection of Great Britain, this beautiful and favoured country has made steady progress, its trade turnover having grown from £75,600 in 1882 to £1,835,000 in 1938.

The early hopes that minerals would prove a source of wealth to the State have so far not been realized. Writing in 1878, Sir Alfred Dent, by whose enterprise North Borneo was won for the Empire, pointed out that the island of Borneo had “long been famous for its mineral wealth,” and that, “as the same mountain ranges which in the south of the island carry the metalliferous deposits extend to the northern part into the Company’s territory, there is sufficient reason to assume that the latter may prove equally rich in minerals as soon as it can be properly explored.” Sir Alfred’s opinion was shared by Mr. W. C. Cowie, the other towering personality to whose enterprise and foresight so much of North Borneo’s present-day prosperity is due. With an intimate first-hand knowledge of the country, Mr. Cowie never lost faith in its mineral possibilities; he was responsible for the formation in 1900 of the British Borneo Syndicate and later, in 1905, of its successor, the British Borneo Exploration Company, two companies whose activities resulted in the acquisition of a wealth of knowledge relative to the mineral deposits of the State. His death in 1910, before his work in this sphere had been by any means completed, was a severe setback, but he had accomplished sufficient to show that the investigation was well worth continuing. The Chartered Company, whom he served as managing director from 1897 to 1910, intended to follow up the research after the War, and with that object bought out the British Borneo Exploration Company in 1916, but circumstances have prevented them so far from carrying this design into execution. Private

prospectors are, however, encouraged by the Company to seek for minerals, and an Ordinance passed in 1927 regulates the terms and conditions upon which prospecting facilities and leases for working minerals (other than oil, coal, and precious stones) are obtainable from the local Government.

The notes which follow summarize the information which has accumulated in the course of years on the subject of minerals in various parts of the State. For reasons of space, the notes exclude geological data, but a list of the authorities which may be consulted in this connection is given at the end of the article.

Gold.—In the eighteenth century gold appears to have been a staple product of the Darvel Bay region, then known as Mangidora. Alexander Dalrymple asserted in 1769 that Mangidora yielded “plenty of fine gold” (which in 1785 he described as being “soft like wax”), “particularly at Talassam within Giong”; the location of this place is today unknown.

The Tampassuk district on the west coast was also mentioned by Dalrymple in connection with gold. He reported that the town of Tampassuk “consists of about 100 houses, though there are many people up the river, near to which, inland, there is a gold-mine”; also that about 500 Illanuns, the dreaded pirates from Mindanao, had “lately settled here.”

In 1812, J. Hunt compiled for Sir Stamford Raffles a detailed “Sketch of Borneo,” wherein he alluded to the existence at Tampassuk of “a very valuable gold-mine,” but added that “the working of the mines has been discontinued,” as Tampassuk had become “the principal pirate port on the coast.” Hunt further stated that a “very rich gold-mine” existed at “Maday in the province of Mangidora”; Madai, twenty-five miles south-west of Lahad Datu across Darvel Bay, is well-known for its limestone caves, where edible birds’ nests are collected.

A subsequent essay by Hunt bore the title “Particulars relating to Sulo,” and was written at some unspecified date subsequent to 1814, when he spent six months as British Agent in the Sulu Islands, of which North Borneo was then a dependency. In this later review Hunt referred to Mangidora as yielding “great quantities of the purest gold in lumps and dust of a very pliable texture like wax”; he also stated that in the Kinabatangan region edible birds’ nests were obtained and gold was “plentiful if searched after—at present the Idan (natives) procure no more than 10 catties (173 oz.) annually.” Parenthetically it may be remarked that in other parts of Borneo gold seems to be associated in some way with the limestone of the birds’-nest caves; thus in an old report dated 1831 on the exports of Coti in Dutch Borneo the author, J. Dalton, observed that the people of Coti “conceive that where gold is sought after, the birds invariably disappear;

therefore as birds' nests are a much more profitable article than gold-dust, the Sultan has prohibited the searching for it under severe penalties."

Despite the paralyzing effects of piracy and lawlessness, gold was still being produced in Mangidora province as late as 1849. In that year the *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indie* referred to Mangidora as yielding "an exceptionally large number of commodities," including "a large quantity of the finest gold, which is found in nuggets and dust and is very soft and malleable." In another issue, published in the same year, of the *Tijdschrift* it was asserted that "there are gold-mines in Unsang which were opened in previous years by Chinese colonists, who disappeared as a result of murders, robberies, etc., committed by the Sulus; the mines have not since been worked. Small quantities of gold which appeared to be on the surface of the ground were also found in other places and sold to Sulu dealers for small sums." Unsang was the former name of that part of North Borneo now known as the Dent Peninsula.

Since the establishment of British rule in North Borneo much effort and considerable sums of money have been expended in the quest for gold. The Chartered Company's officers soon discovered that alluvial gold occurs in the bed of the Segama River and some of its tributaries, notably the Bole. Further research disclosed that the metal also exists in many of the smaller rivers in the south-east of the territory—the Sapagaya, Tungku, Telokbukan, Tengahnipah, Tabanac, Timbadan, Diwata, Subahan, Tingkayu, Dagowoa, and Kalumpang Rivers; of this group the Subahan and its affluents seemed to offer the most promise. On the Subahan and Bole Rivers gold was profitably worked by Chinese for several years up to 1905, and in 1893 over 100 were occupied in the neighbourhood of these rivers. A nugget of 17 dwt. was washed in the Subahan; and from the Bole River Captain Beeston—an experienced miner from Queensland, who explored the river on two occasions in the eighties—brought back 7 oz. after the first visit and 11 oz. after the second, both quantities being the result of about seven days' work by ten men panning, the largest piece got being 18½ dwts.

The lower Segama has at one time or another been the scene of much activity, particularly the section between its confluences with the Kawag and Bilang tributaries; but the quantity of gold recovered has been relatively small. At one period a dredger was operated; unfortunately, the mistake appears to have been made of employing the "grab" or "clamp" type, which allowed all fine sand and gold to escape. A "bucket" dredger should have been used.

The upper Segama has been explored on two occasions only.

In 1887 Captain Beeston, accompanied by Robert Sefton (who subsequently opened up the Raub gold-mine in Pahang, F.M.S.) and two other experienced gold-miners from Australia, made an adventurous journey of 200 miles up the river to its head waters, where gold of a much less water-worn character than that occurring in the lower river was found in all the creeks as well as in the main stream. The explorers formed the unanimous opinion that a large gold-field existed in this region, Mr. Sefton declaring that "there has never been any country yet known where gold exists so generally as it does in the Segama without a payable gold-field being found." A year later S. B. Skertchly, an English geologist of some distinction, reached the head waters of the Segama by a shorter route, travelling up the Tingkayu River from Darvel Bay, and found gold "everywhere" in the *karangans* (beaches). His able report on this journey is one of the most valuable contributions to the literature of gold prospecting in North Borneo.

In 1905 J. C. Robertson found an area of weathered greenstone on Mount Tambayukong, twenty miles north-east of Kinabalu, which he described as being "in some respects similar to . . . Labuk blue ground" (see below under "Diamonds"); one of the samples sent home by him for analysis gave 17 dwts. 12 grains of gold per ton, and 2 dwts. 12 grains of silver.

A German geologist, Dr. R. R. Pilz, who was for four years engaged on geological research in North Borneo, examined the Darvel Bay area in 1911 for gold, but without obtaining any important result. In the Kinabalu region, however, he discovered that the arsenical pyrites which he located in small quantities on Mount Nungkok, five miles north-west of Kinabalu, contained gold. A concentrated sample of this ore which he sent to the Royal School of Mines at Clausthal for analysis yielded 22 dwts. per ton. The discovery is of interest because the Tampassuk River, in the vicinity of which the gold-mine referred to by Dalrymple and Hunt existed, flows at the base of Mount Nungkok. Gold-bearing arsenious pyrites similar in composition to the Nungkok ore is worked at Palaleh in the Celebes and at Bidi and Bau in Sarawak.

The theory was advanced by Skertchly in 1888 that gold was "disseminated in infinite small quantities through the rocks" of the Darvel Bay region, and was "soluble in water and precipitated in the presence of organic matter." Dr. Pilz came to the same conclusion, but he pointed out that "the geological constitution of the Darvel district is similar to that of the Kinabalu massif and its surroundings," and that, "as ore deposits have been found in the latter massif, it would be over-hasty to assume on the strength of the negative results which prospectors have obtained

as yet that the Darvel massif is, speaking from the commercial point of view, completely devoid of metalliferous zones."

Diamonds.—Alluvial diamonds have for centuries past been produced in the south and west (including Sarawak) of Borneo. According to Dalrymple, there was at one time a diamond-mine on the west coast of North Borneo near Mengkabong, "at a hill adjoining the sea," but no trace of its existence has been found since the British occupation in 1878. The Chartered Company's Handbook of 1886 referred to two diamonds having been found in the Kuamut River, a tributary of the Kinabatangan, one of which weighed a carat and a half; it also mentioned that "a stone, presumably a ruby, was said to have been found in the Sugut some years ago."

The region principally associated, however, with the search for diamonds is that of the Labuk River. In 1879 a native chief, Sheriff Shea, informed Mr. Pretymann, the British Resident, that a few diamonds had been found in this river. A few years later, in 1888, L. O. Jurgens—who had formerly been employed as a mining engineer in the Kimberley Diamond Fields—was surveying land along the Labuk River in the neighbourhood of the Bidu-Bidu Hills when he came across "real diamondiferous ground . . . identical with the Kimberley blue clay, with all the pieces of carbon and burnt garnet in it." Jurgens did not divulge his discovery until 1904, when he wrote to the Chartered Company giving details. A sample of the rock was obtained from North Borneo and examined in London; at the Chartered Company's meeting on December 13, 1904, the Chairman, Sir Charles Jessel, reported that it was "at once pronounced to be true blue ground." The assayers were unable to find a diamond in 4 tons of the rock subsequently sent home, but Sir Charles informed the shareholders at their next meeting that "it is quite possible to treat 4 tons of blue ground of even a payable mine and not find a diamond."

Colour was lent to the belief that diamonds exist in the neighbourhood of the Labuk River when J. Saxton discovered in 1904 zircons—with which diamonds are said to be generally associated—in a stream at Meliao, higher up the river, where another deposit of what appeared to be blue ground existed. No further discoveries have, however, been reported from this region, which is very thinly populated.

Silver and Lead.—Three finds of silver ore have at different times been reported from the south-west of the territory, in each case in association with galena (lead sulphide). In the latter part of 1884 a sample of ore was picked up by a native near Mempakul and yielded on assay 115 oz. of silver to the ton. Three years later a piece of grey mineral obtained in Province Dent was found to contain galena and silver; the proportion of silver per ton was,

according to A. H. Everett, a reliable investigator, "not less than 500 oz. to the ton of ore, this extraordinary richness being due to the presence of native silver in the vein-stone." In 1891, B. T. Knight, a mining engineer who was engaged in examining the oil-bearing strata in the Klias Peninsula, came across a mineral which he judged from its appearance to contain silver and lead. The discovery was made in the Mumpilak River; the formation up to the source of this river at Bukit Nouri was sandstone, and Mr. Knight was "at a loss to discover whence these water-worn samples had come."

Samples of galena from the Apas River brought in by natives to the District Officer at Tawau in 1905 were found to contain about 30 per cent. of lead, besides antimony, sulphur, and copper, but a European prospector who visited the locality shortly after could not find the mineral.

Mercury.—Cinnabar, the ore from which mercury is derived, occurs in several parts of the island of Borneo, including Sarawak. "It is noteworthy," writes Posewitz, "that [in Borneo] cinnabar and gold are associated nearly everywhere in the drifts."

Shortly after Mr. Pretymann took up his abode as Resident at Tampassuk in 1878 a native chief described to him a piece of quicksilver ore which had been found about a year previously in the bed of the Tampassuk River up in the hills.

In 1886 Hadji Bakar, an experienced Sarawak gold-washer, returned from the Segama River with samples of cinnabar which he had found while washing for gold "a short distance from the entrance to the small Bole River and near Pulo Ituk Batu." He reported that over a kati (21 oz.) a day could be washed at the spot where the cinnabar was discovered. Two of the samples were assayed in London, with highly satisfactory results, one yielding as much as 75 per cent. of mercury. A prominent local Chinese who had previously led an expedition to the Bole River recognized the samples as identical with stones which he had got in that river, but which he had thrown away, not realizing their value.

The Chartered Company's Handbook of 1886 mentioned that traces of quicksilver had been reported from the Kuamut River. In 1903 G. H. Hone received information from native sources that stone resembling cinnabar had been found near the hot-springs of the Mount Madai district. As cinnabar is in some countries deposited by hot-springs in volcanic areas, it may be mentioned that such springs exist not only at Madai, but also on the Apas River in the volcanic region adjacent to Cowie Harbour.

Chromium and Platinum.—In view of the importance which chromium has of late years assumed in industry, special interest attaches to North Borneo's chromite resources. The widespread

occurrence of serpentine with particles of chromite results in the formation of placers of this ore at many places. The existence of these "black-sands" has been known for many years, but interest in them seems to have ceased since 1911. Dr. Pilz, who examined them in 1909, found that the most promising deposits occur on the beach of the north-west part of Banguay Island; he estimated that at the time of his visit there were 9,000 tons of sand, which would yield on concentration 1,500 tons of ore and 6,400 tons of "middlings." Black-sand placers also exist on Balambangan Island, at Ganda Head on the western peninsula of Marudu Bay, and at Marasimsing River, Pingan Pingan, and Tanjong Batu on the eastern peninsula. A sample from Marasimsing assayed in London yielded 47.5 per cent. of chromic oxide; gold and silver were also present in small quantities.

Massive chromite was located by Dr. Pilz near Paranchangan on the upper Sugut River, where he found boulders of the mineral disseminated over a large area. The yield of chromic oxide given by an average sample was 53.60 per cent.

Platinum has been proved to be present in the black sand of Banguay Island, but only in traces—6 grains per cubic yard.

Manganese.—Early in the present century extensive deposits of manganese ore were located in the neighbourhood of Taritipan on the eastern side of Marudu Bay. The ore was mostly psilomelane, but in one or two localities it took the form of pyrolusite, in which oxide of barium replaces the silica to a considerable extent; a valuable report containing particulars of several analyses made in North Borneo by C. J. Head, F.C.S., was printed in 1904. Expert advice having been obtained that these deposits, which occur in lenses of irregular form embedded in manganiferous quartzite, could be profitably worked, in 1905 the British Borneo Exploration Company decided to exploit them. A considerable sum was sunk in the venture, which, however, encountered misfortune, the Company being sued in 1907 for damages by an English firm with whom it had contracted to supply manganese ore of a specified standard, which was not reached by the consignment of 2,771 tons sent home. The claim, which was settled out of court, would probably not have arisen had the cargo been properly sorted before it left the territory. In 1910 Dr. Pilz advised against continuing operations, largely on the ground that, although on the outcrop a fairly good quality ore is met with, at a greater depth the percentage of silica increases.

Manganese ore also occurs in the region of Mount Madai, Darvel Bay. In 1903, G. H. Hone found numerous boulders of fairly rich ore about half a mile south of the mountain; samples assayed 60.2 per cent. of manganese. He also came across a deposit near the entrance to one of the Madai birds'-nest caves;

this, he reported, "forms the cement of a brecciated limestone, and is no doubt connected with a richer deposit in close proximity."

Copper.—Native copper and copper pyrites were among the first minerals to be discovered after the advent of the Chartered Company. Frank Hatton, a young mineralogist who lost his life in an accident on the Segama in 1883, obtained "an excellent specimen of native copper from the Kinoram River near Kias." Another sample, got by F. Witt, an intrepid explorer who was murdered by natives in 1882, was sent to London.

Copper pyrites has been located at a number of places, in particular in the region of the Karang, a stream flowing into the Karamuak, one of the left-bank tributaries of the Kinabatangan, where a lode of cupriferous iron pyrites exists. A sample from this locality gave, on assay in London, over 5 per cent. of copper. Prospecting operations of some magnitude were carried on by Dr. Pilz on behalf of the British Borneo Exploration Company from 1909 to 1912. It was proved by several small shafts that the ore zone extended for a distance of at least 1,000 ft., and that its average thickness was between $6\frac{1}{2}$ ft. and 10 ft.; the zone was examined only above the level of the Karang, but, considering its length, Dr. Pilz was of opinion that it probably existed at a greater depth. Small lenses of massive pyrites, with high yields of copper—up to 17 per cent.—also occur here. The development works completed in this neighbourhood included the construction of a road nine miles long, with twenty-three bridges, to Telupid on the Labuk River, and the laying of rails for tramping the ore. The further capital needed to exploit the Karang copper resources was, however, not forthcoming, and operations ceased in 1912.

Quartz veins with copper pyrites and iron pyrites occur on the Meliao River, a tributary of the Labuk; at Pingan Pingan on Marudu Bay; on the Sualog River (Labuk delta); and on Mounts Tambayukong and Nungkok.

Iron.—There are extensive deposits of iron ore in two or three localities. One at Tagaho, south of Marudu Bay, covers an area of $4\frac{1}{2}$ square miles; a sample analyzed in London in 1906 was described as limonite (brown hematite), and was found to contain 52.24 per cent. of metallic iron, the sulphur content being 0.211 per cent.

On the Purog River, a tributary of the lower Labuk, another very large deposit occurs. G. H. Hone estimated in 1904 that fully 1,500,000 tons were exposed on the surface. In London an analysis of an equal mixture of eight bags of the ore yielded 63.50 per cent. of metallic iron, with only 0.052 per cent. of sulphur. The analyst reported that the ore was "of very good quality, the

STATE OF NORTH BORNEO

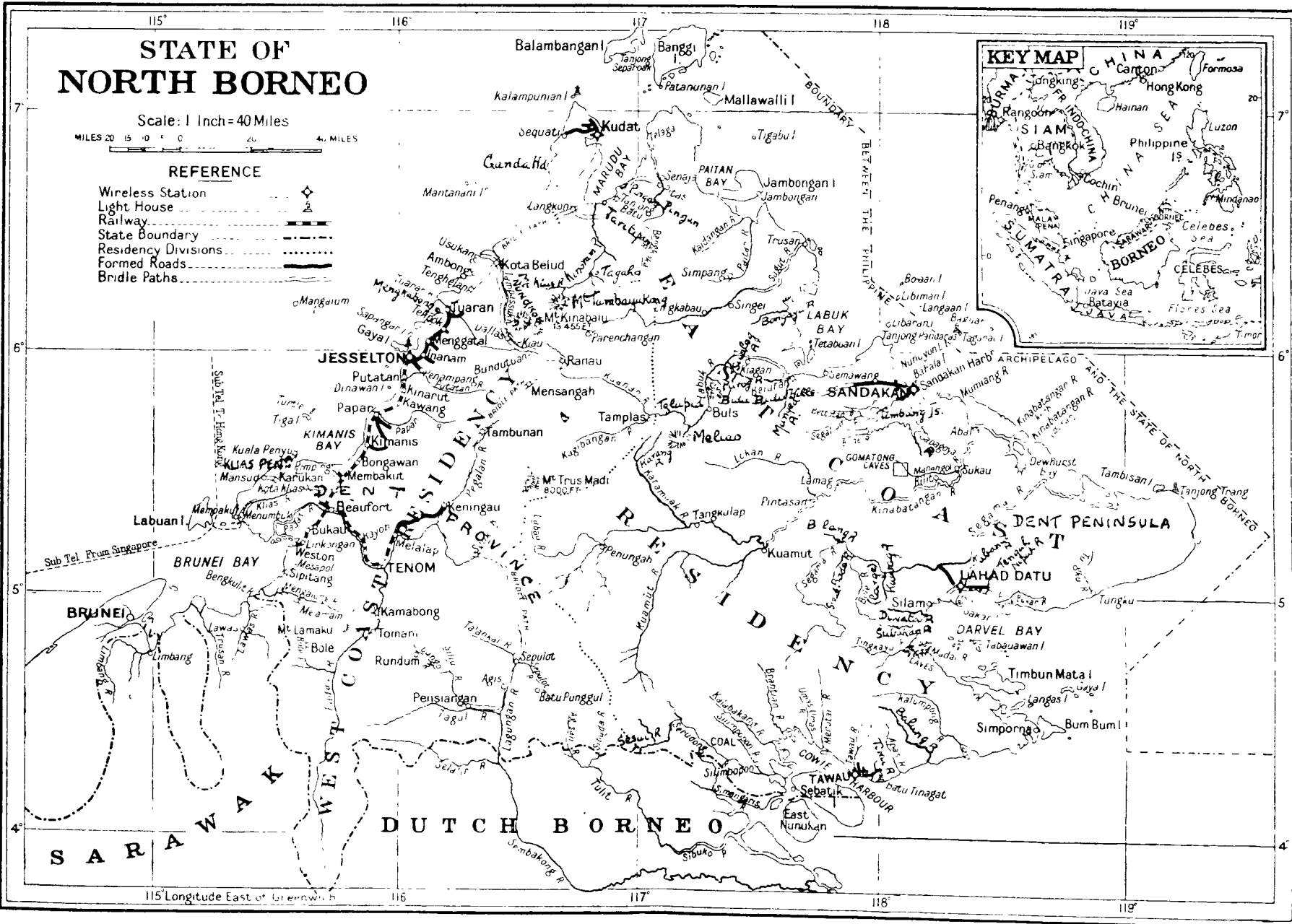
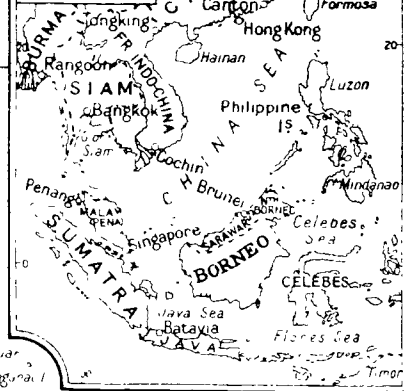
Scale: 1 Inch=40 Miles

MILES 20 15 10 5 0 20 40 MILES

REFERENCE

- Wireless Station
- Light House
- Railway
- State Boundary
- Residency Divisions
- Formed Roads
- Bridle Paths

KEY MAP



physical condition very good, the only objectionable feature being a little copper" (copper oxide, 0.203 per cent.).

Iron ore similar to that on the Tagaho and Purog Rivers also exists in considerable quantity on the Karang River.

The occurrence of iron pyrites in association with copper pyrites at a number of places has already been mentioned under the heading "Copper." An extensive deposit of clay containing iron pyrites was located in 1905 in the Apas River near the hot-springs.

Tin.—As long ago as 1852 mention of the reported existence of tin in a river emptying into Marudu Bay was made by J. Motley, a mining engineer who had investigated geological conditions in Borneo, mainly Labuan. Spencer St. John, British Consul-General at Brunei from 1855 to 1861, who travelled extensively in the Kinabalu region, recorded in his book *Life in the Forests of the Far East* that tin had been discovered "in some stream of the Kinabalu range," and added: "I saw specimens . . . but no one has ventured to work it yet—the insecurity would prevent the Chinese succeeding." In 1884 the Government Officer in charge of the Putatan district on the west coast reported that tin had formerly been washed by a Chinese at Bantaian, north-east of Bukit Malintod; and in the same year one of the samples brought back by H. Walker from the Bilang River, which he had been prospecting for gold, was examined by the Australian geologist, J. Tennison Woods, who reported that it "seemed to contain a fair proportion of tin ore" and recommended a trial smelting.

Dr. Pilz, however, failed to discover tin during the course of his numerous journeys in 1909 to 1911, and it is a fact that black magnetite sand has often been mistaken by both natives and Europeans for tin sand. Great importance, therefore, attaches to the discovery made at Tawau—a region which Dr. Pilz was unable to investigate—by a mining engineer, Gaston Thomé, in the employ of a leading tin-mining company in Malaya, the Société des Étaïns de Kinta. Thomé discovered the mineral cassiterite (SnO_2) in a valley about a mile from Tawau; here he found a silicious conglomerate cemented by a red quartzish clay in which cassiterite was present in the proportion of from 20 to 40 grams per cubic decimetre. In his opinion, these deposits probably covered an older bed of alluvial in which the mineral was present, and which he recommended should be examined by boring. It is remarkable that Gaston Thomé's discovery, which was made in 1903, remained a secret until 1937, when the Chartered Company succeeded in obtaining from him a report based on his notes made at the time; he died a month later at his home in Toulouse.

Antimony.—Although antimony is widely distributed in the neighbouring territory of Sarawak, and also occurs in other parts of Borneo, it has not yet been discovered by European prospectors

in North Borneo, despite Posewitz' belief, to which he gave expression in 1892, that antimony ores would be found there "in the course of years . . . as the geological relations are suitable for their occurrence." In 1881 the first Governor, Sir William Treacher, obtained authority from the Court of Directors in London to grant Hadji Brahim of Banjermassim (the capital of South Borneo and chief port of a large mining district) a licence to work antimony on the Labuk River; the document was prepared but not issued, as it was decided to send Frank Hatton, the Government mineralogist, to look for the mineral. Hatton had previously examined four samples said to have come from the Labuk, and found two of these to be "remarkably pure sulphide of antimony." He proceeded to the Labuk in March, 1882; his adventurous journey up the river and thence overland to Kudat was a great feat of courage and endurance, but he failed to locate antimony, though a "capital specimen of sulphide of antimony" weighing about 50 grams was brought to him by a native, who said he got it in a river at the "back" of Silam in Darvel Bay. In 1904, J. Robertson, manager of the British Borneo Exploration Company, received specimens of antimony ore from three different natives, but was "unable to make the thorough search necessary to locate the ore."

Asbestos and Talc.—As might be expected in a country where serpentine is met with so frequently, talc and asbestos (which are, like serpentine, silicates of magnesium) have been reported from several localities. In 1882 Frank Hatton came across "a solid hill of the purest talc" on the left bank of the Labuk River a little below Telupid, and much steatite (or soapstone, a massive variety of talc) in the country round Paranchangan. Soapstone also exists at the head waters of the Tiku River near Tawau in the south-east. Asbestos was discovered in 1903 on the Munyed River, which flows into the Labuk estuary, and higher up the Labuk at the Bidu Bidu Hills.

Zinc, Wolframite, Rutile, Zircon.—Zinc blende and magnetite are often found in association with copper and iron pyrites. Traces of wolframite were discovered in 1905 in two streams near the extremity of the eastern Marudu Peninsula. The loose quartz sands of many of the rivers carry rutile (titanium dioxide) and zircon.

Coal.—The numerous coal discoveries in the early days of the Chartered Company's existence tempted a high authority of those days to declare that North Borneo was "one vast coalfield." While it must be admitted that the claim was fanciful, there is no doubt of the widespread occurrence of the mineral in North Borneo. On the west coast outcrops occur at Noloyan (near the port of Weston), Bukau, and Linkungan, where there are two

seams—believed to be identical with the two upper seams of the Labuan coalfield. Along the State railway coal exists in small pockets at Montenior, about five miles east of Beaufort, and small “pipes” of coal with shales and sandstones have from time to time been observed at Membakut and other places between Jesselton and Beaufort.

In the region of the Bengkoka River, Marudu Bay, there is an extensive area of coal; of the eight seams, one has a thickness of over 13 ft. Unfortunately, the coal contains too much iron pyrites and—owing to its comparatively recent geological age—too small a percentage of fixed carbon. Older coal has been found at Melobang, north of the Bengkoka River, but the outcrops dip so steeply that working would probably be unprofitable.

On the north-east coast there are coal outcrops near the mouth of the Sugut River and in the vicinity of the Bongaya River.

Considerable sums have been spent in proving the coal measures in the neighbourhood of Sandakan, the capital, where coal was discovered as far back as 1878. On the north side of the bay a number of seams have at various times been examined. In 1927 two boreholes were put down to a depth of 402 ft. and 363 ft. respectively, but the quality of the coal was adjudged to be inferior; moreover, the engineers advised that mining operations would present difficulties. Coal also exists on Timbang Island in Sandakan Bay; an experienced mining engineer from India who examined the seam here in 1928 was well satisfied with the quality.

Further south, coal outcrops occur on the Kinabatangan River and on the Sesui River near the Dutch Borneo frontier, where five seams were examined in 1906.

The most valuable coal deposits in the territory occur in the Cowie Harbour region. In 1900 an extensive coalfield covering an area of about sixty square miles was located in the valley of the Serudong River, and several promising seams were found. Closer examination showed that coal of good quality was present here in almost inexhaustible quantity, and in 1905 the Cowie Harbour Coal Company was formed to exploit this coalfield. A colliery was opened at Silimpopon and continued to function for twenty-five years, the average annual output being about 57,000 tons. But despite the good quality of its product, the undertaking was handicapped by difficulties, foremost among which was the high cost of transport to the ports of shipment, Tawau and Sandakan, and in 1930 the colliery was closed down. It is not unlikely that when the political horizon clears mining operations will be resumed in this region.

Oil.—An oil seepage at Sequati on the north-west coast was examined by Wittl soon after North Borneo came under British control, and again in 1881 by Frank Hatton. Boring operations

were, however, not undertaken until 1921, when the Kuhara Mining Company, of Japan, drilled to a depth of over 2,000 ft. without finding oil in commercial quantity.

The Klias Peninsula, where several oil outcrops occur, has attracted a good deal of attention; in 1908, as the result of the researches of H. Lloyd Chittenden and the geologist I. A. Stigand, prospecting operations on a large scale were begun by the British Borneo Petroleum Syndicate. Two distinct classes of oil were found: one "a heavy, tar-like fluid—practically a natural liquid fuel," and the other a volatile oil which experts pronounced to be of very high value. The geological indications were at first disappointing, the formation appearing to be too steep to encourage the hope that productive wells could be sunk, but further investigation allayed anxiety on this score. Drilling was carried on for a while by the Syndicate, but later they transferred their rights over both Klias and Mangalum Island, where oil seepages were also found to exist, to the Dutch Colonial Petroleum Company, by whom four wells were sunk in Klias and two in Mangalum. Oil was struck in one of the Klias wells at 2,303 ft., and yielded for a time 1,200 gallons a day of excellent light oil, but in 1917 the Dutch withdrew both from Klias and from Mangalum, where neither well had reached a depth at which oil might be expected. In 1920 the D'Arcy Exploration Company (a subsidiary of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company) prospected the Klias Peninsula, but decided not to bore, and between 1924 and 1931 a syndicate of Singapore Chinese carried on desultory operations there.

Sebattik Island, in the south-east, was examined by the Royal Dutch Petroleum Company shortly before the outbreak of the Great War. Drilling was started, and a depth of 1,437 ft. had been reached by August, 1914, when operations were temporarily suspended. They were subsequently renewed, but the well was eventually shut down, though small indications of oil had been found.

In 1934 the Anglo-Saxon Petroleum Company (one of the Shell Group), undeterred by the somewhat chequered history of oil research in North Borneo, decided to embark on a thorough examination of the whole territory, and this is still proceeding.* One of the chief considerations which induced the Shell Group to investigate the oil possibilities in North Borneo was undoubtedly the fact that they had achieved success in the neighbouring State of Brunei—where many before them had failed—only after long years of patient and persistent effort and the expenditure of an immense sum.

If the Shell's enterprise in North Borneo is similarly rewarded,

* Since this article was written oil prospecting by the Anglo-Saxon Petroleum Co. has been suspended until after the cessation of hostilities.

and if the finding of oil in paying quantity should be but the prelude to further discoveries leading to the commercial exploitation of other minerals than oil, the hardships and disappointments endured by so many brave men in the search for the territory's mineral riches will not have been in vain. Theirs is a record of heroic endeavour in face of stupendous difficulties, for no country in the world probably presents greater obstacles to the prospector than North Borneo, where, as Dr. Reinhard has written, "every square yard is covered with thick jungle and outcrops are only found along running water." Nor is the geological conformation readily intelligible; it would seem that valuable mineral deposits often occur where the geologist would least expect to find them. It is, however, not in the nature of mankind to be thwarted by Nature's artifices, and the time will assuredly come when the secrets of her hidden treasures in North Borneo will be fully revealed.

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(Note.—The geology of the neighbouring territory of Sarawak, with special reference to the occurrence of gold and coal, was dealt with in a report by J. B. Scrivenor published in the *Sarawak Gazette* of May 3, 1905. A copy may be seen at the London Office of the British North Borneo Company.)

MALAYA'S WAR EFFORT

BY G. E. CATOR

MALAYA has several claims to distinction, and perhaps it is permissible to include among these the fact mentioned in the January issue of the *ASIATIC REVIEW* that with an area equal to that of England and a population barely exceeding 5,000,000 persons it supports no less than seven administrations; the number can indeed be brought up to the round dozen if one includes the State Governments of each of the Federated Malay States and that of Brunei in Borneo, which is within the administrative sphere of the High Commissioner.

Its population, mainly represented by Malays, Chinese and Indians, contains in sufficient numbers to merit separate classification in a Census representatives of seventy different races.

In these circumstances Malaya might be expected to be a forcing ground of territorial jealousies and of oppressed minorities longing for the strong arm of a Führer to relieve them from intolerable indignities; but, in fact, the country presents the reverse of the picture.

The various Governments work together in admirable harmony and with a proper respect for each other's rights and their own obligations, and there is complete unanimity of opinion that this war is a just war which could not honourably be avoided, and in which it is Malaya's duty to render all possible assistance to the Allied cause.

The geographical position of Malaya, its great resources, and the diversity of its population encourage political realism; no one could delude himself into believing that without strong external protection Malaya could defend itself from assault and robbery.

That protection has been afforded by Great Britain and particularly by the Royal Navy, and it should be a source of legitimate pride that the manner in which that protection has been operated has been such as to induce in the peoples of Malaya not a dull acquiescence in the less of two evils but an active pride in partnership in the British Empire and a desire to participate in the obligations as well as the privileges of that partnership.

The legal liabilities of Malaya in respect of defence are limited to a contribution by the Colony of the Straits Settlements to the cost of the local garrison and the maintenance by the Federated Malay States of a battalion of the Indian Army stationed in Perak,

but the actual monetary contributions offered and accepted between 1919 and 1939 double this amount.

In addition, each of the States and Settlements of Malaya maintains an efficient and well equipped Volunteer Force, and all combine to provide units of the Royal Navy Volunteer Reserve and Auxiliary Air Force.

It is a particular source of satisfaction to the Rulers that the Malay Regiment, a regular force recruited from the Malay population, has been able to take its allotted place in the scheme of local defence.

Generous contributions have also been made by the Straits Settlements in supplement of their statutory liability, by the Federated Malay States for the purposes of the naval base and for the purchase of aircraft and by each of the States either for specific purposes or free of conditions.

Altogether during the twenty years preceding the present war Malaya has contributed for purposes of imperial defence a sum of not less than £20,000,000.

These contributions have not been benevolences forced on a reluctant Malaya by Whitehall or Government House; in the Colony the initiative has come from the unofficial members of the Legislative Council, and in every instance has the unanimous and enthusiastic support of the whole body; in the Malay States the gifts have been offered at the instance of the Rulers themselves, and, as those connected with Malayan Administration know, the task has been not that of persuading or pressing the Rulers to make these offers, but of restraining their loyalty and generosity until the principle of making Malayan needs the first charge on Malayan revenues has been fully satisfied.

Preparations have not been limited to the military sphere. Before hostilities began arrangements had been made for the control of food and other essential supplies, the protection and utilization of transport, the prevention of profiteering and other measures for the security of the population and the maintenance of industry.

Drainage and irrigation schemes on a very large scale had been put in hand for the increase of the rice crop to reduce Malaya's dependence in foreign countries for this vital food supply.

When war broke out the various emergency schemes were brought into operation, and on the whole seem to have worked satisfactorily, a result due in part no doubt to the wise policy of the Administration in taking the public as far as possible into its confidence as to the measures taken and the reasons for them.

A Malaya Patriotic Fund was established for the relief of suffering, and so generous and immediate was the response that \$1,000,000 was collected before the end of 1939. £80,000 was sent to the Red Cross and St. John's War Fund in October and a

Christmas gift of £25,000 for other war charities, including the French Red Cross, was received later. An interesting feature is that women of all nationalities and creeds, including Muhammadans, are participating by knitting and sewing, and over forty cases of comforts have been despatched to England for distribution.

The State of Kedah offered a gift of \$1,000,000 for the purpose of the war, and nobody who read the eloquent and moving words in which His Highness the Regent made the offer could fail to be impressed by the sincerity and loyalty of himself and his people.

More recently the Federal Council, at the instance of the Rulers of the States of Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Pehang, have offered \$85,000,000 for the same purpose. As announced a few days ago, the little State of Perlis, with its area of 316 square miles and its population of 50,000 persons, has given \$50,000.

These contributions, like those offered for defence before the war, have imposed no additional burden on the Malayan taxpayer, nor have they been made at the expense of Malaya's development, since they have been drawn either from accumulated assets or from the revenue arising as the result of the war from the demand for Malaya's staple products of tin and rubber; but the universal feeling is that Malaya does not wish to profit from the war, and suggestions are being considered as to how further assistance may best be given.

The remarkable feature of these discussions is that the question of whether Malaya should or ought to make further contributions is simply not raised; the answer is taken for granted. The sole topic is the manner and form which they can most conveniently take.

Altogether Malaya's record both before the war and after its outbreak is an inspiring one. Strikes and labour troubles have recently been reported, but they have only affected a small proportion of the population and are certainly not signs of disloyalty or wide discontent. In the best-conducted community there are always some mischief makers, and the rise in the cost of living which Malaya's dependence on imported foodstuffs has made inevitable has given these their opportunity.

Taking a broad survey, both we in Great Britain and the people of Malaya have reason to be proud of the relationship that has been established and of the indubitable evidence of Malaya's loyalty and willingness to accept a full share of the burden of the Empire.

TRAVELS IN THE ANCIENT PROVINCE OF ARMENIA MINOR—II*

By E. H. KING

THE HISTORY OF THE CASTLE

At about four o'clock in the afternoon Khurman Kalesi, or as it must now be styled the Castle of Taublur, confronted my gaze, surmounting a rocky eminence as we approached it from the south (Fig. 4); the Khurman Su flows beneath the western front of the fortress, whilst the elusive Marabus Su links up with the main stream at a point to the south of this mediæval Patriarchal Seat just beyond the "field" of my camera.

That Khurman Kalesi must indeed be synonymous with the Castle of Taublur I shall endeavour to prove.

My deductions are principally based on material provided in Volume I. of that most reliable work entitled *Mémoires historiques et géographiques sur l'Arménie*, compiled by M. J. Saint-Martin and published in Paris in the year 1818. Much of the information provided by M. Saint-Martin is derived from material supplied by early writers; and in regard to the particular connection with which we are concerned, historic reference is made to the *magnum opus* entitled *History of Armenia*, produced by the Mekhtiarist monk, Father Michael Tchamitchcan, in the eighteenth century. The section reproduced in this article forms part of the map specially prepared for that work. Now just beneath the spot where Taublur is marked thereon my reader will observe the name "Jahan" indicated. "Jahan," or as Saint-Martin spells it "Dehahan," constituted the province wherein the Castle of Taublur stood. Within this province he states there also stood the village of Ablesdan, corresponding to that known today as Albistan, which lies at a distance of about 24 miles to the south-west of the castle as the crow flies. Furthermore, this province comprised the ancient seat of a "particular" Armenian Patriarchate situated at Honi, which is marked on the map as lying eastward of Taublur. These three localities are the only ones mentioned in the exhasutive work of M. Saint-Martin as being situated within the confines of the province of Jahan. The geographical relationships of the modern villages of Honi and Albistan (neither of which provide ancient archæological material) with the position of Khurman Kalesi forcibly support my theory, which is further confirmed by a comparison of the relative positions as between Taublur and the mediæval town known to the Armenians "of the

* The first part of this article appeared in the January issue.

exile" as Coxun lying to the south which corresponds with the modern village of Geuksun.

It is true that Saint-Martin does not refer to a Castle of Khurman in his treatise, for the simple reason that it probably acquired its present name (as is frequently the case) within comparatively recent times, and it is equally true that had it existed under its present name when his work was compiled, an indication of the locality at least of such a substantial fortress would certainly not have been overlooked. The fact that the natives inhabiting these regions have never heard of the existence of a "Castle of Taublur" is of no consequence whatsoever, for over 120 years have elapsed since the publication of M. Saint-Martin's work, and, moreover, the Turkish villager is not historically minded!

Finally, I would emphasize the fact that no other castle is known to exist within the borders of the territory which formerly constituted the province of Jahan.

History does not record the exact date of the construction of this castle, nor do we know by whom it was erected. It may be ascribed to the Middle Ages and is doubtless of Byzantine origin, although, inasmuch as it is historically associated only with its occupation by the Armenian Patriarchs, it is not unreasonable to suppose that it was strengthened and extended at their instigation during the period when it constituted their official residence, described as being between the years 1064 and 1113.

At an epoch when bitter religious animosities prevailed between nations it became no unusual custom for the Armenian Patriarchate to be installed in strong fortresses. Gregory III., for instance, in the year 1125 established the Patriarchal Seat in the fortress known as the Castle of Dzovk, his paternal inheritance, the remains of which probably still stand on an island situated on the lake marked on the map as the "Great Zophs Seas" and corresponding with that today known as Geuldjik, lying to the south-east of the town of Kharput.

We learn that he much improved and refortified this castle. Yet again, in the year 1147, the same patriarch caused the seat to be removed from the Castle of Dzovk in consequence of the encroachments of the Sultans of Iconia, and it was then installed in the Roman castle at Hiromcla, indicated on the map as lying to the south of Marash. This fortress was likewise strengthened and a magnificent church was erected nearby. I mention these facts in parenthesis in support of my suggestion that the Castle of Taublur was doubtless similarly treated at the hands of a race which was ever famed for its architectural achievements. I only regret that lack of time and other considerations prevented my visiting these fortresses in person. However, if I am still in the land of the living, I hope to make good the deficiency *après la guerre*!

Catchick II. was the first patriarch to reside in the Castle of Taublur, whither he journeyed from Constantinople in the year 1064.*

Here he received news of the massacres perpetrated amongst his countrymen when the city of Ani was sacked by the Seljouk Sultan Alp Arslan in the same year. Catchick had originally resided in Ani when he was installed in the Patriarchate six years previously, and upon receipt of these sad tidings the good man became so overpowered with grief that he died at Taublur after having dwelt within the castle for a period of only seven months. Residence amidst these lonely wilds could hardly have proved conducive to hilarity under the most favourable circumstances, and doubtless it was upon a bleak and cheerless landscape that he must have gazed from the narrow apertures of the castle's walls.

Upon his death the Greeks endeavoured entirely to suppress the Armenian Partriarchate, hoping thereby to bring about a reconciliation between the Armenian and the Orthodox Church. However, through the influence of the daughter of King Gaghik Abas of Kars (a vassal kingdom created by the Armenian King Ashod III. in the year 961) with the Empress Eudoxia, this move was frustrated, and the year 1065 witnessed the elevation of Gregory II. to the Patriarchal Seat. His original name of Vahram was altered to that of Gregory to signify that the chair of the Armenian Patron Saint Gregory the Illuminator had been filled. Whether this beloved patriarch actually resided in the Castle of Taublur appears doubtful. At all events his election took place at a meeting of the Armenian clergy held in the Fortress of Dzamen-dav, the site of which corresponds with the position of the present-day village of Azizye, through which I passed during the course of my former journey into the Taurus Mountains, but it does not

* Since this article was written I have consulted the chronicle ascribed to the Armenian historian Matthew of Edessa, whose work was completed in the year 1136. According to this authority, Catchick II. must have taken up his residence at Taublur in the year 1062, his tenure of office extending over a period of three years (and not seven months, as stated by Tchamitchean), since he confirms that his death occurred in the year 1065. He likewise corroborates the accession of Kevork to the Patriarchal Seat in the year 1071, but it would appear that Tchamitchean has erroneously stated that Taublur constituted the Patriarchal Seat between the years 1064 and 1113, for subsequent to the deposition of Kevork the localities of the residences are indicated by Matthew of Edessa, and that of Taublur is not thereafter mentioned. In confirming its geographical locality as it has been indicated by me, he mentions that the word "Thauvplour" (an alternative form of spelling) signifies "a hill covered with thick grass or with trees of dense foliage." Certainly after the lapse of 800 years the hill upon which the castle stands is covered with clumps of thick grass, whilst trees such as the historian might have envisaged are to be seen standing at the base of the hill in the photograph reproduced (Fig. 4), though I would hardly advance these features as necessarily conclusive evidence in support of my theory!

necessarily follow that he established the patriarchal seat in that locality.

Unable to remedy the trials and tribulations by which his people were beset, Gregory abdicated his office in the year 1071 and consecrated in his place a monk named Kevork (George), formerly of the city of Lori, which lay in the north-easterly Armenian province of Koukark'h. The personage undoubtedly dwelt in the Castle of Taublur. The Armenian people, however, still regarded Gregory as their Spiritual Father, who had taken up his residence in company with a few friars at the Monastery of Areg, situated on the slopes of the Black Mountain (indicated on the map as lying to the south-east of Taublur). Kevork's jealousy was consequently incited, and he became so unpopular with his flock that, having exercised his office from Taublur for the space of only two years, he was deposed by Gregory after committing actions which rendered him odious in the eyes of the Armenian nation. Gregory then resumed the Patriarchate and resided in a locality named Mutarusum, which I am quite unable to identify. Tchamitchean records that Taublur constituted the seat of the Armenian Patriarchate between the years 1064 and 1113, but if this were the case I can only conclude that with the exception of the two patriarchs to whom I have referred, whose residence for short periods within the castle's walls is definitely established, it must have been very rarely occupied as an official residence. At all events the castle does not appear to figure as such in Armenian history subsequent to the deposition of Kevork.

In fact, the history of this remotely situated old fortress remains, as far as I have been able to ascertain at present, largely shrouded in mystery. Further research may provide enlightenment, and I had hoped that Armenian inscriptions might be discovered *in situ* which would reveal some helpful data; in this hope I was, however, doomed to disappointment.

DESCRIPTION OF THE CASTLE

Access to the castle, which is rectangular in form, may today only be achieved from the southern side unless one be a practised mountaineer! The loopholed walls of the fortress are strengthened by massive square towers and circular turrets which, however, have crumbled into a state of advanced decay; the Mukhtar of Tanir told me that even he can recall the castle presenting a more imposing aspect than that which today confronts the traveller's gaze. The western rampart, of which a section is shown in the accompanying photograph (Fig. 5), was exceptionally strongly fortified, being buttressed by the addition of semicircular bastions; it also comprises the recessed entrance portal to the fortress, now, however, almost completely choked up with rubble. In order to

appreciate the original appearance of the Castle of Taublur it is necessary to visualize the (doubtless) battlemented ramparts in their pristine grandeur, possibly reared to twice their present height, and it may therefore reasonably be conjectured that when the Armenian patriarchs resided within its walls the fortress presented a stern and majestic aspect.

I was much exhausted, in my weakened state, by the effort entailed in reaching the southern wall, for the semi-precipitous slope is strewn with loose fragments of masonry. It is consequently extremely difficult to secure a foothold; however, I eventually succeeded in clambering, so to speak, "on all fours" through an aperture situated approximately in the centre of this rampart. It became immediately apparent to me that further investigations would entail considerable energy on my part, since the interior of the castle is more than half choked with débris.

After resting from my labours for a spell, I descended a perilous slope towards the western end of the fortress. Here I was able to identify a cavity about six foot square with the descent to the dungeon, although the tower of the "keep" of the castle by which it was doubtless surmounted has evidently long since collapsed within the ramparts. Access to the dungeon, however, is of course today impracticable, as is likewise a detailed inspection of the inner walls, unless an army of labourers were available to set about the Herculean task of removing the accumulated masses of masonry piled in mountainous heaps in the interior of the fortress. Retracing my steps, I next descended past an arched embrasure hewn out of the walls and reached what once constituted the entrance portal, which I have already described as being comprised in the western rampart. Here a circular cavity revealed the ancient well of the castle, obviously sunk at this spot in order to facilitate the drawing of water from the stream, today referred to as the Khurman Su, but which, in bygone ages, doubtless bore a different name. This stream, as I have already remarked, flows at the base of the rock on which the fortress stands, and, in fact, the photograph reproduced (Fig. 5) was taken from a point in close proximity to the right bank.

I felt far too weary and unwell and quite unequal to the task of scrambling along the northern rampart to the eastern extremity of the castle, and in fact nothing would have been gained by my so doing, since my friend the Mukhtar assured me that no mural inscriptions were to be seen and that no traces of habitations today existed amidst the confused masses of fallen masonry and rubble which abounded on every side. I had already examined the most important section of the fortress, and I am firmly convinced that I might have continued my investigations until I was black in the face without discovering any traces of its occupation by the

Armenian patriarchs of old. Equally convinced am I, nevertheless, that I had indeed located the ancient Castle of Taublur, although my satisfaction may have been tinged with regret at the apparent lack of corroborative evidence which I had ventured to hope might have been discernible in inscriptions upon those rugged stones.

Upon descending the rock in company with Bayezid and the Mukhtar, I repaired to a nearby mountain spring, from which I eagerly drank, since, although I was quite unable to partake of any substantial food, I was perpetually consumed with thirst. Close to this spring stood a deserted peasant's hut, and within this luxurious abode (which barely sufficed to accommodate us) we spread the "yorghans" and bedding which we had carried with us, and ultimately composed ourselves to slumber almost within the shadow of that venerable yet mysterious pile!

HOMeward BOUND

Upon the morrow (August 24) we returned to Tanir, the journey through these silent wilds proving uneventful except in so far as a personal *contretemps* of minor importance was concerned. Scarcely had we set forth when my restive little steed took fright and bolted! Standing, as I do, six feet five inches in height, it will be readily appreciated that I am invariably unable to maintain any grip with my knees about the middle of these wiry little Cappadocian horses, and I therefore adopted the line of least resistance and executed a graceful "stage fall," sustaining no more serious damage than a grazed wrist. Honour apparently being satisfied, the fiery little rascal soon quietened down, and the journey was resumed without further mishap! We reached Tanir at about six o'clock in the evening, and here we passed the night as the guests of the Mukhtar as before, and upon the following day (August 25) we were ready to resume our journey by car, our destination, the small town of Derendeh, lying about 35 miles to the eastward as the crow flies.

The country through which we now travelled is similar in character to that which I have already described when dealing with the journey from Gürün to Yarpuz, no features of interest being encountered until we reached the main track leading from the village of Albistan to Derendeh. Close to the point of junction with this track stands the hamlet known as Arslan Tash (lion stone), so called from its proximity to a pair of lions of Hittite origin, crudely executed in granite and each measuring about eight feet in length. The lions appear in a "couchant" attitude, and it is difficult to account for their presence on this lonely plain. Mark Sykes mentions the existence of these lions in the course of his entertaining book entitled *Dar-ul-Islam*. He noticed them whilst travelling from Marash via Albistan to Derendeh in the year 1903,

and remarks that one of them was overturned, a defect which has evidently since been remedied! In the absence of any alternative explanation one might perhaps suggest that they once served to adorn a palace or other edifice, remains of which might be revealed by excavations carried out on the site.

Resuming our journey in the direction of Derendeh after covering a distance of about five miles, we reached the village known as Ashodeh. Its very name bespeaks its Armenian associations, since amongst the kings of the Bagratyd Dynasty Ashod I., Ashod II. and Ashod III. figure as three of the most prominent monarchs who ruled during the period of its sway (viz., 859 A.D. to 1042 A.D.). In all probability this centre was so named by the exiled King Gaghiik in honour of his predecessors when it was founded by him during the eleventh century.

Here formerly stood a famous Armenian monastery built against the face of a cliff, and which Mark Sykes mentions as being in a ruined condition when he passed this way. Today, alas! even the ruins have been completely swept away, the old stones having been doubtless incorporated by the villagers in the construction of new dwellings. This practice, though deplorable, is by no means uncommon. The viewpoint of the Turks, however, is easily appreciated. In the first place, one must bear in mind the racial animosity which at all events formerly prevailed between the Turks and the Armenians; in the second place, the religious aspect of the position must not be overlooked where Islam and Christianity become involved; and, thirdly, it is only fair to point out that in nine cases out of ten these old churches and monasteries have fallen into desuetude and no longer serve their original purpose.

The village of Ashodeh lies, for the greater part, at the head of a deep and picturesque gorge. Glancing across this ravine I noticed, situated up on the side of the cliff, what appeared to be a small monastery hewn out of the living rock. From where I stood I could only discern a number of apertures surmounted by a tall cone of probably natural formation, such as may be found in profusion in the neighbourhood of the village of Urgub, lying to the west of the city of Cæsarea, where these curious troglodyte dwellings have been put to both secular and religious usage.

The villagers were unable to offer any reliable information as to the origin of this excavation; it would be quite inaccessible from the bottom of the ravine, being only approachable from the top of the opposite cliff, and to have reached it would have necessitated our undertaking a long *détour*. I endeavoured to photograph it from where I stood, but mist overhung the gorge, and the resultant effort would not justify presentation in the pages of the *ASIATIC REVIEW*, nor, for that matter, in those of any other reputable journal!

We reached the small town of Derendeh at about five o'clock in the afternoon and were hospitably welcomed by the Kaimakam, who had received notification of our eventual arrival some days previously from his colleague of the kaza of Gürün. My interpreter and I were most comfortably installed in spotlessly clean little rooms in the Kaimakam's house, and as he spoke fluent French I was able to converse freely with him.

My indisposition had, to some extent, abated, although I was far from being capable of fulfilling my kindly host's expectations at the supper table, much to his dismay and disappointment. The following morning my eyes were gladdened by the delightful spectacle of the Kaimakam's three little daughters arrayed in all their festal finery in honour of my visit (as I was informed), though I suspect that they welcomed any excuse to deck themselves out in their full native attire! Be that as it may, the vivid colouring of their costumes, coupled with the golden hair ornaments and jewellery with which they had adorned themselves, contrast most pleasingly with the drab workaday clothing habitually worn, as exemplified in the family group photographed at Tanir. These little ladies were only too willing to pose for the photograph reproduced (Fig. 6), and the Kaimakam appeared mightily thrilled at the prospect of his offspring's likeness being portrayed in the British Press. He besought me to send him a copy of this article, and I promised to forward him a reprint, which will doubtless be treasured amongst the family archives! I am conscious of the fact that I have so far failed to present to my readers an example illustrating the Armenian national attire, and therefore I am now taking the opportunity of remedying this defect. Unfortunately the head-dress, which forms the most striking feature of the costume, is but rarely encountered, and I am indebted to a resident of Erivan for the reproduction of the accompanying photograph (Fig. 7), which I have selected in preference to one or two other examples photographed by myself on account of the handsome and characteristic features of the subject, an Armenian girl dwelling close to the shores of Lake Sevan. I think it will be generally admitted that whilst extremely picturesque in appearance the massive collar and the golden metallic discs suspended over the brow, combined with the heavy folds of the rich silken material of which the head-dress is composed, must cause extreme discomfort if worn for protracted periods!

The little town of Derendeh, boasting a population of about 3,000 souls, is charmingly situated amidst extensive gardens and constitutes the principal market for the sale of much of the fruit that is grown in the surrounding country. Many of the houses of the new town are built of stone, and an imposing arch marks the entrance to the bazaar. A stream forming a tributary of the

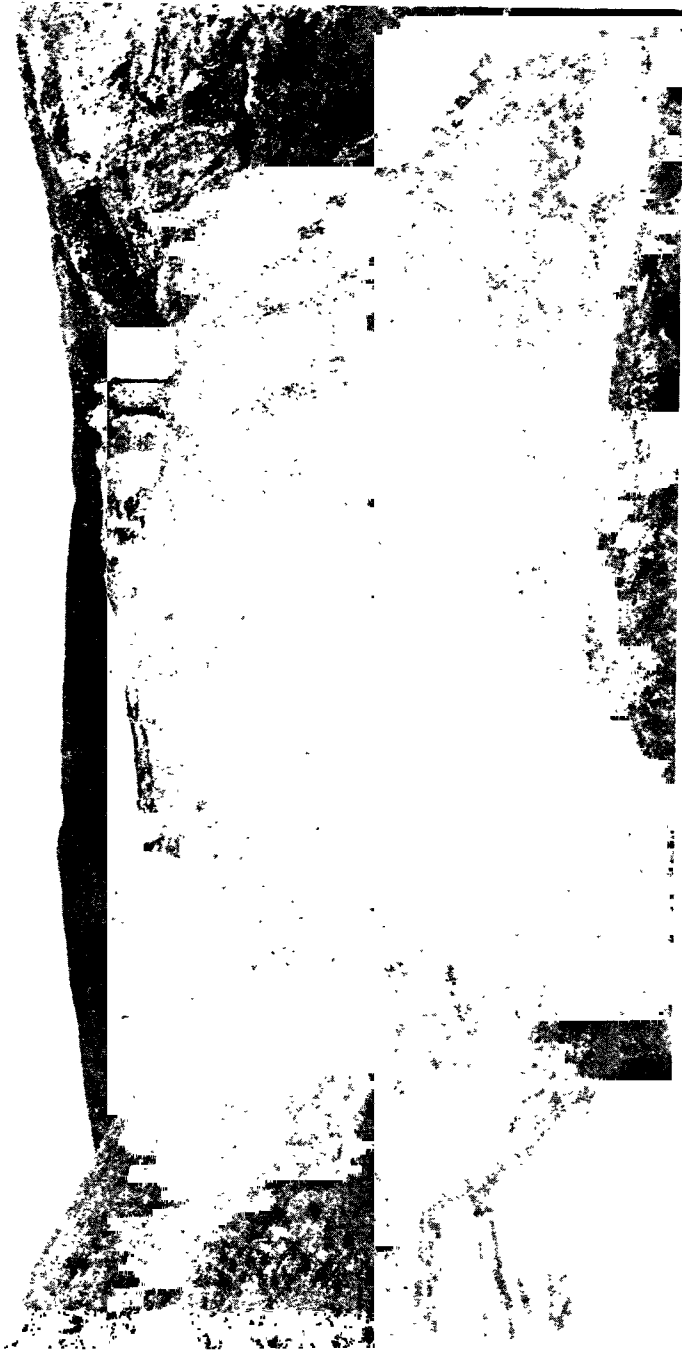


FIG. 4.—FORMERLY THE SEAT OF THE ARMENIAN PATRIARCHATE : KHURMAN KALESI, AS APPROACHED FROM THE SOUTH.

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Travels in the Ancient Province of Armenia Minor.



FIG. 5.—KHURMAN KALESİ, AS VIEWED FROM THE WEST.



FIG. 6.—TURKISH CHILDREN IN FESTAL
ATTIRE AT DERENDEH.

Travels in the Ancient Province of Armenia Minor.

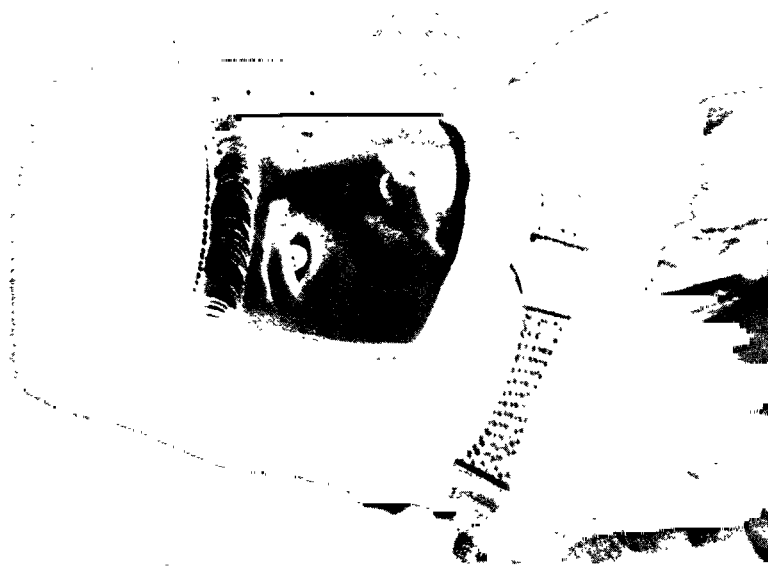
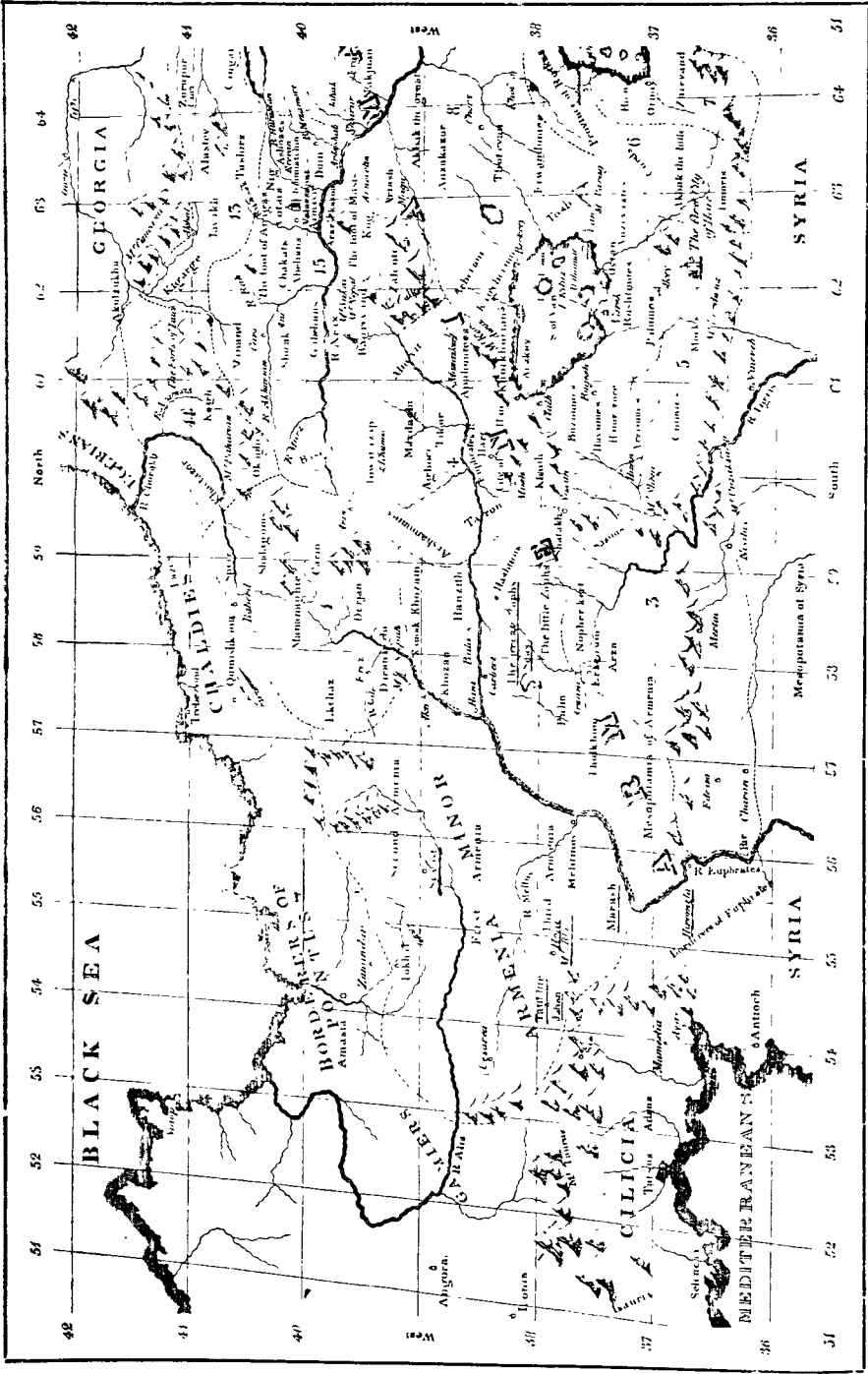


FIG. 7.—THE HEAD-DRESS OF THE ARMENIAN
NATIONAL COSTUME.

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EARLY MAP SHOWING ARMENIA MINOR.

Travels in the Ancient Province of Armenia Minor

Aghon Su meanders through the town, the houses of which are scattered along its banks over a considerable distance. Whilst the new town stands in an opening of the Gorge of Derendeh the old town lies, or rather lay, at the narrowest part of the gorge, which we descended by a gradual slope on our arrival. The castle, which probably dated from the period of this centre's colonization by the Armenians "of the exile" in the eleventh century, once stood high up on the side of a cliff at the mouth of a small ravine. Part of the outer wall, constructed of sandstone, presents a romantic and picturesque appearance as viewed from beneath, but upon investigation after a somewhat arduous climb I found that it merely served to conceal a conglomeration of ruinous stone walls and fallen débris completely devoid of archæological interest. The minarets of two mosques constructed of the same material stand between the road by which we travelled and the foot of the cliff, and were probably erected when Derendeh fell into the hands of the Seljouk Turks after the Armenians had, as previously explained, pressed southward into the Cilician Taurus Mountains. Between this point and the new town a most imposing lateral cleft in the cliff, probably some 15 feet in width, stretches as far as the eye can see, at the base of which the waters of the Aghon Su flow into its tributary.

Later in the day we set out for Gürün, which is easily reached by car from Derendeh in the space of little more than an hour, standing as it does at a distance of some 30 miles to the north-west of the latter town. We were warmly welcomed by the "mudir," who corresponds to some extent to a magistrate, but who also occupies himself in supervising the territory to which he is assigned, investigating any complaints and generally advising the natives on matters of local import and interest. This functionary was absent at the time of our former visit. He deplored the fact that he could not offer us accommodation for the night, as every room in his house was occupied, but he invited us to partake of his supper, an offer of which we were glad to avail ourselves. There was present at this repast an individual who appeared immensely intrigued to hear that we had visited Khurman Kalesi in the course of our wanderings. He spoke German about as badly as I do, but we were able to maintain some conversation. "Were you seeking the tomb of the king?" he enquired. "What tomb and of which king?" I replied. Somewhat nonplussed, he proceeded to explain that according to an ancient legend an Armenian monarch was buried, together with his jewelled sword and a ring of fabulous worth, close to the Castle of Khurman, if not indeed within its walls. No other member of the company was able to corroborate the existence of the legend, however, so that I am afraid our friend was playing

a lone hand! I suggested that he could not better employ his time than by repairing forthwith to the castle, armed with pickaxe and shovel, with a view to removing the accumulated debris of centuries. This Herculean task would provide him with occupation of a strenuous character for the space of the next few years, at the end of which period he would then be able to set about his excavations beneath the castle itself in search of the tomb! I am bound to admit that he took my chaffing in very good part, and upon bidding him farewell I begged him to remember my advice, "for," I observed, "you are youthful and strong, and reflect upon the potential reward that may await you. If you so will it, you may be able to live in indolence and affluence to the end of your days!"

After passing the night at the same khan where we had formerly stayed, we set out upon the following morning in the direction of Kangal, which lies at a distance of about 45 miles to the north-east of Gürün.

The country through which we passed is of a bleak and desolate description, the landscape being rendered the more dreary by reason of the prolonged torrential rain which descended upon us. On reaching the village we sought out the Mukhtar. The Armenian church, which dated from the eleventh century, has been largely demolished, as in the case of the monastery at Ashodeh, little beyond the lower portion of the edifice today being visible, but the Mukhtar showed me a number of the old stones of which it was built inserted into the walls of some of the dwellings. Upon a few of these stones crosses and traceries were carved, but I could discover no fragments of inscriptions. Within this church was once preserved the famous *Book of Kangal*, a fine illuminated manuscript of the Gospels compiled in the eleventh century and reputed to have been used by the exiled King Gaghiik himself.

As to this beautiful historic volume's whereabouts today I can proffer no suggestion, but if it is indeed still in existence it would never surprise me to learn of its being offered for sale by one of the legion of enterprising traders of the bazaars of Istanbul. There being nothing of further interest to induce me to prolong my stay amidst this sadly woebegone little community, we now set out on our return journey to Sivas, which lies about 60 miles distant in a north-westerly direction.

From Kangal, which stands at an altitude of 5,220 feet, the road at first traverses undulating hills, and ere long a fine view is obtained of the imposing peak known as Yılanlı Dagħ and of the ridge that marks the limit of the basin of the River Euphrates. A short, steep ascent next leads to a curious crag known as Delik Tash, a perforated stone in which a small chamber has been excavated. This point is situated at a height of 6,293 feet, and a

subsequent sharp descent leads to the village of Ulash, through which we had passed in the course of our outward journey. We duly reached Sivas as night was falling on Sunday, August 27, only to learn of the dramatic turn of events which darkened the international horizon.

I had planned to return to Venice and to proceed thence to a delightful villa situated at Cap d'Ail on the shores of the French Riviera. Here I had joyfully anticipated passing a few serenely happy and sunlit days in the charming company of two ladies, who themselves are able to recall vivid memories of the Middle East and who had been entertaining a series of house parties at this delightful resort. Miss Molly Pears, who had originally proposed this wholly enchanting contrast to the rigours of travel in the wilds of Asia Minor, was herself born in Turkey, being the daughter of Mr. Henry E. Pears, formerly one of the most prominent British residents of Istanbul, and the son of an equally prominent father. He practised as a barrister in the Turkish courts for nearly half a century, and since Mr. and Mrs. Pears are today close neighbours of mine in London I am thus most fortunately placed in touch with a never-failing source of advice and kindly assistance in so far as Turkish customs are concerned.

This blissful prospect which I had envisaged was, needless to say, of necessity abandoned forthwith, and I was compelled to board the Orient Express at Istanbul on Thursday, August 31, no 'plane service to England operating at that time. On that fateful Sunday, September 3, all passengers were required to leave the train at Lausanne, and thus it became necessary to wend my way homewards by easy stages.

And so, until the tyranny and thralldom imposed by this pestilential Nazi régime be overthrown, a halt must perforce be called to my wanderings in Armenia. Gladly would I have travelled southward from the Castle of Taublur towards the stronghold of Zeitun, and yet again from thence to the Castle of Hiromcla, lying to the south-east. In spirit, at least, I continue to pursue my way through the wild country stretching to the northward, where the fortresses of Behesne and Kesun must still stand, bearing silent witness to the exploits of Vasil the Crafty, the Armenian chieftain whose predatory bands in mediæval times spread terror and destruction far and wide, throughout these regions. Please God, the day may not be far distant when these flights of fancy may become crystallized into realization, since that day must, of a surety, witness the dawn of a new era when the nations of the world shall dwell together in peace, security and prosperity, freed from the threats to political independence and the stranglehold of aggression which bid fair to sap the vitality and the life-blood of the human race.

INDIA'S WAR-TIME TRADE AND FINANCE

BY R. W. BROCK

(Formerly Editor of *Capital*, Calcutta)

IN the January issue of the *ASIATIC REVIEW*, which contained Sir Frank Noyce's valuable analysis of "India's Economic Contribution to the War" and the accompanying discussion, I ventured to add the short supplementary comment:

It is not possible at this stage to forecast the final outcome of the renewed and intensified demand of Congress for a larger measure of Constitutional autonomy; but that one result of present international complications will be a further development of Indian industries appears to be, not merely probable, but certain. There is, however, a further possible line of advance—towards financial independence—which, perhaps, merits closer consideration than it has hitherto received. India's sterling debt still remains at the substantial figure of approximately £300,000,000. . . . A substantial further increase in India's favourable (trade) balance with this country certainly ranks among the possibilities. . . . In the event of the war lasting three years, India on this basis may well find herself in a position to reduce her sterling indebtedness, and, if so, certainly every facility should be afforded to enable her to do so.

Elaborating this suggestion in *Capital's* Annual "Indian Industries, Trade and Transport Supplement," dated December 14 last, I wrote:

One immediate advantage of the war to primary producers has been a return to a more profitable price-level, from which India is benefiting in common with other countries similarly circumstanced. For this reason the near future may be expected to witness a further considerable improvement in India's balance of trade with the United Kingdom, arising from larger purchases as well as higher prices, and not improbably this balance will be increased by at least a temporary diminution, owing to lack of supplies, in British exports to India. If so, the United Kingdom will find itself in the position of buying more from—and selling less to—India than at any previous period in their long commercial association. In that event an interesting possibility arises, which merits the most careful consideration. If, happily, the war is short in duration, no very large balance will accumulate in India's favour. If, unhappily, the conflict is prolonged, and Indian shipments of war necessities attain abnormal dimensions, it may be hoped that consideration will be given to the possibility of offsetting these exceptional shipments, as far as such a device may be practicable, by the repatriation of Indian sterling securities, thereby reducing permanently the burden of India's sterling obligations. Today the sterling debt of India is still of the order of £300,000,000, and it is to India's credit, in every sense of the word, that the interest charges have always been fully and promptly met. Nor will any competent and unbiassed economist challenge the view that India herself has benefited immeasurably from the productive undertakings which British loans have made possible. There will, however, also be

equally complete agreement that, if India's sterling debt can be reduced, every opportunity should be taken to reduce it. That policy has been followed in the past, and, if adventitious circumstances permit, it should be resumed in the future. The Congress claim to political independence may excite opposition and anxiety; but it is no longer doubted in any quarter that India has benefited by the larger measure of industrial independence she has gained since the last war, and if she can now proceed to acquire a larger measure of financial independence the benefits so conferred will not be confined to India alone. For, in practice, the less India has to pay in the way of interest charges, other things remaining equal, the larger will be the proportion of the sterling proceeds from her shipments of produce to the United Kingdom which she will be able to devote to the purchase of British goods. One may go further and say that, of the many possible methods of reviving British exports, this method, always assuming that circumstances render it practicable, is not the least hopeful or the least potent. . . . India, it will be agreed, can only benefit by reducing her sterling debt as quickly and to as large an extent as circumstances permit.

INDIA GOVERNMENT'S REPATRIATION SCHEME

Ample justification of the general accuracy of this diagnosis was afforded by the following official announcement reproduced in the *Financial Times*, dated February 23:

NEW DELHI,

February 22.

With a view to facilitating repatriation of the Government's sterling debt, the Central Government of India today issued a notification providing for the creation of rupee loans as counterparts of various Indian terminable sterling loans.

As sterling non-terminable 3 and $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. loans already have existing counterparts, it is not necessary to include them in the notification, but similar arrangements will be adopted in regard to them.

In order to introduce these new rupee loans to the market, the Government will at first issue them on its own account in conversion of corresponding sterling securities purchased by it. From April 1 next these facilities will be open to the public on terms to be announced by the Reserve Bank from time to time.

The amounts quoted in London of the above India sterling loans and the current middle quotations are set out as below:

£9,500,000	3 per cent.	1949-52	...	...	96 $\frac{1}{2}$
£10,000,000	$3\frac{1}{2}$ " "	1954-59	...	...	101
£11,355,000	4 " "	1948-53	...	...	106
£38,902,780	$4\frac{1}{2}$ " "	1950-55	...	...	110
£17,500,000	$4\frac{1}{2}$ " "	1958-68	...	...	111
£8,879,614	5 " "	1942-47	...	...	107

The aggregate amount involved totals £96,137,394. The 3 per cent. and $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent (non-terminable) sterling loans are quoted at 78 and 91 respectively, the amounts quoted being £76,784,185 and £87,317,884 respectively—together, £164,102,069. There is also the £11,539,986 $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. sterling loan, which stands at 65 $\frac{1}{2}$. All three so-called non-terminable loans are redeemable at the option of the Government of India.

India's sterling balances in London at present are estimated at £150,000,000. In the first ten months of the current fiscal year from April 1

last remittances of Government funds by India have been made to the extent of £55,000,000. Between the years 1927-29 and 1938-39 the India Government borrowed some £32,000,000 on balance in London by loan issues.

Welcoming this announcement as affording "solid evidence of the exceptionally strong sterling position of the India Government," the City Editor of *The Times* wrote on February 24: "How strong this is can best be judged by the returns of the Reserve Bank, which since just before the beginning of the war have shown an expansion of about £50,000,000 in sterling assets. . . . Incidentally, the ability of the India Government to deal in this manner with much of its shorter-term sterling debt removes the prospect of additional sterling loans on the London market on their maturity. And to the extent that the service of India's sterling loans is diminished by this operation, the country's exchange position is the stronger."

INDIA'S LARGE STERLING RESOURCES

In order to explain this sudden and impressive reinforcement of India's sterling resources one further quotation will suffice. It is taken from the *Financial Times*, dated February 24, and runs as follows:

INDIA TRADE BOOMING

Remarkable figures are disclosed by the January returns for Indian sea-borne trade. They are indicative of the beneficial effect of the war on trade in this part of our Empire, and are the more interesting in view of the decision of the India Government to take steps to facilitate repatriation of its sterling debt.

Total merchandise turnover actually exceeded 4,000 lakhs of rupees, a figure certainly not bettered for any single month of the past decade, and probably the highest since the halcyon days of the Great War. It must be remembered, too, that prior to April, 1937, all returns included figures for Burma, which became separated from India at the end of March of that year.

Both exports and imports increased substantially last month to the highest total for years, but the expansion in exports was the greater . . . on merchandise account alone; the favourable balance was as much as Rs. 805 lakhs. The change from January, 1939, is extraordinary, since that particular month ended with an adverse balance, both on merchandise and treasure account.

Huge Remittances

By a curious coincidence gold exports from India in January were the same as the merchandise surplus—namely, Rs. 805 lakhs. Incidentally, this was the largest gold shipment on private account from India since the Rs. 1,010 lakhs for February, 1934.

Imports of silver also swung upwards last month, but only to a modest extent, and the net result of the various movements was a favourable visible balance of trade of no less than Rs. 1,562 lakhs, the best figure since December, 1931.

For the ten months of the fiscal year to date the total balance in favour of India on all accounts is Rs. 6,063 lakhs, as compared with only Rs. 2,660 lakhs for the corresponding period of 1938-39.

Furthermore, remittances of funds last month amounted to Rs. 1,478 lakhs, making a total of no less than Rs. 7,430 lakhs for the current fiscal year. This is equivalent to more than £55,000,000.

Previous expectations having thus been justified by the sequence of events, the question arises: what of the future? And to that question the answer must be that, as far as can be calculated, the trend in Indo-British trade relations which has characterized the first months of the war is likely to persist until the conflict and the abnormal conditions and requirements it has created come to an end. In other words, as during the World War, so long as the present struggle continues, India's imports will be abnormally small, and her exports will be abnormally large. Today, as the outcome of two decades of intensive industrial development, India has a larger and more varied capacity for manufacture, and is better equipped to meet emergent and even normal requirements, than at any previous stage in her history. Furthermore, fuller utilization of her existing industrial equipment makes possible considerably larger outputs than were being achieved before the war began. To quote only one example, if the only relevant consideration was her technical capacity for production—regardless of reciprocal trade agreements and revenue considerations—India could dispense with imported cotton goods altogether, as well as with various other imported goods only slightly less important. Under war conditions, moreover, many of her normal imports will inevitably decline either owing to a temporary diminution in demand, or, in many cases, owing to lack of supplies and difficulties of transport, arising from the concentration of British productive capacity and shipping facilities on war requirements. It is not difficult to envisage many instances in which the suspension of imported supplies will be compensated by a further expansion in local manufacture, as in 1914-18 and the years that followed. Many important munition contracts have been placed in India, in respect of goods which were outside her range of production a quarter of a century ago, and if further justification was required for the programme of industrial development which has been pursued in the intervening years, it has been provided by India's additional value today as a source of supply in terms of war requirements.

INDIA'S WAR EFFORT

Indeed, it is no disparagement of India's other war efforts to say that her principal contribution to victory in the present conflict will be economic and financial—viz., in materials and money rather than in man-power. It is therefore of additional importance that India's resources in these two vital spheres should be utilized to the limit of her often underrated capacity in these

directions. In the event, indeed, of a prolonged conflict the question arises whether the United Kingdom can meet the huge expenditure involved without mobilizing the financial resources of the whole Empire, including, as a necessary corollary, the repatriation of Empire securities, valued in the aggregate at about £1,000,000,000, at present held by British investors. The assumption, implicit or explicit in so many current programmes of war finance, that repatriation is impracticable is unsupported either by ascertained facts or by reasonable probabilities. On the contrary, as attested by the official announcement quoted above, so far as India is concerned, repatriation is not only feasible. It is already in operation, and funds thus released will be available for re-investment in British War Loans.

For war and post-war purposes alike, even viewing the project exclusively from the angle of the United Kingdom, there are excellent reasons for extending every possible encouragement and facility to the repatriation process. In so far as sales of British oversea securities are in any event unavoidable, to assist in paying for essential imports, there is the not unimportant consideration that, at any rate, repatriated Empire securities, although lost to British investors, would remain within the Empire, and would continue to contribute to its aggregate financial strength. And as, apart from all other considerations, Empire markets absorb approximately 50 per cent. of all British exports, any influence making for their greater prosperity becomes of vital importance to the future welfare of British industry.

DEBTS—AND LOW COMMODITY PRICES

It is also apt to be forgotten that, owing to the low level of commodity prices during the last decade, the sterling obligations of India and the Dominions have become far more onerous than in earlier years, when primary products, which form their principal exports, yielded higher returns. This aspect of Empire indebtedness was debated very fully at the Ottawa Conference in 1932, although it attracted less attention than the more spectacular issue of preferential tariffs, which have been largely stultified by the loss of purchasing power which low commodity prices entail. Moreover, the intervening years, except for short periods, brought no substantial improvement in the commodity position: India, until the outbreak of war, being able to meet her sterling commitments, totalling about £40,000,000 yearly, only by exports of dehoarded gold which, since Great Britain left the gold standard, have aggregated over £250,000,000. As regards India, the persistence of the low-price handicap is sufficiently attested by the fact that, taking 100 as representing the price level in 1929, after working up to

72·3 in 1937 the Calcutta Wholesale Prices Index relapsed to 67·6 in 1938, and remained at about that level until late in 1939.

As I have urged, war-time trading and financial conditions afford an opportunity to cut this Gordian knot which it would be shortsighted to neglect. For India, as for the Dominions, financial independence and self-sufficiency is undoubtedly the next step forward; and economically as well as politically, the imperial structure will be immeasurably stronger when it has been attained. To summarize the position in a single sentence: only at war levels are commodity prices high enough to enable India and the Dominions to meet sterling charges without recourse to fiscal and financial measures deleterious to their purchases of British manufactures. British industrialists have for many years been fully conscious of this handicap, but no opportunity has hitherto arisen to remove it. The exigencies of war finance have created conditions rendering possible the removal of this massive hindrance to inter-imperial trade once and for all. During the World War, largely as the result of British expenditure, the United States evolved from a debtor to a creditor country. This time let our own Empire be afforded a like opportunity, and a comparable gain!

INDIA'S LATENT FINANCIAL RESOURCES

In the British Commonwealth "freedom broadens slowly from precedent to precedent." Under the Statute of Westminster the four Dominions achieved a Constitutional status which India hopes, within a measurable period, to share. Concurrently, India and the Dominions alike have made a considerable advance towards industrial maturity, and, as a result, as every newspaper reader can realize, the Empire has been made stronger for every purpose of modern warfare—in which victory depends primarily on superior industrial and financial strength—than ever before. The major units of the Commonwealth, however, will attain their full stature only when, to political autonomy and industrial development, is added the further advantage of financial self-sufficiency; and, that being so, British war expenditure, as far as practicable, might well be employed to promote the materialization of that objective. By no measure less spectacular or stimulating can the latent financial resources of the outer Empire be fully mobilized. The prompt over-subscription of the Canadian War Loan for £55,000,000 afforded one indication of the resources waiting to be tapped, and the Indian official scheme for the repatriation of sterling securities adds another. India and the Dominions are unanimously anti-Nazi, but an additional incentive may be required to ensure in these countries War Savings campaigns as extensive and intensive as that now going forward in the United Kingdom, and such an incentive would be supplied by setting before these

dynamic communities the now practicable, as well as desirable, goal of financial independence. That goal is worth striving for, even though circumstances may deter its attainment in a single stride.

After the World War Indian investors acquired substantial blocks of Indian industrial shares formerly held by British residents, and during the last couple of decades there has been no more striking feature of Indian finance than the growing ability and readiness of Indian investors to finance capital expenditure by the Government of India, and, more recently, similar commitments of the Provincial Governments and progressive Indian States. In recent years very considerable sums have also gone into industrial development: a process assisted by the exchange of hoarded gold for active currency, much of which has gone into profit-yielding investments. India's direct monetary contribution to the cost of the World War approached £150,000,000: a sum which may be contrasted with the £300,000,000 of sterling debt which, under the new official scheme, it is proposed to begin to repatriate. It is a scheme which may well enlist Indian sentiment and resources, if reinforced by skilful propaganda. For, whereas the Congress slogan, "Political Independence" provokes doubts and disunity, all classes and interests are at one in recognizing the desirability of "Financial Autonomy"; and, apart from the very solid advantages it would yield, this objective has the further considerable merit of coming within the range of practical attainment, supported by every administrative authority from the Secretary of State downwards. The Congress programme, however chimerical, may nevertheless serve as a reminder that politicians, like Stock Exchange operators, are happy only when they have "something to go for": the difference between Political and Financial Independence for India, however, being that, whereas the former would represent a reckless gamble, the latter can be vouched for as a sound investment, and therefore justifying a very strenuous, continuous and co-operative effort to attain.

POTENTIAL GAIN TO BRITISH INDUSTRY

I have indicated above that, apart from the immediate exigencies of war finance, reduction or elimination of India's sterling indebtedness would carry the considerable post-war advantage of enabling India to use her sterling resources, constantly replenished by the export to the United Kingdom of one-third of all her exports, to buy British manufactures instead of paying interest and redemption charges. And as the latter obligation, at, say, 40 crores, absorbs the sterling equivalent of approximately one-quarter of all Indian exports (which, in 1938-39, were valued at approxi-

mately 160 crores)* the potential gain to British exporters would be substantial. In fact, if the Indian remittances now allocated to British investors could be diverted wholly to the purchase of British manufactures, the result would be that British exports to India would be nearly doubled, and the profits of the exporting industries concerned would increase correspondingly. *Mutatis mutandis*, comparable benefits would ensue from the repatriation of Dominion securities. At the Ottawa Conference the New Zealand delegate epitomized the commercial consequences to that Dominion of low-commodity prices when he said: "In 1928 and 1929 the external debt charges of New Zealand absorbed little more than one-sixth of the value of exports, whilst at present they absorb about one-third of the value of exports," and that calculation remained more or less applicable up to the outbreak of the present war.

The argument here presented is therefore quite clearly that, if these interest charges continue, it can only be at the expense of British exports. Commercial conditions, it is essential to remember, are always changing, never static, and we must face the fact that a stage has been reached in the economic evolution of the British Commonwealth when British investments in India and the Dominions—although originally beneficial, by supplying the capital needed for essential developments, especially public utilities—have survived to become a burden, owing to fundamental changes in recent years in the whole system and content of international trade. In India itself, the three most decisive factors contributing to the diminution of British exports have been: the cessation of the former flow of British capital, except to a minor extent; the expansion of local manufacture; and, last not least, the sharp decline in Indian exports to Continental Europe, the proceeds of which used to go, for the most part, to the purchase of British goods. As all these new factors have come to stay, British exports to India require some new and powerful stimulus which the elimination of India's sterling obligations would unquestionably provide. Equally potent would be the restoration of commodity prices to the 1929 levels, as urged so fervently by the Empire representatives at the Ottawa Conference, but never implemented.

A certain amount of British capital continues to trickle into India, but, as compared with earlier years, there is a vital difference, alike in its destination and in its effect. When, for example, British capital, in hundreds of millions, was being utilized to build railways and extent irrigation the investment was *complementary*, stimulating the production and export of primary pro-

* *Review of the Trade of India in 1938-39*. Statistical Research Branch, India.

ducts, which ultimately were exchanged for British manufactures. In more recent years, however, British investments in India have contributed not to complementary, but to *competitive*, production—textile mills, chemical factories, cigarette factories, tyres, etc.—leading, not to an increase in British exports to India, but, directly and designedly, to their diminution. Such developments can be counteracted only by measures of equal magnitude and potency. On the one hand, as urged above, the restoration of commodity prices to 1929 levels would revive the purchasing power destroyed at the beginning of the Great Depression, and since dormant. On the other, the reduction or elimination of sterling debts and obligations would release purchasing power now mortgaged elsewhere. In this context two forecasts may be hazarded. If the two measures just specified are adopted, there is no inherent reason why British exports to India should not regain their former dimensions and value. Alternatively, a further decline will be extremely difficult to avert.

INDIA'S AGRICULTURAL INDEBTEDNESS

Even more formidable and intractable than India's external indebtedness, as a hindrance to maximum production and trade, is the onerous burden of agricultural indebtedness which has formed the theme of so many authoritative analyses: accompanied, so far, by a disproportionately small measure of remedial activity. At about £900,000,000 the aggregate amount of this rural indebtedness is approximately three times the volume of India's external indebtedness; and whereas the latter represents monies borrowed at very low rates of interest and employed to build up highly profitable assets, the former has been borrowed at very high rates of interest, and, for the most part, is not represented by any new assets at all.* In the latest Hyderabad Administration Report it is announced that in order to find out the extent of agricultural indebtedness "a thorough enquiry was conducted." Hyderabad State comprises an area of 82,698 square miles, of which 21,697,447 acres are cultivated by occupants or landholders numbering about $1\frac{1}{4}$ millions. The total agricultural debt is estimated to aggregate about $64\frac{1}{2}$ crores of rupees, the average rate of interest is calculated at 18 per cent., and it is stated that "land is passing rapidly out of the possession of agriculturists into that of moneylenders." It is also reported that though the volume of agricultural debt is large, the agriculturist is solvent and he should be able to pay off this debt from the surplus produce of land, if suitable relief measures are adopted, as the value of agricultural land is said to be twenty-six

* *Report on the Administration of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions for the year 1346 Fasli (1936-37).*

times the land revenue assessment. A number of relief and remedial measures are prescribed, and the results will be awaited with interest.

Taking India as a whole, it may be calculated that the amount of interest payable to moneylenders by the peasantry ranges between £150,000,000 and £200,000,000 per annum, and the depressing effect of this excessive toll on all forms of productivity can be readily inferred. India's economic system today, in fact, presents an anomalous juxtaposition of modern industrialism and medieval methods of cultivation and finance. The net result, as might be expected, is that while, in the main, agriculture remains stagnant—rural production failing to keep pace with the growth of population—industry remains relatively stunted, and will be unable to make a further considerable advance unless and until rural production and finance conform to more modern standards. In the last two decades it is legitimate to say that Indian industries have been sustained and stimulated largely by a form of economic cannibalism—namely, by feeding them on the import trades. As, however, nearly all such trades, coming within the range of India's powers of industrial digestion, have now been absorbed—although perhaps a few small and delectable morsels remain—not much further sustenance is available from that source. And that means that further expansion of Indian industries, in any major sense, must await the creation of new purchasing power in India itself, where the agriculturists form between 70 and 80 per cent. of the total population. In India, modern industry will, in other words, only really begin to live when usury dies. The moneylender is marked down for legislative strangulation, and the sooner he is so disposed of, the sooner India will attain a level of productivity appropriate to a country whose resources are large and whose population is rapidly approaching 400,000,000.

The solution of one economic problem often facilitates the solution of another. If and when India is able to liquidate her sterling debts, and the forty crores per annum now reserved for external payments are released for use inside the country, it need hardly be said that many developments would become possible which are at present either carried on only in a very limited way or are debarred altogether owing to lack of funds. In particular, there is vast scope in India for public utility projects. In the years preceding 1930 capital outlay on railway extensions and improvements was running at the high level of over £30,000,000 a year. All but a small fraction of that considerable commitment was abandoned in 1930, with serious reactions on many Indian and British industries, and that gap has never been refilled, either by the resuscitation of railway construction programmes, or by the

emergence of alternative outlets for surplus capital. The scope for public works nevertheless remains vast, as is incidentally indicated in the administration report of the Mysore Public Works Department* whose activities include irrigation works, the construction of roads and bridges, industrial projects, etc.—all, however, on a much more limited scale than would be possible if larger funds were available. And, of course, the report of every other State and Provincial Public Works Department reveals the same story. Every document bearing on India's economic resources carries the same lesson, including the report of the Imperial Institute† which, as Sir Harry Lindsay's annual survey shows, has meanwhile been converted from a peace-time into a war-time machine, although still preserving many of its normal functions and activities. To revert to my original theme, if circumstances enable India to repatriate her sterling debts, certain links with this country will be snapped, but new ones will be forged and many old ones will be strengthened. The British Commonwealth will achieve the highest attainable measure of political unity and economic strength when—but only when—it includes a prosperous and contented India. It is permissible to hope that a not unimportant by-product of the present conflict will be the fulfilment of that ideal.

* *Administration Report of the Public Works Department, Mysore State, 1937-38.*

† *Imperial Institute, London, Annual Report, 1939.*

THE THREE MONTHS

A CANTICLE OF SPRING

BY JOHN KAVANAGH

PERCE-NEIGE

(January)

On field and pasture, barren snow-wreaths lie,
 And, in the hedgerows, song-birds droop and fall,
 Tracing some pattern, vaguely miserable,
 Of cold and hunger. One after one they die,
 Liltless and disregarded. Old and dry,
 Like some cheap, pauperworthy, holland pall,
 A milkless mother-breast broods over all,
 The un pitying, frozen, bare, and listless sky.

Bracken! O God! The crackling to the feet,
 Warm, brown, and human! Gorse! The rabbits lurk,
 Shelter, and crop their food here. And, beyond,
 A woodland of young spruces, trim and sweet.
 And there, between the woodland and the pond,
 A pool of perce-neige—God's own handiwork.

COME! SISTER DEATH!

(February)

Come! Sister Death! Beloved Cousin, come!
 That sealest up in peace the weariest eyes,
 And lettest dream, in quiet of the tomb,
 Until, by Jesus' grace, we do arise!
 Let there be mosses strewn about my grave,
 And lonely fern, and simples, bitter-sweet,
 Like Jesus', who both lived and died to save,
 To follow whom 'twere surely right and meet.

Come! Sister Sleep! for this is now thine hour,
 And, in thy loving arms, thou cradlest deep
 The loneliest soul who lived, save Him alone,
 The Master and the Servant of His sheep.
 He holdeth still His own within His power,
 And giveth Sleep to those whose work is done.

EUCCHARISTICA

(March)

Thus do the holiest and the lowliest meet,
 Thus do the heavens bend to touch the earth,
 And skyward springs Life's answering flame, to greet
 Its Lord Redeemer, jocund with all mirth;
 For birds do hasten mated nests to build,
 And blithe, the crocus gilds the sunny glade,
 And all the land with fecund hosts is filled,
 Whom God our Father for His joy hath made.

And shall the sons of men in hovels shrink
 God's blessed Daystar, who his chains hath riven,
 Leaping to kiss and bless both brook and brink,
 Whereat the armies of the newly-shriven,
 Clad in their sin-washed robes, forgathering, drink,
 In lauding That, which He, the Lord, hath given?

MICHAEL

IN MEMORIAM M. O'D.

Of eagle vision, and of patient life,
 He laboured for a people not his own.
 Soaring above the frets of paltry strife,
 To meannesses and cowardice unknown,
 He planned and wrought; fashioning like a blade
 His steel-true mind, that blue like steel did burn.
 God give him rest! In spirit, be he laid
 Beneath Killarney's tasselled Royal Fern!

J. K.

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LEADING ARTICLE

TALES OF HORROR AND MYSTERY

BY STANLEY RICE

EVEN if the title-page has not said so, it would not have taken Sherlock Holmes or, for the matter of that, Watson to discover that the author of these tales is an Indian Civilian or that he had served most, if not all, of his time in the Bombay Province. For the heroes belong very largely to the Indian Civil Service and live in Sind or Khandesh or Kathiawar. But it would have taken these famous detectives longer to discover why the book is called *Indian Christmas Stories*.^{*} For, in fact, there is nothing in any one of them that is even remotely suggestive of Christmas, except that the scene is sometimes (but not always) laid in the Christmas camp which seems to be a feature of life in Bombay and in the North of India. None of them conjures up any vision of snow or holly, of the junketings at Dingley Dell, nor, if that is too much to expect of tales which are avowedly Indian, is there anything which touches on the usual festivities—the ski-racing, the tournaments, the dances, the banquets, sometimes over-up-roarious, which at any rate in some parts of India try to make up for their counterparts in England. On the contrary, Mr. Kincaid is, for the most part, tragic. His themes are the tiger-hunt, the camps in the Gir forest for lions, narrow escapes from an elephant, and other subjects connected with jungle life. Nor does he spare the tragedy. If he wants to, he kills the hero of his story without mercy, or slaughters an animal with equal nonchalance. As an example of the former, we may turn to the story called “A Christmas Morning in the Gir”—that is, the large forest in Kathiawar where the only lions still remaining in India are to be found. Curiously enough, this and one other are the only tales in the collection in which a European makes no appearance, and this second one is also called “A Christmas Eve in Sukkur.” In the first of these the hero dies a horrible death at the hands of a lioness and her cubs; the second is the tale of an educated Indian who is afflicted with leprosy and drowns himself in the river.

Mr. Kincaid evidently knows best and loves the part of India where he has spent the best years of his life. He touches on some of the best points in the Indian character, as in the tale called

^{*} *Indian Christmas Stories*, by C. A. Kincaid, c.v.o., i.c.s. (ret'd.). Times of India Press. Price 3s. 6d.

"The Old Graveyard at Sirur," in which the old Risaldar Major, who had been told off to avenge a feud arising out of the interruption of a *sati* ceremony by an English officer who married the young widow he had rescued, is himself carried wounded out of battle by the very man whom he had been commissioned to kill, and who thereafter becomes his devoted friend. One supposes that this story at least Mr. Kincaid picked up at first hand, for he begins: "When I was judge at Poona, several years before the Great War"—though, of course, it is not difficult to invent such a phrase.

India is an inexhaustible source for stories of the bizarre and the seemingly impossible. She has herself invented world-famous stories such as the Panchatantra, to say nothing of those which are embedded in the Mahabharata or which form part of the structure of the Ramayana. Mr. Kincaid has used with skill what would seem to be Indian material adapted to an English setting. Take, for example, the last story in the collection, called "The Werewolf." It is, of course, well known that in certain parts of India there is a belief that some men have the power of becoming beasts of prey and of destroying their fellows in that shape. In the story in question it is the *khansama* of a rest-house who becomes a hyena and all but kills an English officer, and does kill his servant. Now, from the Indian point of view there need be nothing very extraordinary in the story, though, of course, no educated Indian would today believe in it. One supposes that Mr. Kincaid has taken the story and embroidered it with the setting of two Englishmen who are travelling in a railway carriage in the hottest and most sultry time of the year, and are detained in a very hot station for a whole night. It would not be fair to tell how this episode is made to fit in to the tale of the werewolf. It must suffice to say that it is cleverly done and convincing, so far as any such stories can be convincing.

"The Naked Fakir" and "The Kidnapping of Major Mulvaney" are stories which exhibit the Indian in a less pleasant light. Both these stories hinge upon tricks. The naked fakir is really a disguised thief, who with a confederate, a disguised sepoy, manages to rob a Christmas camp of several hundred rupees while the officers are engaged in listening to a presumably cock-and-bull story of the fakir about a dancing-girl who had become *sati*. Major Mulvaney contrived to get himself kidnapped by a robber and then ransomed by the Government of Bombay, himself sharing the ransom with his bogus captor. To my mind the least satisfactory of the whole collection, which maintains a high level in the ranks of gruesomeness and mystery, is the one called "The Consequences of a Duck-Shoot." It is the story of a girl who attracts two young men; they agree that whoever shoots the

most duck shall propose to her first, and she contrives that the one she likes best shall win. There is nothing particularly Indian in this tale. Given slightly different circumstances, the whole incident might have happened in Norfolk. Nor is Mr. Kincaid quite so successful with his women as with his men, though it should be added that women figure very little in his collection. Such as there are, are too stereotyped, with "adorable smiles" and bewitching costumes and of great beauty. It may be ungallant, but I could take no interest at all, either in the sorrows of Mary, except when the elephant charged, or in the gaiety of Beryl, who pays her lover a very left-handed compliment when she tells him that she chose him because his rival had never even proposed to her.

Many of us who have lived in India must have regretted the opportunities we have lost of seeing a little further into the lives of the people. No doubt you cannot expect men who are tired after a long day's work in an uncongenial climate to deny themselves the recreation which they feel is only their due in order to poke about in search of local colour. On the other hand, these opportunities seldom come to a man in the towns and cities, and there are many officials of the I.C.S., the Forest Department, the engineers, and the police who have spent months, if not years, alone in the jungles and amongst the villagers, not suspecting, perhaps not caring, that there was an unexplored mine at hand ready to be worked. I have been into many Indian houses when visiting plague or cholera cases or intent on other business, but I have seldom delved below the surface, and could not even say whether my visits were taken in the spirit in which they were offered or were regarded as occasions for ceremonial cleansings or other Levitical purifications. It is true that I have now and then gleaned a few of the grapes of Ephraim, but not so many that I have not left more behind. Mr. Kincaid has done far more. If, as I suspect, the germs of most, if not all, of these stories is Indian, if he has heard tales of panther people, werewolves, elephants, tigers, and the rest roundabout jungle camp-fires and told in the Marathi or Gujerati or Sindi that he evidently knows well, he deserves no less credit than if they are simply the creation of his imagination. There are not many of us who could do as well. Unfortunately, the stories are so full of Indian names and Indian allusions, only some of which are explained, that not many outside those who know India would understand them properly. What would an ordinary English reader make of this: "In those days the Collector of Khandesh lived at Dhulia in almost royal state. His charge has not yet been divided, and the head of the vast collectorate was more like the governor of a province than a district magistrate. He had under him three and sometimes four

préfets, or English assistant collectors, and more than a dozen *sous-préfets*, or Brahman *mamlatdars*”? Not that it really matters to the story, but human nature, sitting down to be amused, is put off by meeting at the outset something it does not understand. Mr. Kincaid, in spite of this, has written some stirring tales for an audience which he must know is limited.

INDIA

THE RESTORATION OF THE PEASANTRIES. With special reference to that of India. By G. T. Wrench, M.D.(Lond.) (London: C. W. Daniel.) 6s. net.

(Reviewed by SIR ALFRED CHATTERTON.)

Dr. Wrench is a student of Hindu philosophy, an admirer of the simple life and an advocate of peasant cultivation such as in India is represented by the ryotwari system of land tenure. Looking round the world, apart from Egypt, which is dependent on Nile silt, only in the Far East, in China and Japan, does he find a system of agriculture carried out on a large scale which permanently maintains the natural fertility of the soil. There what he terms “the wheel of life” revolves. What is taken out and used is again returned, and there is no depletion of the soil of those elements which are essential to the growth of healthy and abundant crops. There the cultivators experience the joys of the gardener who watches his flowers and fruit respond to his gentle care. The other extreme is to be seen in America, Canada and Australia, where with ruthless mechanical efficiency the heart is dragged from the soil and in a few years the countryside is turned into a dusty desert. In this way fifty million acres are said to have been destroyed and double that area is approaching a similar condition in the United States alone. Bad farming not only leads to the impoverishment of the soil, but by the removal of the protective covering of vegetation it renders it liable to serious erosion, and the loss due to this cause is overwhelmingly greater. In the comparatively newly settled countries the ravages in this direction are most apparent, but in nearly every land they are visible and a source of anxiety to those responsible for rural well-being.

Dr. Wrench attributes this ill-treatment of the land to the rise in the first place of capitalistic owners in supersession of peasants and small-holders and later to the domination of the country by the growing ascendancy of industry in the towns. The peasant looks to his land for subsistence and cherishes its fertility; the capitalist landowner regards it as a source of power and prestige and not seldom wrings what he can out of it to obtain an adequate return on his investment. In turn, however, the landowner has become subject to the growing political power of the towns, and the interests of agriculture in industrial countries have been subordinated to the provision of cheap food for those engaged in industry. National self-sufficiency, the pressure of population or the desertion of the countryside

are each factors which have served to draw attention to the evil plight in which agriculture is floundering in many parts of the world, and vigorous efforts are being made to remedy matters.

With these problems Dr. Wrench is not concerned; his interests lie mainly in India and in the restoration of the ryots to the prosperity which he thinks there is evidence that they enjoyed in a somewhat distant and shadowy past. If, and the proviso is a very big one, they were allowed to enjoy the fruits of their labours it may be conjectured that they were better off, as then there was a choice of land, a much larger area of forest and possibly better grazing for their cattle. With greater certainty we know that they suffered from the ravages of war, pestilence and famines. Further, since the establishment of the *pax Britannica*, we know that their numbers have roughly trebled, which can only be explained on the supposition that conditions of life under British rule have been more favourable than they were in the past. The really great problem that looms ahead is that, having eliminated the major causes which kept the numbers to be fed within reasonable limits, we have not sufficiently recognized the necessity of increasing the fertility of the soil by methods capable of very wide application. Irrigation has been enormously extended, new and improved varieties of crops have been introduced, transport of surplus production and non-food crops has been facilitated. With what results? Mainly numerical, and the creation of a large class of small landowners who rack-rent their petty subtenants. Much is made of the so-called enormous burden of agricultural indebtedness. No doubt it is a great burden, but not so much because it may amount to perhaps nine hundred crores of rupees as that the rates of interest charged on it are very exorbitant. The market value of the total agricultural produce of India in an average year is certainly considerably larger than this sum, and may be possibly nearly double. The indebtedness therefore represents from a half to perhaps two-thirds the gross annual income. Crops may be on the ground from five to six months and sometimes longer. During this period the cultivator must live on his capital and pay the expenses of cultivation. Living as most do from hand to mouth, it is not surprising that he must get into debt. That he is not more in debt is due to his lack of credit and the intolerable burden of his comparatively small debt is due to his lack of business acumen and his callous indifference to a state of indebtedness. The much-maligned *sircar* is often his friend, but there is no doubt he is also a very expensive one. The Co-operative Credit movement has been a practical failure, and those who have administrative experience of its working have not been able to modify it in such a manner that it can be worked successfully. It is perhaps another example of our ill-advised efforts to introduce into the East ideas evolved in a totally different environment. Possibly village banks managed by a local panchyat would prove more suited to deal with the problems presented by the irresponsible and improvident ryot. The restoration of the authority of the village council and its endowment with real responsibility would probably solve many of the agrarian troubles that are fritting rural India. The headmen of the villages today exercise less influence as recognized agents of the *sircar* than would be the case if elected

by their fellows. There is much that can be done in the villages to improve their amenities by the co-operative working of the villagers themselves, and they have plenty of time in which to do it, as in the hot dry months of the year they have ample leisure.

The standard of cultivation in India varies enormously: in well-favoured tracts it is very high, in others where the soil is poor and nature is harsh it is perhaps to the credit of the cultivator that he can make any kind of living. The research institutes and the agricultural colleges have so far not succeeded in improving his lot, and it is probably not to their discredit that they have accomplished nothing. It would seem that Sir Albert Howard, by his Indore process of producing humus, has made the most likely advance which is capable of a very wide application. The manufacture of the compost is, however, beyond the resources of the individual ryot with a small-holding and must be undertaken by groups or by the village as a whole. Experiments in this direction might well be tried under competent supervision. It is hopeless to expect that any substitute will be found for the *bratke* or cow dung cake which is almost universally used for domestic fuel. The value of right soil is appreciated in some places, and though there is much prejudice to be overcome it is possible that in conjunction with the Indore process its use could be extended.

Compared with other Oriental countries—China, Japan, Egypt and Java—the employment of chemical fertilizers in India is comparatively small, though due to much commercial propaganda their use for special crops and by the wealthier ryots is slowly extending. The very large exports of oil seeds are a drain on the country. The displacement of vegetable oils by kerosine has intensified this movement. Oil milling in India is still in the main an indigenous industry and little has as yet been done to render the vegetable oils available for domestic use in cooking. This is relatively an expensive luxury only to be availed of by the rich, whilst margarine products and vegetable glue would, because of their lower price, command a much larger market and by their manufacture would increase the supplies of oil cake to be used either for cattle food or manure.

There is no evidence in this book that Dr. Wrench has been in any way closely in touch with the lives of the peasantry whose cause he advocates. His position is that of one who would urge the practical men to action by placing before them an historical account of agrarian movements through past centuries beginning with Carthage and Republican Rome, where the sturdy peasantry were displaced by the latifundia and slave labour which ultimately proved a potent cause of the decline of the Empire. This is contrasted with the relative stability of the peasantry in China and the development of an unrivalled system of agriculture which in spite of natural catastrophes, foreign conquests and internecine feuds has persisted to this present day. Similarly is the history of our own country treated with a view to showing that the attempt to create in Bengal the counterpart of the English landed gentry at the end of the eighteenth century was a grave mistake which has brought misery and degradation to millions. By implication Dr. Wrench claims to be one of the thinkers, and as such the function they perform is stated thus: "The thinkers do but prepare

and anticipate the time for the appearance of these men of action; by establishing a change in the sphere of thought they help to create a change of values in the sphere of action. It is not the thinkers' function to direct or control the actions of the men intimate with the soil, but to bring about positions which promote that action. They are not the actors, but by prevision they assist the men of the fields to become actors in the field of social life or politics as well as those of agriculture. The choice of values is the sphere of the thinkers, that of action the sphere of the agriculturist."

Dr. Wrench has collected a lot of information pertinent to his thesis from a great variety of sources and he has produced an interesting memoir on a very complex subject. He fairly describes the drift of events and assigns reasonable causes for them, but there as "a thinker" his function ends and he leaves it to the politicians, the administrators and the men with intimate knowledge of rural life to discover or devise the ways by which an ignorant and rather passive peasantry are to be restored to a position in which they can at least obtain as a reward for their labours the means whereby to live in health and moderate comfort. A perusal of his book may well incite some men of action to provide a sequel to his story.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE. By Rai Bahadur Diwan Chand Obhrai. (India : *The London Book Co.*)

(Reviewed by SIR WILLIAM BARTON.)

As an old Frontier officer I have read with much interest the book *Evolution of the North-West Frontier*, by a friend of former days.

The plan of the work is comprehensive, including in its scope a sketch of events on the borderland from Vedic times to the present day. Here one may comment that more details on tribal history and origins would have been interesting, especially as regards the relations of the tribes with the Mughal Empire.

As was only to be expected, the survey of border politics in the present century shows a Hindu bias. Mr. Diwan Chand Obhrai sees in a strong unified Province, with the Pathans of the hills and the plains closely compact under a national government, a danger to India. He would prefer to amalgamate the North-West Frontier with the Panjab in the hope of Indianizing the Pathan. But would not the adhesion of five or six million Muslims of the Frontier give overpowering weight to the Muslims of the Panjab and make the united provinces a still greater danger to the Hindus of India? It is interesting to note that in the Legislative Assembly of the Panjab, Hindu members voted for amalgamation in the hope that it might benefit the tiny minority of their fellow-Hindus beyond the Indus; the Muslims, on the other hand, voted against it; they preferred a strong North-West Frontier.

The course of evolution of the Province since it was founded in 1901 has not fulfilled the hopes of those responsible, and the solution of the problem of a peaceful borderland still seems remote. Mr. Diwan Chand indulges in no forecasts, and ends his book with a brief sketch of the Congress Govern-

ment in office, a government which has now sacrificed itself on the altar of truth and non-violent non-co-operation at the summons of a little Hindu Faqir.

The book is dedicated to Mahatma Gandhi.

FEDERAL FINANCE. By Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan. (Baroda : *Baroda State Press.*) 12 annas.

(Reviewed by G. FINDLAY SHIRRAS.)

This little book by Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan contains the two papers read by him at Baroda on March 6 and 7 of last year and are known as the "Shrimant Sayajirao lectures." The Baroda Government was fortunate in its choice, as Sir Shafaat is not only a well-known historian but was also a delegate to the three Round-Table Conferences, 1930-32. He was, it will be recalled, a member of the two Federal Finance Committees.

Here we are given a very readable account of the exhaustive enquiries into federal finance in India, enquiries that continued from 1928 until their results were incorporated in the Government of India Act, 1935. The relation of the Federal Finance Committee's proposals to the famous White Paper incorporating the views of the British Government is perhaps the best part of the book, and without any peradventure of doubt the clearest exposition of what the Federal Finance Committee did apart from the reports themselves.

Provincial autonomy came into force on April, 1937, and the Federation itself, including the Indian States and the new form of government at the centre, would have come into being in 1940 or 1941 but for the war. The postponement, regrettable in some ways, was unavoidable. At the end of the war, to quote the Viceroy, Government "will be very willing to enter into consultation with representatives of the several communities, parties, and interests in India, and with the Indian Princes, with a view to securing their aid and co-operation in the framing of such modifications as may seem desirable." Sir Shafaat, like most leading Indians of our time, sees as clearly as the noonday sun the benefits of federation to India, and does not hesitate to place before his readers the courage of his convictions.

He describes the financial administration of India before the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, which came into being in 1921. He does not conceal the disadvantages of a highly centralized bureaucracy. To him provincial autonomy before these reforms "was a farce or a tragedy or both, and provincial representatives competed with ill-concealed jealousy among themselves for a generous helping of the loaves and fishes which the Burra Sahibs of Simla doled out to hungry governments enclosed within the circuit of their parochial pride and strongly marked by the peculiar complexion of their administration." Hard words these. The close student of Indian public finance will hardly agree with our author in this respect, especially when he traces the development of the financial powers of the Provinces right up to the Reforms. When we look back on the history of these Pro-

vincial Settlements and remember the Gladstonian outlook on public expenditure and public income we are not oblivious to their advantages. Those were not the days of huge expenditures on the social services, notably education.

It will be remembered that the Constitution of 1919, which came into operation in 1921-22, separated central and provincial heads of revenue in order, it was thought at the time, to make provincial autonomy a reality. Even then the system did not work, and from 1921 to 1937 the financial relations between the Central and Provincial Governments were unsatisfactory. The heads of revenue assigned to the Provinces were, as compared with those of the Central Government, both inelastic and insecure. I believe, with Sir Otto Niemeyer, that there has been a tendency to exaggerate the extent to which the Provinces have been dependent upon central assistance, and Sir Shafaat Khan's two lectures are an illustration of this view.

The two main problems of federal finance in India—the assistance required by certain Provinces if they are to maintain financial equilibrium and the transfer of a share of income-tax proceeds to all Provinces—are dealt with adequately in spite of the wide field to be covered in the space of two lectures. The apportionment of taxes and the adjustment of the financial relations between the Federal Government and the units in Canada, Australia, South Africa, Germany, Switzerland, and the United States have been matters of great difficulty, and India, especially in the relationship between the Centre and the Indian States, had a like experience.

Sir Shafaat Khan is particularly effective on the issues raised by the Report of the Davidson Committee in regard to the Indian States.

In years to come the Government of India Act, 1935, will be looked upon by economists and students of politics alike as a signal triumph of a written constitution. The task bore no resemblance to that of Alexander Hamilton and other Fathers of the American Union, nor like that of Sir John Macdonald and his colleagues in Canada. In India it was the very reverse. As the authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report aptly put it: "We have to demolish the existing structure, at least in part, before we can build the new. Our business is one of devolution, of drawing lines of demarcation, of cutting long-standing ties. The Government of India must give and the Provinces must receive; for only so can the growing organism of self-government draw air into its lungs and live." It is evident that with normal years ahead, and given the appropriate political environment, the Centre should be able to meet the demands of the Provinces even if they are larger than was in some quarters anticipated.

Sir Shafaat Khan is to be congratulated on covering so skilfully and with such clarity a wide and difficult field of public finance. Although the table of contents is a full one, there is no index. The Baroda State Press deserves praise for the printing, so singularly free of error, of a book which ought to be bought, read and kept.

EAST VERSUS WEST: A DENIAL OF CONTRAST. By P. Kodanda Rao. (*Allen and Unwin.*) 10s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by H. S. L. POLAK.)

In this book Mr. P. Kodanda Rao has rendered a very real service by applying not merely a breath, but a powerful gale, of common sense to a superstition that has done infinite harm to international and interimperial relations, and he has blown it to pieces with devastating thoroughness. Not that there will not be for a long time large numbers of people who will remain blind to all the evidence against the doctrines of racial, religious, or cultural superiority or exclusiveness; for it requires much objective frankness, much tolerance, and much self-abnegation before liberation from one such complex or another is achieved.

Mr. Kodanda Rao has been fortunate in his experience of life, which has admirably fitted him for his task. At an early age, under the personal influence of Mr. G. K. Gokhale, its President-Founder, he became a member of the Servants of India Society. He later came to be the editor of its weekly organ, the *Servant of India*, and he is now the Secretary of the Society. He was the personal secretary of the Right Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri (to whom he dedicates this book) during the latter's period of office as the first Agent of the Government of India in the Union of South Africa, where he had ample opportunities of studying race-problems at close hand. He was one of Mr. Sastri's assistants during the Indian Round-Table Conferences in London, where he made an intimate study of some of the problems connected with Indo-British relations and of the arguments used on either side in connection with the constitutional questions arising therefrom. Later, he spent a period of intensive study of Race Relations under Dr. C. T. Loram at the Yale University; and he afterwards attended and participated in an international conference on racial relations. Finally, he has married a lady from the West to whom, among others, he pays a tribute for help received.

As is evident from the Bibliography annexed to the text and from the richness and variety of the quotations upon which he bases much of his argument and which help him in his conclusions, Mr. Kodanda Rao's reading has been wide and catholic. It has included the views of those from whom he differs profoundly as well as those with whom he equally profoundly agrees. What one notes with interest is the calmness of his treatment of his subject, the objective quality of his analysis, the readiness and aptness of his illustration, and the pungency and terseness of his conclusions.

The results of his study, he claims, not unjustly, "tend to strengthen, rather than weaken, the doubts regarding the validity and value of the current concepts of Western and non-Western civilization, and of the development of culture by one group and its diffusion to another. They reveal that several concepts current among students of anthropology, sociology and civilization are invalid. The study seeks to suggest what seems to be a truer interpretation of the nature of civilization, and of its origin and diffusion, particularly the differential diffusion of different culture elements."

He shares with Professor Julian Huxley a regret for the continued lamentable confusion, "in spite of the work of the geneticist and anthropologist," between the ideas of race, culture and nation, as also Professor Huxley's conclusion: "It would be highly desirable if we could banish the question-begging term 'race' from all discussions of human affairs and substitute the non-committal phrase 'ethnic group.'" Mr. Kodanda Rao's own conclusion on the whole matter is that "civilization is one and is indivisible into Eastern and Western; its elements are a function ever of time, decreasingly of space, but never of race."

We may be grateful, too, for Sir S. Radhakrishnan's characteristic and appreciative Foreword to this excellent book, which deserves a wide public. In times like the present, when many preconceptions and misconceptions are in the melting-pot, it is good to be reminded by the author that "civilization is a common heritage; each individual is heir to all knowledge," and that "the only right course is to secure universal accessibility to universal culture."

The report of the Administration of Jails in Hyderabad for the past year throws an interesting light on one of the difficulties of abolishing capital punishment. The Nizam's Government abolished or rather suspended the death penalty some years ago and the Director-General of Jails in noting a large increase in the breaches of jail discipline attributes it to the number of life prisoners who in former days would have undergone the death penalty. "They have nothing to hope for and little to fear, and many of them defy the jail authorities and instigate other convicts to commit breaches of jail discipline. On many occasions life convicts of this nature have appealed to me to execute them rather than keep them confined for the rest of their life." So it would seem that life imprisonment is a severer penalty than death, in the criminal's mind. This reinforces the plea for the abolition of capital punishment, but it also prompts consideration of measures to remedy the desperate temper of the prisoners. Mr. S. T. Hollins, the Director-General, formerly Inspector-General of Police in the United Provinces of India, proposes that convicts should be released after thirty years' imprisonment. They would be less undisciplined he thinks if they knew that they were not destined to spend the rest of their lives in prison. His Exalted Highness' Government is contemplating action on those lines and has accordingly approved Mr. Hollins' new rules. Otherwise the administration of the jails seems to have satisfactorily dealt with a prison population of just under 3,000. Special attention is being given to reformatory activities and to elimination of recidivism.

FAR EAST

COLONIAL REPORTS : HONG-KONG, 1938. (*H.M. Stationery Office.*) 3s. net.

(*Reviewed by SIR WILLIAM SHENTON.*)

The 1938 Report on the Social and Economic Progress of the People of Hong-Kong has recently been issued from the Colonial Office. It grows in magnitude year by year. In 1934 it ran into forty-nine pages; the 1938 Report contains no less than 186 pages.

A new departure is an appendix giving a list of publications of general interest relating to Hong-Kong, and another appendix dealing with the effects of the Sino-Japanese hostilities. This second appendix is of particular interest, as it deals with the great influx of refugee population and the steps taken to meet it and its general effect on the trade of the Colony.

A phenomena of such a nature must have called for clear vision and careful administration, and a perusal of this appendix goes to show that the many problems were solved with human consideration and on an economic basis.

This influx not only brought in its train a large increase in disease, but cast on the financial resources of the Colony a largely starving and homeless population.

The year under review was prosperous, the normal population showed a substantial increase, trade generally was good, and both revenue and expenditure indicated a healthy expansion.

The old and difficult question of overcrowding came under consideration, and the Housing Commission appointed in 1935 presented its Report. The problem is mainly how to get a quart into a pint pot, and the recommendations, if followed, should, at any rate, alleviate an almost chronic condition.

The Colony, as a Crown Colony, is an interesting study of the City State, for here is an island thirty-two square miles in extent, with a Governor, an Admiral, a General, a Chief Justice, a Legislative Council of seventeen members, working under standing orders similar in many respects to those of the House of Commons, and exercising general legislative and municipal powers in a comprehensive form, a leading international port of the world, comprising banking, insurance, shipping, and general interests all co-operating happily, irrespective of nation, race, or creed.

Surely it would be difficult to find anywhere else in the world an example for microscopic investigation by either the student of government or the enthusiastic exponent of psychology.

The Report makes interesting reading.

KHYBERIE IN BURMA. By Major C. M. Enriquez and illustrated by K. F. Barker. (*A. and C. Black.*) 5s. net.

(*Reviewed by THEODORA BENSON.*)

If any child you know is laid up with a cold or a sprained ankle and there's reading aloud to be done, spend 5s. on *Khyberie in Burma*, by

Major C. M. Enriquez, and the chances are good that everyone will be pleased. It fits a wide range of ages, since it is extremely simple and plain-sailing in manner, and the matter is not only exciting, but interesting and even true.

Khyberie in Burma tells us "the adventures of a mountain pony," and it tells them in the first person. We have long had to accept the first-person device, and are used to the autobiographies of fictional characters who in real life would be almost as inarticulate as ponies, but Khyberie himself is sometimes a little apologetic about it and explains that his master, Captain Malcolm, has really helped him out.

This is a sympathetic story, unsentimental and beautifully concise. It is happily supported by the pen-and-ink illustrations of K. F. Barker, and the whole thing is alive not only because in the main outline the episodes are true (which might only make it informative), but because it is written realistically.

"At one corner there was a small crowd, with three policemen in the centre holding a middle-aged man who was covered with blood. On the ground beside them lay a youth dead in the sunshine, with a horrible gash across his head, and over him a woman was weeping distractedly. The young man's dog had eaten the breakfast of the older man's dog, and in a sudden fury the older man had cut the other down with a dah. And there he lay dead in the cool, dancing sunshine.

"And all for a plate of food,' mused the old Commissioner as we rode on. 'Well, I have known it done for a box of matches, and that is less.'"

Not that this is a tough book. In just as matter-of-fact a way, it puts over enormous charm; and not the same charm for the Burmese and the Chinese either! It makes one want to travel, and there is nothing that even parents—so much tenderer than children—can't take.

Here is my favourite example of the well-chosen word.

"My Second Coronation" (the diary of a usurper king is being quoted) "was solemnized this day in a stately cave; a lovely place forty cubits long and thirty cubits wide, garnished with figures of gnats, dragons and animals, not the work of men, but of Nature. This day the Earth shook, the Moon eclipsed, and two Suns rose together in the East."

"There was never any suggestion that Saya San was mad. Simply he was mediæval."

NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

TO PERSIA FOR FLOWERS. By Alice Fullerton. (*Oxford University Press.*)
10s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by LADY FOWLE.)

This is a very pleasant book, which can be enjoyed both by those who know Iran ("Persia" until recently), and those who have never been and can never hope to go there.

There is an appendix with a full description of the flowers found, but this part is headed by the warning "For Flower-Lovers Only." The book

itself, with its intimate account of day-to-day life in the Persian village of Sultanabad as seen by the author and her friend Miss Lindsay during the months in which they made it their headquarters in their search for specimens, should delight all those who like to know how "the other half of the world live."

If these are the only Englishwomen the local inhabitants met, our stock must be rated very high, for they went prepared to be friendly and helpful and in return they received kindness and hospitality.

The medical help given to the very best of the travellers' ability and equipment must have taken up a great deal of time and the descriptions of some of the "cases" make amusing reading, for sound common sense added to rapid improvisation often won the day.

The photographic illustrations are numerous and attractive.

The expedition was made in 1935 under the auspices of the Natural History Museum.

FRENCH BOOKS

SOLDATS D'ORIENT VOUS AVIEZ FAIT UNE EUROPE NOUVELLE. By René Vanelande. (Paris: *Peyronnet*.)

(Reviewed by C. A. KINCAID, C.V.O.)

Some two years after the war of 1914-1918 I was asked in India to set a general knowledge paper as an after-dinner amusement. One of my questions was, "Who was the Allied general who conquered Bulgaria?" Every English competitor gave the name of Lord Allenby. The only correct answer was given by a young Hellene gentleman, who had been in the Greek contingent of the victorious army. He wrote down the name of Franchet d'Espérey.

Strangely enough this ignorance is almost as widespread in France as in England. This is partly due to the very natural interest in Foch's campaign, so much nearer home, and partly to the really undue modesty of the victorious hero of the Eastern expedition. General Franchet d'Espérey has published a book on this aspect of the Great War, but in a style so unassuming as to make the author of the *De Bello Gallico*, surely no braggart, seem as much a boaster as the late Mr. Barry Lyndon.

On June 28, 1918, General Franchet d'Espérey, one of the army commanders of the Marne, arrived from France to take over the command of the allied army in Greece. It consisted of a heterogeneous force of 210,000 French, 120,000 Serbs, 100,000 English, an Italian division and some newly raised Greek regiments. In front of them were the tremendous natural barriers of the Vardar hills, fortified with the skill and industry of German engineers, and defended by a homogeneous Bulgar-German army of 450,000 men, while in Roumania was cantoned Von Mackensen with another half million German soldiers. In these natural ramparts there seemed no gap, but the very strength of the position was its weakness. Judging it impregnable, the Bulgarian command had prepared no secondary

defensive lines. Thus if the impossible happened and the Bulgarian lines were stormed, there were no further defences to which the beaten force could rally, and because genius was in command it was just the impossible that did happen.

On September 15, 1918, the Franco-Serbian army advanced to the assault. By evening, after fearful fighting, the Bulgarian lines were pierced, but at the cost of 2,000 French dead alone; but neither fatigue nor losses checked the advance of the Allies. The Serbs in an ecstatic frenzy poured through the breach in the Bulgarian lines. The French, invincible as ever in victory, charged alongside. On September 23, six days after the first attack, the allied troops entered Gradsko, forty miles from their starting-point. Franchet d'Espérey then launched his African cavalry. They only numbered 2,000 men, but after four sleepless nights and days they reached Uskub, and by occupying the passes of Kalkandelen cut off the retreat of 100,000 of the beaten enemy. On September 26, thirteen days after the first offensive, the Bulgarian Government sued for peace. Ninety thousand prisoners had been taken, and the hostile army of 450,000 men were dispersed, killed or captive. This victory cut off the Turks from Germany and made Allenby's victories possible.

The Paris authorities, unable to grasp their general's magnificent success, thought that he had risked enough and refused him both reinforcements and supplies. Nothing, however, checked the ardour of Franchet d'Espérey and his troops. The Serbians drove the Germans first out of Nissa and then out of Belgrade. On November 1 the Turks surrendered; on November 4 Austria-Hungary did the same. Still the Armée de l'Orient continued its northern march. Von Mackensen, who combined the courage of his Scotch ancestors with the treachery of his German brothers, began to think how he could escape back to Germany with all his plunder. He sent back so many lorry loads of troops and loot that in the end he had not a force large enough to protect himself. At last the French general, exasperated at the Feld Marschall's trickery and mendacity, took him prisoner.

This was the fitting climax. In three months Franchet d'Espérey had crushed Bulgaria, freed Serbia and Roumania, occupied Croatia, Dalmatia and Hungary, annihilated with a force half its size an army of a million men, and he finally had completed his gigantic achievement by taking prisoner the hostile commander-in-chief.

I do not propose to follow M. Vanlande through his criticisms of the statesmen, who squandered the results of the Allied victories by creating a Germany stronger and greater than the one they had overthrown. Nevertheless, M. Vanlande's strictures are well worth reading. I shall close by thanking him in the name of the readers of the *ASIATIC REVIEW* for having written with French lucidity and a soldier's restraint the story of the most astonishing campaign of which I have any knowledge.

LES EMPIRES COLONIAUX. By C. A. Le Neveu. (Paris: Editions J. de Gigord.)

(Reviewed by C. A. KINCAID, C.V.O.)

In this charming book, admirably printed and also supplied in profusion with maps, sketches, and reproductions of old pictures, M. Le Neveu has attempted to put before his readers a short history of the origins of European colonies and their progress, as well as the advantages and disadvantages brought by them to their mother country. It gives me great pleasure to assure them that in this interesting experiment M. Le Neveu has admirably succeeded.

Historians have long fixed the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of modern times as the year 1453, the date of the Turkish capture of Constantinople; but about that time many other important events happened. In 1469 modern Spain sprang from the union of Castile and Arragon. Burgundy and France were united in 1479. In 1492 Ferdinand the Catholic retook Granada, and his admiral, Christopher Columbus, discovered America; while in 1498 Vasco da Gama doubled the Cape and landed in Calicut.

The struggles that led to the consolidation of France and Spain were based on political considerations; but the motives of Christopher Columbus and of Vasco da Gama were largely commercial. This was especially the case with the Portuguese, who sought to reduce the innumerable middlemen, who one after the other extorted profit from every bale of silk, perfume, gums, etc., that made its way from the East to Western Europe.

M. de Neveu has contrasted the different procedure adopted by the colonizing nations. The Spaniards went as conquerors to North and South America, and to the end remained conquerors. They stayed in the Americas and made the inhabitants learn Spanish and adopt the Catholic faith, but the number of the Spanish emigrants was so great that Spain was depopulated. The English, largely fugitives from religious persecution, set up at once free institutions of their own, similar to those that they had sought to set up in England. To realize this ideal it was necessary that the colonial community should be homogeneous. This could only be achieved by the expulsion of the native inhabitants; so they expelled or massacred them. The Portuguese mixed more freely than other nations with the local populations and created a large half-caste community that reduced rather than added to the strength of their colonial government. The French tried to turn Indians both in the West and East into good Frenchmen. It is impossible to say whether they would have succeeded, for both from America and India they were driven out by their rivals. They are now continuing the same policy in their vast African empire, and so far with admirable results; but it is as yet early to judge of their ultimate success. The Germans did not become colonizers until the nineteenth century; but as their only method was the extermination of the autochthones, it was fortunate that the Great War, 1914-1918, put an end to their *lebensraum* ambitions outside Europe.

In a new colonial possession the most important question is that of transport. The English in India have built many railways, but they have badly neglected their roads, which are often no better than the tracks that existed at the time of their conquest. The French, inspired by the old Latin

tradition, have everywhere built admirable roads, but their railways, especially in North Africa, might well be more plentiful. The Italians, only recently become a colonial Power, have followed the French example and have created wonderful autostrades throughout Libya. The Belgians have made both roads and railways, but they have harnessed the giant Congo and use river transport more than any other colonial Power. The latest form of transport is aviation, and this has been most largely adopted by the French, although by no means neglected by the English.

Curiously enough, the increased efficiency of transport is not entirely without its disadvantages. In the French and English possessions the administration derived great benefit from the slow progress and efficient supervision of the official, who toured on horseback. Even when he passed through his district in a railway train he could still be seen and petitioned when the locomotive stopped at the numerous wayside stations. Now all that the dwellers of vast districts in French Africa see of their proconsul is a speck in the sky, travelling at 250 miles an hour towards some remote province, of which none of the skygazers has ever heard.

Colonies may hinder as well as increase the mother country's commerce. During the early occupation of a colony ploughs are needed to replace the wooden surface scratchers used by the natives. Mechanical reapers and threshers take the place of hand labour. Locomotives and lorries oust man- and horse-borne traffic, and, as the necessary implements are manufactured in the homeland, its industries profit greatly. A time, however, comes when local factories are erected and ploughs, lorries, and locomotives are manufactured in the colonies, and the colonial industrialists, helped by distance, oust their home competitors from the local trade. We have seen in our time Lancashire piece goods driven out of India by the Bombay mills, and Algerian and Moroccan wines even threaten the wine trade in France itself. Fortunately, we have also seen Indian and North African troops fighting in France on the side of the Allies.

Much as I should like to continue my examination of M. Le Neveu's charming book, I am afraid I must stop. I shall end my critique by recommending it to all readers of the *ASIATIC REVIEW*, especially to those still obsessed with the idea that only English colonies are efficiently administered and that "Frenchmen have no idea how to colonize"—a doctrine that was very prevalent in my Victorian youth!

GENERAL

THE EVOLUTION OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE AND COMMONWEALTH. By Sir John Marriott. (*Nicholson and Watson*.) 12s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by SIR FRANK NOYCE, K.C.S.I., C.B.E.)

In one of the recent Oxford pamphlets on World Affairs, Mr. H. V. Hodson, the Editor of *The Round Table*, points out that the relations between the different parts of the Empire to each other and to the whole are essentially derived from their history and cannot be understood without refer-

ence to that history. Sir John Marriott's book removes any excuse for ignorance of the evolution and development of the Empire and Commonwealth, as both he and Mr. Hodson call it. He traces them in considerable though not unnecessary detail from the great outburst of maritime activity at the end of the sixteenth century to the present day. He explains that his book is expository and not argumentative. In his last chapter he therefore refuses to indulge in prophecy, and is content to indicate a few of the problems of Empire which await solution. Among them is one which may well prove of vital importance to India in the near future, that of the relationship of Federal to Provincial Governments, a question which has arisen in an acute form both in Canada and Australia. Others are defence, foreign affairs and migration. The least satisfactory chapter of a good book is the somewhat cursory and pessimistic survey of developments in India, but Sir John Marriott has the excuse that he dealt with India at length in his work on *The English in India* published some seven years ago. His latest book should prove an admirable textbook for the upper forms of schools, though it has, of course, a far wider appeal. There are three slips which should be corrected in the future editions which will certainly be called for. Archbishop Whately was Archbishop of Dublin, not of Dunedin (page 142); Sir Patrick Duncan became Governor-General of the Union of South Africa in 1937, not 1931 (page 303); and the author of *The India We Served* is Sir Walter Lawrence, not Laurence (page 322).

LONDON SCHOOL OF HYGIENE AND TROPICAL MEDICINE (UNIVERSITY OF LONDON) INCORPORATING THE ROSS INSTITUTE. Report for the year 1938-39.

(Reviewed by SIR ALFRED CHATTERTON.)

The London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine was founded in 1898, the year in which Sir Patrick Manson announced to the Annual Meeting of the British Medical Association the completion of the unveiling of the mystery of malaria by Sir Ronald Ross. It was of supreme importance to have discovered the part played by the *Anopheles* mosquito in the transmission of the disease from one man to another, but there yet remained much work to be done before practical results on a large scale could be obtained. Thus arose the Ross Institute, which ultimately in 1934 joined hands with the London School, so that under one general control scientific research and its practical application to local conditions could be carried on. The Report shows that both School and Institute still retain their individuality, since each submits a separate account of its activities. There are many departments in the School and the record of their work is quite unintelligible to the layman, and only here and there can one pick out titbits which refer to matters within the ken of the ordinary citizen. Such examples may be found in the application of chemical manures to soils infested with parasites; in the investigations of Professor Buxton into the natural populations of head lice and on the relation between the number of

these insects and the season of the year and the age and sex of the human host; in the studies of Mr. Muirhead Thomson on a particular species of mosquito that prefers shade to sunlight but is never found at the edge of a stream or channel if it is in the shade; whilst the work of Dr. Birkinshaw on wood-rotting fungi is of interest to many, as it is best exemplified in the "dry rot" which is the cause of so much trouble in private houses.

On the other hand, the activities of the Ross Institute of Tropical Hygiene are more easily appreciated, since they consist mainly in the reduction of the results of scientific work to practical measures. As such they are classified as follows: 1. Work overseas consisting of (a) Practical assistance to governments and industrial undertakings, (b) research in connection with this practical work. 2. Work in London consisting of (a) advice and assistance chiefly to commercial companies and (b) the teaching of tropical hygiene both to medical men and laymen who have been or are going abroad. To quote from the Report of the Director, Sir Malcolm Watson: "In other words, the Institute, by actual demonstration overseas and by teaching at home, attempts to show how the scientific knowledge acquired in the other departments of the School may be applied to everyday life in tropical countries with the object of preventing, controlling and limiting the diseases which hamper the development of those countries." Malaria is still by far the most important of these scourges, and the great measure of success which has attended the work in this direction is well set forth in the address given on Mosquito B~~oy~~, May 13, 1938, by Mr. Eric Macfayden, in which he described the result achieved in the Malay Peninsula in which Malcolm Watson, then Government surgeon in Klang, played an initial and leading part. He rendered the great discoveries of Manson and Ross fertile in the extreme, and in the words of Mr. Eric Macfayden: "If it had not been for malaria control British Malaya as we know it today could never have been realized. Its populous towns, its railways and roads which have unlocked its natural resources, the monster dredging plants representing an outlay of millions sterling which excavate its tin, its 300,000 acres of rubber, not a tithe of these developments could have been achieved had malaria remained uncontrolled." Dutch medical men and scientists appreciate the nature and value of the work in Malaya, and later the co-operation of the Rockefeller Foundation was obtained in the initiation of similar measures to deal with malaria in Europe. From the date of his discovery, Ross favoured the destruction of the mosquito in its larval stage as the best means of eradicating malaria in towns, and advocated research into the life history of the various species of mosquito. But many in the medical profession thought otherwise, and under the leadership of the late Robert Koch, an eminent German bacteriologist, put forward the idea that the way to prevent malaria was to cure the patient, and that if this was done everywhere the disease would be entirely eliminated, since there would be no source from which the mosquito could become infected. Quinine and other drugs were to be produced on an enormous scale, but the efforts of many medical men in the last twenty years have failed to produce any useful result, and the Malaria Commission of the League of Nations stated in 1937: "Experience has so far shown that the eradication of malaria from a

locality by the curative and prophylactic treatment with the drugs at present available is practically impossible."

Apart from training hundreds of medical men in tropical medicine more than fifty expeditions have been sent to tropical regions to carry on research. The work is carried on systematically. The first stage is to find out how the disease is caused, then follows investigation into the means by which it is spread.

It will give some idea of the wide range of the activities of the School and Institute to quote again from Sir Malcolm Watson's 1937-38 report: "Some diseases, like yaws, passed from one human being to another by direct contact; Malta fever was acquired by drinking goat's milk; yellow fever, relapsing fever, dengue fever, typhus fever, plague, sleeping sickness, phlebotomus fever were acquired from the bites of mosquitoes, ticks, lice, sand flies, fleas or tsetse flies; while some parasitic worms had a complicated life history, part of which was passed in snails. Some appeared to be primarily diseases of animals which at times spread to men. That raised many new, strange and difficult problems in the control of tropical disease, some of them still unsolved."

An important feature of the Ross Institute is the Industrial Advisory Committee consisting of representative men of all branches of industrial and agricultural activity carried on in tropical regions. They are drawn from India, Ceylon, Malaya, the African colonies and the dominion of South Africa. There are also representatives of some of the great British corporations whose ramifications are world-wide. This committee, under the chairmanship of Mr. G. H. Masefield, with the assistance of the organizing secretary Major H. Lockwood Stevens, was formed in 1928 to keep industry in touch with science, to make the tropics healthy and to expand the markets of the world. An annual meeting is held in London in the City about the end of April, and to it the Director, Sir Malcolm Watson, submits a report of the work done during the past year. Memoranda on the subjects to be discussed at the meeting are also circulated. At the last meeting, held on April 21, 1939, the subjects brought up for discussion were: Malaria in Ceylon; the India and West Africa Branches of the Ross Institute; housing in the tropics; standard health returns for tea estates; air conditioning in the tropics; anti-malarial oils; septic tanks; eye fly and domestic refrigeration. In addition Col. F. P. Mackie gave a short address on the transmission of disease by aircraft, with special reference to the terrible results which might ensue from the introduction of yellow fever into Asiatic ports. Detailed references to so wide a range of interests is beyond the scope of this note, but it may be well to draw attention in this Journal to the importance and variety of the work being done in India. It was in this country that Ross began his work in 1892, and early in 1898, mainly at the instance of Dr. Manson and the United Planters Association of Southern India, he was placed on special duty by the Government of India to continue his investigations, which were followed with great interest by many who had experience of the difficulties created in the Public Works Department and the planting industries by the ravages of malaria. Compared, however, with the Malay States, comparatively little was done till 1930 when

a branch of the Institute was started in Calcutta with Dr. G. C. Ramsay as principal. Since then both in research and in the control work great progress has been made. It has been established that in Northern India the chief carrier has its maximum prevalence during the rains, whilst in Southern India the carriers are of other species and they are washed away by the rains during the monsoon. The work in India has so greatly developed that it has become necessary to reorganize the branch and increase the staff. A committee of control for the branch has been formed under the chairmanship of Sir James Reid Kay, and this committee will in future be responsible for the administration of the Ross Institute in India and will forward the work of the branch in the best interests of the subscribers and for the benefit of industry generally. Apparently it is expected to be financially independent of the parent Institute. The Director in London is to be responsible for advising the committee of control in Calcutta on matters affecting the interests of the branch, on the medical policy of the Ross Institute and on the appointment of medical officers to the staff in India. It may be well to emphasize the fact that in eight years the results of control have been recognized by the tea industry both in Northern and Southern India as an important economic factor in reducing the costs of running an estate. The success of such work depends entirely on the co-operation of the planter, and it is necessary that he should realize that a healthy labour force is just as necessary as healthy tea bushes to the production of satisfactory commercial results. To obtain his intelligent assistance there is an annual malarial control course for laymen held in London in the early summer months, and year by year it is becoming increasingly popular. In the year 1939 the attendance was 222, of whom 120 were tea planters from India. Since this course was first started over 1,000 persons have attended, and of these 590 were planters. Figures which speak for themselves.

The home of the School and Institute is in Keppel Street, W.C. 1, near the new buildings of London University. It is a worthy monument to the memory of the great pioneers Manson and Ross, whose discoveries are therein rendered year by year more fertile in the development of prosperity and happiness in many regions of the world which were formerly regarded as little better than death traps for human beings. In conclusion, tribute should be paid to the late Mr. Joseph Chamberlain and his two sons, Sir Austen Chamberlain, K.G., and the present Prime Minister, Mr. Neville Chamberlain, for the abiding interest they have, each in turn, taken in the work of rendering the tropical regions of our Empire fit for men to work in without undue toll upon their health and energy.

THE BAIGA. By Verrier Elwin. (*John Murray.*)

(*Reviewed by* MRS. MARGUERITE MILWARD.)

Verrier Elwin's great work on the Baiga is the outcome of seven years of close study and firm friendship with the Baiga people. By great good for-

tune I happened to visit the Ashram at Sanrhwachhapar in 1937, and came in for the making of the book in its final stages.

Everything that happened in or out of the village was centred round the book. Verrier Elwin lived in a typical Gond hut backed up against the wild jungle and facing the sunset and distant plain; a wide verandah, a long room with all the front open to the elements, and in the centre a great desk covered with the Baiga manuscript piled high. No one dared disturb the author at his work except the Baiga himself; and he knew that he was always welcome, for was he not the soul and essence of the book?

A great fête was held at Sanrhwachhapar during my stay and at least four distant Baiga villages participated. The girls were gay with waving head-dresses and the young men looked like wandering minstrels. Dances on the green were a special point of study, and the mysteries of steps were discussed again and again.

Later we all went for a tour of Baiga villages and I had the good luck to meet the Maikal Hill people and to visit the true Baiga country with its wealth of scenery and sal trees. At Amerdob it was wonderful to see how Verrier Elwin tackled the people and how he made friends. At Lumni we discovered the prize door (page 34). Of Bohi I have unforgettable memories. Its wide village-green with huts on three sides, its little black scavenger pigs, its friendly fires in the centre with Verrier Elwin joking with all the men.

Here most of the line-drawings were evolved. Fascinating models of all kinds were brought to my tent door where I sat and drew traps and charms, baskets and Baigas. To copy the tattooing on the legs and arms of Jitho was a *tour de force* (pages 20 and 21).

The Baiga book provides astonishingly easy and interesting reading even for those who are not learned in anthropology. It is so exceedingly well put together, subdivided and classified that it carries one on from page to page.

Added to this the book is interspersed with revealing photographs, which not only picture the gaiety and charm of the Baiga but minutely explain their customs and manners. Some of the most fascinating subjects that are dealt with are the description of food (page 46), the Baiga superstitions (page 64), thrilling stories of ceremonies such as the Mati Uthan (page 298) and the festivals of the Dassara and the Laru Kai (page 401). But perhaps some may find the greatest charm in chapter eleven, entitled "Myths of the Baiga," written in Verrier Elwin's simple and inimitable style.

I agree with the author that the life stories (page 132) are the most valuable part of his book. Some are full of humour and tell of many wives and many husbands. Some are heartrending and make one weep. These simply told tales express what Hunting and Bewar mean to the Baiga. The descriptions of their method of cultivation (Chap. III.) is of vital interest. To quote from one of them: "Government has tried hard to take away my bow and arrow, but I said, 'The day the bow leaves my hand I will die.'"

The poetry of the Baiga language is very striking. Many songs occur in all parts of the book and they are exquisitely translated, notably the *Dadaria* on page 438. Their Mantras, too, are great reading. This is for the honey-gatherer: "Mahadeo Parvati, when my pot is full, then into the seven seas and the sixteen rivers I will make a river of honey to flow."

Their proverbs are both shrewd and amusing (page 68). "The boastful man goes everywhere talking, talking, but he ends up in the little hut where he started." Scandal is well described: "Once it is sown outside the house the harvest fills all the world." An idle man is rebuked: "All you can do is to stretch your hands and feet, and bring your plate at meal-times." But a good man is the real divinity to the Baiga: "He who gives a stick to the blind, a rag to the naked, water to the thirsty, food to the hungry, and a son to the childless—he is a god."

The headings of three of the chapters are arresting: The Great Crises: Birth, The Great Crises: Marriage, The Great Crises: Death. Are not these the great crises of all human life, so-called civilized or otherwise? This places us at once on an equal footing with the Baiga, and indeed with all the tribes of the human family. Here is the appealing humanism in all Verrier Elwin's books.

The author's frank description of the intimate sexual life of the Baiga may be criticized by some. But if he had left this out or curtailed it the book would not present the Baiga as he is or show the enormous importance of sex to the primitive. How can it be otherwise? It is a simple law of nature to live with a mate. His own apology is noteworthy: "Our picture of tribal life will be devoid of all contact with reality if we omit what is to the Baiga the most important and the most enthralling thing in life."

After reading this book one feels that nothing will crush the Baiga: "A tribe that can control tiger," spirited, dignified, sure of themselves. Verrier Elwin pleads for consideration of the Baiga case with a moving appeal in the last chapter, and outlines what appears to be a workable and just proposition. May it not fall on deaf ears!

THE ASIATIC REVIEW

JULY, 1940

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE UNITED PROVINCES AND THE NEW CONSTITUTION

BY SIR HARRY HAIG, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

(Late Governor of the United Provinces)

I AM talking to you this afternoon of the United Provinces and the new constitution which came into force on April 1, 1937. But I should like to start my story a little before that date, for the new constitution required a general election to launch it. To understand events it is necessary to have a picture of that election and its background.

The constitution embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935 had been some eight years in incubation dating from the appointment of the Royal Commission presided over by Sir John Simon, and over a year and a half elapsed between the passing by Parliament of the Constitution Act and the introduction of the provisions relating to the Provincial Governments, generally known as provincial autonomy. No one could therefore reasonably complain that there had not been plenty of warning. Nevertheless those whose interests and position were likely to be gravely affected by the transformation of the basis of government, in particular the conservative classes and the landlords, were slow to appreciate the changes that were coming. Deeply rooted in the minds of most of them was the idea that the Government as they had known it for so many years, that foundation of stability which had always intervened with effect when security was threatened, would guard them by some means even against this new constitution. They found it difficult to believe the extent to which the British Government were, as part of a considered

policy, surrendering their power. Perhaps we should not be surprised at a slowness to apprehend such novel conditions. There is reason to think that the Congress also could not bring themselves to believe that so much power was really being transferred. The landlords had received warnings of the plainest and most authoritative kind. But such warnings only penetrated the surface, and were not translated into that fundamental kind of belief that leads to action.

Many of the conservative classes therefore prepared themselves but languidly for the election. Moreover, they were up to a few months before the election permeated by a spirit of optimism. The second civil disobedience movement of the Congress had petered out in failure and depression in 1934. Congress activities since then had been few and, as it seemed, lacking in vigour. The landlords thought they could depend on the traditional support of their tenants. The Province was quiet. The very extensive reductions of rent and revenue with which it was necessary to counter the world slump had given adequate relief to the tenants, even if it had crippled the provincial finances. And in this spirit of confidence the non-Congress elements did not appreciate the danger of mutual rivalries and dissensions which in fact gravely weakened their efforts. Moreover, their methods were often defective. Electioneering to a great extent took the form in the large populous agricultural constituencies of obtaining the promise of the support of the landlords instead of endeavouring to get into direct relations with the tenants.

CONGRESS ELECTIONEERING

Very different were the Congress methods when they launched their campaign in earnest some months before the election. They worked as a united body to a single policy. They had their machinery already in existence, and as the time for the election approached they developed their activities, not spasmodically, but continuously, through their resident workers in every village. Meetings and processions, slogans and flags, the exploitation of grievances, promises which held out the vision of a new heaven and a new earth, stirred the countryside into a ferment such as it

had never before experienced. The sense of impending change awakened the villages. The Government, which had in past agitations opposed the Congress with the weight of its authority, now stood by inactive. It was too much to expect that the villager would understand the constitutional necessity for this attitude. He felt that the British Raj was weakening, that the Congress Raj was coming, and, as so often happens, threw himself definitely on what seemed to be the winning side. The result was an overwhelming victory for the Congress. Excluding the 66 Muslim seats, the Congress secured no less than 133 out of the remaining 162 seats in the Legislative Assembly. They had a clear majority of 38 over all others combined, including the Muslims. And they had the great advantage of party discipline, which, as against the non-Congress elements, ensured a much larger effective majority than these figures indicate.

It was generally assumed immediately after the election that a Congress Ministry would take up the responsibility of government which the victory at the polls constitutionally laid upon the party. But after long deliberations the Congress demanded of Governors, as a condition of accepting office, that they should pledge themselves not to use the powers which the constitution had entrusted to them. To this demand there could be only one answer, and on the Governors declining to compromise their statutory powers, the Congress refused to accept office. It would have meant a considerable setback to the idea of constitutional progress in India if the introduction of the scheme of provincial autonomy had been marked in the majority of provinces by the suspension of all forms of constitutional machinery and the assumption by the Governors of all powers of Government. It was beyond doubt of great advantage that it was found possible in all the Congress Provinces to form Ministries from the non-Congress parties, Ministries which represented only a minority in the Legislature, but which were able to function for nearly four months, until it was necessary to summon the legislatures for the purpose of presenting budget proposals.

My own Ministry faced a difficult situation with courage and skill, and prepared a programme which could not be described

as illiberal. This period of administration by the minority Ministries was valuable in many ways. It gave the Congress time to reflect over their policy, and to appreciate the deep disappointment of their own rank and file at being deprived of the power to form the Government and to put into effect their promises and hopes. It also enabled the administrative machinery to make, under conditions as little trying as possible, the first adjustments required by the new constitution. The Services began to accustom themselves to democratic methods of announcing and carrying out policies, and to decisions which could not but be unwelcome to them. It was, for instance, the minority Ministry in the United Provinces which decided to abandon the move of Government to the hills.

CONGRESS IN OFFICE

After much hesitation the Congress decided in July, when the Legislatures were about to meet, to take office. The minority Ministries thereupon resigned. During the four months of administration by the minority Ministry in the United Provinces the Province had remained quiet but expectant. When the Congress assumed office there was an outburst of immense enthusiasm by Congress supporters. For a time it seemed that every Congressman regarded himself as a ruler. Having been assured that the government was theirs, they assumed, not perhaps unnaturally in their inexperience, that Government servants were their servants. Thus individual Congressmen began to think that they were entitled to give orders to the police and to interfere with all the details of administration. The Ministers, moreover, were overwhelmed by thousands of petitions and representations. Nothing was too petty, too local, too palpably groundless not to justify, in the eyes of the small local leaders, a reference direct to the centre over the head of the district administration.

Fortunately this phase, though very troublesome and even dangerous while it lasted, was not of long duration. The Ministers gave instructions to their followers that these local complaints should be laid by the local leaders before the district authorities, who would handle them; and in many districts before long a satisfactory working arrangement was established between the local

Congressmen and the district officers, and complaints were treated on their merits and settled locally. In many cases when the true facts were brought to the notice of the local Congress leaders they readily appreciated that no action was called for. This system had the advantage that the headquarters administration was no longer overwhelmed with useless petitions and, on the other hand, that the authority of the district officers was upheld. The orders issued, however, gave rise to a good deal of complaint and suspicion on the part of the non-Congress elements, who declared that district officers were too much subjected to the influence of the local Congress leaders. I do not myself think this was the case. A good district officer had no difficulty in doing what he thought was just and proper, and it was only reasonable that he should keep in touch with the local Congressmen, just as he was already in touch with the local non-Congressmen. The developments of many years had created an almost complete lack of contact between officials and Congressmen. With the Congress forming the Government the continuance of such conditions was neither desirable nor possible.

I now turn to consider on the one hand the achievements, on the other the weaknesses and difficulties, of the Congress régime. I would say, in the first place, that the Congress brought into the administration of the Province the virtues and also the defects of the democratic system. Conspicuous among the virtues were a rapid response to public grievances, a new spirit of enterprise and drive, and a courage to experiment and to take measures from which Governments under the previous constitution would have shrunk. These qualities were due on the one hand to the close touch of the members of the legislature with their constituencies, and on the other hand to the support of a large and disciplined parliamentary majority on which the Ministers could depend. With regard to this majority, however, there was one serious difficulty. While the Congress party presented a united front to their opponents, they suffered from the beginning from internal dissensions. The left wing were not, I should judge, very numerous, but they were vigorous and persistent in their demands for action which was unwise. Their influence seemed to me to

be a constant embarrassment, and in the conduct of the administration it might almost be said that the Congress had as much to fear from their friends as from their enemies.

A factor which greatly strengthened the position of the Congress was that for the most part they monopolized the machinery of popular appeal, and if they did not choose to set it in motion or used it positively to maintain tranquillity the country was quiet, and to a large extent measures went uncriticized. When, for instance, at one time there were some signs of a reluctance on the part of tenants to pay their rent (a development encouraged by the left wing), the full weight of the Congress machinery was brought into operation to put a stop to these ideas, and with success.

THE MUSLIM ATTITUDE

I should explain, however, that there was one conspicuous exception to this generalization. The Muslims, divided among themselves and uncertain of their policy at the time of the general election, rapidly achieved unity when they realized that the Congress did not intend to treat with them on equal terms and were endeavouring to force them into the ranks of the Congress. Thereafter the organization of the Muslim League quickly became widespread, vigorous and formidable, and the activities of the Muslims constituted far the most serious of the embarrassments and anxieties of the Congress Government.

In dealing with questions raising communal issues the Ministers, in my judgment, normally acted with impartiality and a desire to do what was fair. Indeed, towards the end of their time they were being seriously criticized by the Hindu Mahasabha on the ground that they were not being fair to the Hindus, though there was in fact no justification for such a criticism. But the path of those who try to hold a middle course in these communal antagonisms is a hard one. Why then, it may be asked, did the existence of the Congress Ministry provoke such strong feeling among the Muslims? The cause was to be found in the general atmosphere in the Province. While the Congress leaders have always claimed that their organization is nationalist and non-communal, the overwhelming majority of their followers are Hindus, and the move-

ment is permeated with Hindu ideas and Hindu influence. The enthusiasm of the masses for Congress Raj melted imperceptibly into ideas of Hindu Raj, which were certainly prevalent throughout the Province. These ideas were deeply resented by the Muslims, who were invincibly determined not to be ruled by the Hindus.

Had the Congress on assuming office invited the co-operation of the Muslim League, this dangerous antagonism between the two communities need, perhaps, never have developed. But as time went on the Muslims became more and more convinced that it was the intention of the All-India Congress Party to constitute themselves the sole inheritors of the British power, and by the use of a permanent Hindu majority to become the effective rulers of the country. This was a position which the Muslims were not prepared to accept, and in consequence ideas completely destructive of Indian unity have been emerging among them with growing force.

TENANCY RIGHTS

I come now to the Congress programme. Its most important point was relief of the disabilities of the tenants. The Congress had been carried to power on the strength of the hopes held out to the tenants, and genuine conviction coincided with political necessity to put a new tenancy measure in the forefront of their plans. Legislation carried during the Montagu-Chelmsford constitution had converted the non-occupancy tenants into statutory tenants, who had the right to hold their land for their lifetime, a right which was continued to their heirs for five years. But after that time the landlord was in a position to exact a higher rent or a substantial premium either from the heir or from a new man. This gave rise to much dissatisfaction.

In the Province of Agra a considerable number of tenants in chief were occupancy tenants—that is, they had a hereditary right to their holdings which passed on to defined classes of heirs. But in Oudh the number of occupancy tenants was small, and the grievance therefore more widespread. Many of the more enlightened landlords had been feeling that the time had come to grant hereditary rights to the whole body of tenants in chief—

indeed, the minority Ministry had had such a proposal under its consideration. This, therefore, was one important change which might be regarded as inevitable. Further, there was a good deal of criticism of the comparative severity of the provisions for ejectment for non-payment of rent and of the system of realizing rent by distraint. A third point on which the Congress concentrated was the extent of *sir* land—*i.e.*, land which was in theory reserved for the cultivation of the landlord himself, and in which consequently even when he let it out habitually the tenant acquired no rights, either of tenure or stability of rent. The Bill cut down drastically the amount of *sir* land possessed by the larger landlords.

These were the main provisions of the Bill, but it redressed also a number of minor, though far from unimportant, grievances. On the other hand, the provisions for determining and varying the rent were little changed from existing practice, which already to a large extent assured to the tenant in chief the fixation of a reasonable rent, and stability in the rent so fixed. This was the point at which irreparable damage might have been done to the landlords, and the villagers had been led during the election to expect great reductions of rent. But on this point the Ministry was firm. A large reduction in rent must have involved a large reduction in land revenue, and this in turn would have led to provincial bankruptcy.

The Tenancy Bill was a long, complicated and contentious measure, and it was fought tenaciously by the landlords. At various times negotiations took place, and though no formal agreement was ever reached, certain changes made by the Government took some of the sting out of the opposition, and eventually the measure was passed by the Upper as well as the Lower House. The Bill which had taken many months to prepare was before the Legislature for about a year and a half, and it was my last act on leaving the Province to give my assent to it. Personally, I believe that the measure will have a tranquillizing effect in the villages. It leaves the landlords admittedly in a position of much reduced authority, but present-day conditions are not consistent with the old power of the landlords. For the rest it may

well be found that some provisions are unwise or unsuitable. It is seldom that tenancy legislation does not require some amendment in the light of experience. The principal point of doubt is whether the provisions for ejectment for non-payment of rent are sufficient to ensure prompt and regular collections. The Government are as much interested in the payment of rent as are the landlords, for it is the basis of their own land revenue, and if those provisions do not in fact turn out to be satisfactory—a point which only experience can decide—I have no doubt they will be amended.

ADMINISTRATIVE MEASURES

A second point on which the Ministry concentrated was the improvement of agriculture. A big effort was being made throughout the Province to provide better seed and demonstrate better methods. In particular, very special measures were taken to improve the quality of the valuable sugar cane crop, to ensure a good price to the cultivator and to improve the arrangements for supplying the cane to the factories. These measures have had very beneficial effects, and if a vigorous and practical agricultural policy is continued on the scale contemplated the Province will gain much.

Very large sums have also been devoted to what is known as rural development. Varying views are held about the practical effects of this. Personally I am a believer in the general principles on which the work is being conducted, but the movement was viewed with great suspicion by the opponents of Congress, who maintained that the workers were more interested in political propaganda than in improving the conditions of the villages. In the early days, at any rate, it could not be said that these criticisms were without justification. But if the movement can be purged of politics, it has great potentialities in raising the general level of health, wealth and intelligence.

THE PROPOSED SALARIES TAX

There was one project of taxation which deserves mention on account of the controversy and feeling it gave rise to. The Ministers proposed to introduce a tax on employments, to be

levied on salaries both of Government servants and those in private employ. The lower limit of salary taxable was somewhere between Rs. 100 and Rs. 200 *per mensem*, and the rates were heavy, rising in the higher grades to 10 per cent.

The proposal was strongly attacked on two grounds. In the first place it was argued that this tax in effect, if not in name, was an income tax, and as such could not be imposed except by the Federal authority. It was easy to see what grave difficulties would arise if the Provinces were enabled to impose on top of the Federal income tax Provincial income taxes of unlimited amount. In the second place it was pointed out that the tax was highly discriminatory. It was to be levied on those who were unfortunate enough to derive their income from salaries. But those whose income was derived from the exercise of a profession such as medicine or the law, or from trade or industry, went free. Profound uneasiness was caused in the Services. They considered, not unnaturally, that the tax was aimed at them, and that it was a device for cutting their pay without giving rise to any opportunity of intervention by the Governor or the Secretary of State. In the end Parliament made it clear by an amendment of the Government of India Act that it was not their intention that the Provinces should be free to impose a tax on employments of this very wide scope, and the matter then dropped.

I have no time to discuss prohibition. I would only say that while total prohibition has been introduced into a limited number of districts of an essentially rural character, a good deal has also been done to restrict consumption generally. But these measures have led to appreciable difficulties in loss of revenue.

Education has been tackled with vigour and a fresh outlook. A strong effort is being made to put more reality into primary education, and the Ministers were considering the very thorny problem of restricting the powers of District Boards over the administration of primary education. I think we should most of us agree that nothing would be more likely to improve standards. Adult education and the education of girls was also being pressed forward.

I hope I have given you some general picture of the Congress

administration on its constructive side. It has been inspired by enthusiasm, imagination and a considerable degree of idealism. It has, on the other hand, suffered from the defects of these qualities. There has been an impatience for quick results, the administrative machine was overdriven and decisions were sometimes hasty. But much has been achieved.

On the side of ordinary administration the picture is less bright. I have already mentioned the serious difficulties that have arisen from the ill-feeling between Muslims and Hindus. Grave communal riots have been of unprecedented frequency. Labour, particularly in Cawnpore, has been in a state of almost continual unrest, and there have been constant strikes. The release of many revolutionaries before the expiry of the long sentences they were serving has not helped the tranquillity of the Province. General conditions of unrest were reflected in a considerable rise in the figures of crime. The strain on the Services has been great, but they have met this strain with outstanding fortitude and skill, good temper and good sense, and the administrative machine remains intact. This was well illustrated by the absolute smoothness with which the transition was effected when, to my great regret, my Ministers resigned at the beginning of November last in pursuance of the general Congress policy, and I found myself under the necessity of assuming control of the whole administration.

CONCLUSIONS

To sum up conclusions on events and tendencies of such complexity and variety is perhaps to risk misunderstanding owing to the necessary brevity of expression. But if I am to take that risk I would say that the experiment of introducing full democratic institutions among a people who still instinctively think in authoritarian terms, who view the Government as somebody's "raj," has been launched with a success beyond expectation. Congress and the Services, starting about as far apart as it was possible to be, learned to work together. The Congress learned the stubborn facts of administration. The Services learned the implications of democratic control. The party which has hitherto always been in opposition, and often in extreme and even un-

constitutional opposition, to the Government took over the reins of government. The revolution in the ideas of the masses caused by this change was kept, on the whole, within the bounds of safety. It is no mean achievement, and both Congress and the Services share in the credit for this.

A month before I left India the Congress Ministers resigned. This action had nothing to do with Provincial conditions. It was dictated by the policy of the Congress Working Committee. It would indeed be a matter for regret if all the effort that was made on both sides for two and a half years to overcome difficulties and get into working order a system which required very careful handling should prove to have been wasted. I had hoped when I left India that before long it would be possible for a Ministry, reconstituted by the inclusion of representatives of the Muslim League, to have taken office again. These hopes have recently receded. But I trust that what I have said this afternoon will serve to show that while the constitution was in operation much was accomplished, that it gave great scope to those who had policies for the advancement of the Province, and that the initial difficulties of a new form of government had to a large extent been overcome. It can hardly be to the advantage of India that the work thus done should now be thrown away.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Friday, April 26, 1940, when a paper entitled "The United Provinces and the New Constitution" was read by Sir Harry Haig, K.C.S.I., C.I.E. The Right Hon. Sir Hugh O'Neill, P.C., M.P., was in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN : Sir Harry Haig requires no detailed introduction to an audience such as this, who are acquainted with India and India's recent history. He has had a very distinguished career in the Indian Civil Service, during the course of which he has occupied many of the most responsible positions under the Crown in India, ending up, as we all know, by his recent tenure of office as Governor of the United Provinces during the last five years.

He is this afternoon going to read a paper on "The United Provinces and the New Constitution," and, in view of his intimate knowledge of his subject, what he will say to us now is bound to be very specially interesting.

Sir HARRY HAIG then read his paper.

The CHAIRMAN : It has been my fortune, good or bad, during the course of my life to have spent a great deal of time in taking the chair at various assemblies, and as a rule I have formed the opinion that the main object of a chairman should be to preside but to say little or nothing. I understand, however, that at meetings of this Association it is customary for the Chairman to make a few remarks after the address has been delivered, in order to start the discussion. Sir Harry Haig has given us an extraordinarily interesting review of his governorship in the United Provinces up till December last, during those very important five years while the experiment of provincial autonomy was taking place. It has been a tremendously interesting experiment, and on the whole it has been a remarkable success. I think that is what we gather from what Sir Harry has said. But I cannot help feeling that there is one thing that he left out, and that is that the success which was achieved in the first instance by the Congress Government, but also during that short period by the interim Government, must have been largely due to the foresight, the tact, the tolerance, and the breadth of view of the man who was Governor of the Provinces. (Applause.) I suppose, if Indian democratic institutions progress again in the future, the time may come when Governors of Provinces may be nothing but figure-heads; but in the early days such as those which Sir Harry Haig has described in the United Provinces there can be no doubt but that the Governor's influence and guidance formed an immensely important part of the governmental machine.

He has told us about the tenancy legislation, measures to improve agriculture, rural development, prohibition, and so on, all of which bear testimony to the very hopeful start which responsible government in the United Provinces had made. Before this experiment was started in India there were

many people who said that it could not succeed. One cannot help feeling that what has happened has certainly gone some way to substantiate those gloomy prognostications, because after all, as Sir Harry has explained to us, the circumstances which brought about the resignation of his Ministry were circumstances entirely dissociated from any conception that we have of what we call democratic government. (Hear, hear.) What was done was the negation of all democratic government. The Ministry still had a firm majority of the Legislature. Everything under the guidance of the Governor was going perfectly smoothly. And suddenly, not of their own volition, but at the dictation of an outside authority, they resigned and left the Government of the Provinces high and dry.

I do not think it would be too much to say that the whole scheme of the Government of India Act of 1935 is once again in the melting-pot. One had hoped for an uninterrupted advance towards responsible government at the Centre in India, through federal unity, leading eventually to Dominion status. But what now? The future, it seems to me, lies very much in the lap of the gods; but one thing at any rate is certain, that we—and by we I mean the British Government and the British people—will do all we can to lead India back along the path of sane constitutional progress which was so unceremoniously and so undemocratically interrupted by the action of the Congress party soon after the outbreak of war. (Applause.)

SIR HARI SINGH GOUR : I have not the slightest doubt that every responsible man in India who reads Sir Harry Haig's illuminating address on the government of the United Provinces will agree with me in thinking that it is a most impartial and judicious outline of the work of the Congress Ministry, not only in the United Provinces, but, if I may venture to say so, in all the Congress Provinces. He has dealt with the main problems which confronted the United Provinces, and those problems are not parochial or local; they have confronted the Congress Ministries in the other Provinces as well.

The shortcomings of the Congress arose from the fact that the Congress, as Sir Harry has pointed out, represents the majority community in India, and the minority community, represented by the Muslim League, cannot reconcile themselves to the government of the majority without their own body being as such represented in the Government. The difference between the Congress and the non-Congress man is not the question of representation, but the question of communal representation. The Hindus of India would accept the Muslims as Indians, but not as representative of any community. The Congress organization has always been non-communal, and the Congress has always welcomed not only the Muslim, but all the minorities in India, to come into the fold of the national body, not as Muslims or Parsees or the rest, but as Indians.

When my fellow-countrymen begin to realize that India is not populated by Hindus or Muslims or the other various tribes, but by Indians, and the Indians as such, whether Hindus or Muslims, are to treat their mother country as the country to which they owe allegiance, the differences to which Sir Harry Haig has referred will have vanished. What we require is not

merely a conception, but practical realization of what is the policy of the British Commonwealth, and indeed what is the historical fact throughout the world. An Englishman, when he goes to Canada, does not remain an Englishman, or Protestant or Roman Catholic; he becomes a Canadian. An Englishman who goes to South Africa becomes a South African. If he goes to Australia, he is an Australian. The sense of geographical nationality becomes imprinted upon him the moment he lands in the country of his adoption. Whatever may have been the genesis of the Muslims in India, they have lived there for over a thousand years, and the moment they begin to appreciate the feeling of geographical nationalism and begin to feel that they are Indians first and everything else afterwards, the communal antagonism that seems at present to separate the two great Indian sections in the country will have vanished. We require the leaders to educate the public, and, if once the leaders begin to take a long view of the future of the country, I am quite sure the rest of our difficulties will disappear. The point which I wish to make is that the difficulties Sir Harry has pointed out are real, and the only way of circumventing them is to create in India a feeling of nationality on the lines I have indicated.

Sir Harry Haig has shown that the Congress Ministry has been fair to the Muslims, and that, I venture to submit, would be the report of the other Governors who have been in contact with the other Congress Governments in the eight Provinces. Therefore the Muslim League and the Muslims generally in India have not any real practical grievance against the Congress Ministry or against what they call the Hindu raj. Their grievance is that Muslims as Muslims and as representatives of their communal body should not have a place in the government of these Provinces.

Sir Harry Haig has been at the head of a large Province which has five universities, and in India generally, as well as in all other countries, the standard of efficiency of a Government depends upon the standard reached by the electorates; in other words, the efficiency of democracy depends upon the education, intelligence, and experience of King Demos. I have no doubt that in India education is growing, experience is accumulating, and in the meantime the democratic principle embodied in the Act of 1919 and further extended in the Act of 1935 would be well justified.

I should like to congratulate Sir Harry Haig on his very impartial and instructive survey of the political situation in his own Province as well as in the other Provinces, to which, I submit, his address would be equally applicable. (Applause.)

Mr. H. S. L. POLAK : I wish to join Sir Hari Singh Gour in his very warm congratulations to the lecturer upon the impartiality and the objectivity of his remarks. It must be a source of some satisfaction to him, too, to know that the son of one of his Ministers is at present within this audience. Mr. Katju is sitting over there, and I am sure the lecturer would like to express his satisfaction at seeing him here.

The thing that I myself appreciated so much about this paper is that it did express Sir Harry's views regarding the Congress Government in very sympathetic terms, even though at times he felt he had to offer a critical

warning in respect of part of its activities. It is quite evident that he does not share the view of those who wondered if there was not some significance in the selection of a particular date in 1937 when this new Constitution was brought into operation—April 1! I can quite understand, after reading this paper and listening to it again, that encomiums were passed upon Sir Harry when he gave up office not very long ago. It was quite evident that he had made himself *persona grata* generally.

Sir Harry refers to the policy of the Congress party in appealing at the elections to the villagers, to the people of the land. I remember some years ago hearing Mr. Tilak, who today would be regarded as quite a Conservative politician, saying in response to the objection that Congress did not represent the masses of the people but only the educated townsman: "Very good. If you put it to us like that, we will undoubtedly go to the villagers and we will begin to represent them in fact, as we already do in principle." That really is what the Congress party has done and, as Sir Harry has pointed out, has done very effectively.

I notice Sir Harry's rather pregnant statement: "The developments of many years had created an almost complete lack of contact between officials and Congressmen. With the Congress forming the Government, the continuance of such conditions was neither desirable nor possible." I think that is, in a way, a very lamentable confession, and it helps us to understand how it is that more recent developments have occurred. I am not going to attribute blame to one side only in this. I think a certain amount of blame attaches to both sides, but principally, I think, to the Government side. It is rather a striking thing that, whereas in my early days a Congressman like the late Pundit Motilal Nehru was very well known to and liked by Government officials of all kinds in his Province and more widely than that, it was only comparatively recently that his very distinguished son was treated otherwise than as a political "untouchable." This attitude of "untouchability" on either side is extremely harmful and has done an immense amount of mischief to both sides.

I do not see that Sir Harry expresses any particular view as to how far, if at all, the Muslims are justified in saying, as they have done, that they have received injury by the Congress Government. It would be good if he could possibly expand that point a little today, and if he would also say a word or two as to what, if at all, the Congress Government in his Province have done in regard to labour legislation and for the encouragement of industry. Whilst it is of the first importance that they should have devoted their major activities and interests to the welfare of the agriculturists, obviously in an area like the United Provinces, where industry is quite important, it would be interesting to know what, in fact, the Government did to promote and to encourage industry in the towns. (Applause.)

Mr. A. YUSUF ALI: May I repeat the compliments that have been paid by those who preceded me in the discussion to the admirably lucid paper which has been read to us? If it errs at all, it errs on the side of taking too rosy a view. I do not entirely agree, for instance, with my friend Sir Hari Singh Gour that the case of the Muslim is so easy to deal with as he imagines. The

Muslims are not content—it is, maybe, their fault—with being merely an unorganized portion of the Congress party. It may be that in an ideal community and an ideal Congress that may be possible, but we are not dealing with ideals. We are dealing with the country as it is, with its past history, its many differences, its many misunderstandings, its many dangers. As Sir Harry Haig himself has said, we know there are constant riots all over the country, and especially in the United Provinces. The Muslims of the United Provinces, although they are only a one-fourth or one-fifth minority, yet in their past history, and by the position they occupy amongst the Muslims of India, claim a certain amount of precedence in their community, and it is of the utmost importance that the unhealthy atmosphere in which riots and misunderstandings flourish should be removed, and the only way to remove them under actual present conditions is to establish a basis of understanding.

That basis can only be real if both parties consent to it. It is no use jumping to first principles. You must actually get down to the people concerned and convince them, as I hope our Governments will do more and more in future, that the object of Government is not to further communal legislation or communal interests, but rather to further the large general interests of the country and of every class and section of the people.

If an example is wanted of what the Muslims feel about it, I would refer to the very strong pamphlet issued by the Raja of Pirpur. Anyone who reads it will realize at once that things are not in that ideally happy state in which we would all like them to be. Day by day, if you read Indian newspapers, not merely the summaries sent out to this country, because they omit these, you will see a constant series of misunderstandings and you will see accounts of communal riots in nearly every important city in India, and most of all in the United Provinces.

Two points on which, perhaps, I might concentrate were passed over very lightly by the lecturer—namely, the question of prohibition and the question of education. I am a strong advocate of both, and I believe that, although the United Provinces as a whole will feel no grievance about prohibition, it is desirable that any legislation that is undertaken should have the ground prepared for it and therefore come to the people as something that they themselves want. If we do not do that we shall have on a minor scale the unhappy occurrences that we are all familiar with in the history of prohibition in the United States.

We must educate public opinion, and it is amongst the working classes, amongst the lower tenantry of the villages, or perhaps it is more correct to say amongst the landless labourers in the villages, that the question has any great importance, because the others are practically prohibitionists on principle. But even those people, who form a considerable number, should be educated and brought up to the point at which legislation can really be effective.

As regards education, I should like to say that with a certain amount of intimate personal experience of education in India, especially in the United Provinces and in the Punjab, I am not at all satisfied that popular Ministries are the ones that will evolve a satisfactory system of education. Obviously

popular Ministries must rest on the suffrages of the common man or woman, and as things are in India the ordinary man or woman is not sufficiently educated to understand how education should be organized and conducted. I am sorry to say this. I think it applies to other countries as well, but at present I am concerned mainly with India, and my point is that Indian education requires guidance in a manner that will be impossible if you leave it merely to popular suffrage. Effective Indian education requires a careful analysis of the various factors of Indian life. Actually in the past Indian education has been a sort of foreign plant implanted into a soil for which it is entirely unsuitable. I want Indian education to grow on its own roots, to take account of all the numerous questions that meet us in town and village.

It is also said, and I think with truth, that Indian education has been so far too much on the lines that have been worked by townspeople. Even when rural schemes are devised by educators and pandits of public instruction, they suffer from the fact that they are hatched and incubated and brought to maturity by people who mainly know town life. You will say : "How can that be helped? As long as the rural community is uneducated you must have the other people gradually to introduce rural education."

I should like to see rural education, perhaps, not in the hands of district boards (although I should be very sorry to criticize the district boards in the summary fashion that has been done today), but I should like to see villagers themselves gradually evolving their education. That means, of course, that I do not believe merely in literary education. I do not think there is any particular virtue in ABC or in mere reading and writing. Many a literate person is uneducated, and many an illiterate person is highly educated. I believe in an education which aims at the improvement of the mental, moral, and spiritual faculties of men, women, and children, an education that grapples with every individual fact that a pupil meets with every day.

The village boy should certainly have his education based on the sort of things he sees in his own village. Even if there are things in other villages which do not exist in his village, it is rather a task to place those things before his mind because he cannot understand them. Begin at the very beginning with the things he really sees and handles, and let him be satisfied that the facts which are presented to him are not facts presented by somebody else's authority, but facts which can be verified and which can come within his own early experience. That experience can be gradually enlarged and must necessarily incorporate ultimately other people's experiences, but so as to make them his own by a process of mental and imaginative assimilation. If we do that, I am sure that Indian education will have a very, very different aspect from that which it wears now.

The question of language also comes in. Unfortunately, we have not one common language in the United Provinces or the Punjab, but that is too large a question for me to enter into now.

I will end, as I began, by paying my humble tribute to the qualities of the paper which we have been fortunate enough to hear. (Applause.)

Mr. A. H. BYRT : At the top of a few notes which I made while Sir Harry Haig was addressing us I wrote one to remark how the paper reflected his

broad-mindedness as Governor, and I am glad that the Chairman has paid that tribute in better phrases than I could have found. But I would like to go one further, and say that the tribute of broad-minded co-operation with the people of India in working the latest Reforms scheme is also due to the general body of Englishmen in the Indian Public Services. When history comes to be written, it will, I am sure, testify that their help was not only an important factor in assuring the measure of success which the new Constitution in the Provinces has attained, but has been of immense value in preserving harmonious relationships between British people in India and Indians during the recent very difficult period. Beyond that I would go still further and bear witness to the marvellously helpful, constructive, and sympathetic quality of the debates which I heard in both Houses of Parliament a few days ago upon the working of the Constitution and the difficulties which have now arisen.

Mr. Polak seized upon Sir Harry Haig's observation that before the Congress party Ministries took office District Officers and Congressmen had drifted out of touch with one another, and blamed the District Officers for that. I would remind the meeting that it was the Congress party that prescribed "the social boycott."

Sir Harry Haig singled out the worsening of the relations between Hindus and Muslims as one conspicuous exception to the success of the new Provincial Constitution. The grave modern aspect of the communal problem did not originate under this Constitution. Nor can I agree that all that is necessary to ensure the subsidence of the trouble is the development by Muslims of deeper patriotism for India as their home. The problem in its modern aspect arises from the tendencies inherent in the principles of democracy as embodied in the 1919 Reforms began to operate. Its early development was apparent to anybody who watched, as I did, the proceedings of the first session of the Indian Legislature after the inauguration of the Reforms in 1921. Its effects became grave by 1923, by when they had penetrated to the villages. They were largely the occasion of, as they were the most difficult issue before, the All Parties Conference in 1928 and its special Committee, known as the Nehru Committee, which sat in that year. Pandit Motilal Nehru, Chairman of the Committee, and his colleagues upon it, correctly diagnosed the problem when they wrote: "... Today the whole problem resolves itself into the removal from the mind of each community (Hindu and Muslim) of a baseless fear of the other and in giving a feeling of security to all communities. . . . The only methods of giving a feeling of security are safeguards and guarantees and the grant as far as possible of cultural autonomy. The clumsy and objectionable methods of separate electorates and reservation of seats do not give this security. . . ." Unfortunately, the Committee could not prescribe any remedy except the one they specifically condemned. By the end of 1928 Muslim apprehensions greatly deepened and gave rise to their separatist tendency, of which we have lately heard a good deal. In his presidential address to the All India All Parties Muslim Conference which met in Delhi on December 31, 1928, His Highness the Aga Khan enunciated the doctrine of the separate nationhood of the Indian Muslims, and aroused loud cheers by saying: "... The

Muslims of India are not a community, but in a special sense a nation composed of many communities and a population outnumbering in the aggregate the total even of the pre-war German Empire."

Later there came in the Indian Legislature the Child Marriage Bill for the prevention of the marriage of girls below a certain age. This measure was introduced as one applicable to Hindus only, but was amended so as to be of general application, and forced through, with that amendment, in the teeth of Muhammadan opposition. Muslims do not marry their girls below the age prescribed in the Bill, but their usage in that respect is governed by their religious law, and they regarded the carrying of the new measure in spite of their opposition as an invasion by the Hindu majority of their religious sphere and as a demonstration that at the mercy of a Hindu majority their cultural autonomy would not be safe.

Conditions have continued to go from bad to worse, so that we have now reached a state at which the Muslims are protesting that they want no more of a Constitution embodying rule by majority, and the Hindus are objecting to a Constitution which is, they say, on various grounds unsuitable because it was formulated by British statesmen instead of wholly by Indians. Yet the emergence of these difficulties is ground for optimism because they show that the Constitutions set up in India in recent years have indeed enabled politically-minded India to express itself. British statesmen have never dreamed of forcing India into a constitutional habitation uncomfortable to her. They have always protested that their obligation is to help in laying what appear to be the best foundations and to look to Indian political genius to shape the superstructure. Indian criticism at the present time is therefore to be welcomed as a contribution towards a final appropriate architectural design. In arriving at the ultimate goal India will yet need a great deal of help from the British side, and that help will need to be given with tact and delicacy in order to avoid anything likely to offend Indian amour propre.

SIR HARRY HAIG : I am exceedingly grateful to all the speakers for the very kind things they have said about the paper and about me personally, and I am particularly grateful to our Chairman for the eulogies which he was kind enough to pronounce on the work of Governors.

I should like to take this opportunity of reminding you that there is another authority, which, perhaps, is not in India continuously in the lime-light except for purposes of criticism, and that is the Secretary of State and the India Office. I should like to say, from the point of view of a Governor, that the Secretary of State and the India Office have, within my experience, been of the greatest support to the Governors, and that their guidance, direction, and support form a very important element in the general administration.

It was very pleasant to see many of my old friends taking part in this debate. There was Sir Hari Singh Gour making a speech which took me back many years to the time when he and I used to sit opposite each other in the Legislative Assembly at Delhi and Simla.

Mr. Yusuf Ali, too, is an old friend, and I am sorry I have not time to follow him through all the contributions he made. He suggested that I was

taking, perhaps, too rosy a view. I was conscious myself, while I was composing this paper, that that criticism might be made. I deliberately gave you an impression of the atmosphere which in my opinion prevailed at the time that I left India. Things have marched on; events do not stand still; but it is worth while getting an impression, which I think is a genuine impression, representing the period when the Congress Ministries were in office.

Mr. Polak mentioned a thing which has interested me very greatly, and that is that the son of one of my late Ministers is here this afternoon. That enables me to make a point which I had definitely excluded from my paper, which was of an impersonal kind, and that is that my personal relations with my Ministers were always of the most friendly character, and it was a great sorrow to myself and also, I hope, to the Ministers when we had to part company. I certainly received from Dr. Katju just as I was leaving India a letter of such a warm and friendly character that I shall always remember it with pleasure.

That is a point which Mr. Byrt also touched upon—the importance of personal relations. I do not think the importance of these can be over-estimated in dealing with Indian affairs. Labour legislation was mentioned by Mr. Byrt. I am afraid that, on the whole, was one of the problems still awaiting solution when the Ministers had to go out.

With regard to education, I would only say to Mr. Yusuf Ali that I think the principles he advocates are very much the principles on which my Education Minister (himself a man with practical experience of teaching) was working. The slogan of this new primary education was “Learning by Doing.” They were trying to bring the education into direct relation with village life.

I will not detain you any longer, ladies and gentlemen, but I thank you very sincerely for the way in which you have received my address. (Applause.)

Sir JOHN WOODHEAD : My pleasant duty this afternoon is to propose a vote of thanks to the Chairman, the Right Hon. Sir Hugh O'Neill, for kindly presiding, and to Sir Harry Haig for his interesting address.

I come from the neighbouring province of Bengal, a province which was, perhaps, politically active when the United Provinces were politically quiescent; but, listening to Sir Harry, I was reminded of three points of contact between the conditions as they have developed in the two provinces since April 1, 1937, one a point of difference and the other two points of similarity. The point of difference was this : In the United Provinces the new Constitution has been described as having resulted in a “Hindu raj”; in Bengal, on the other hand, it has been alleged that the consequence has been the establishment of a “Muslim raj.”

The points of similarity were these : First, the introduction of the new Constitution has been in many ways successful. There are criticisms we can all make; mistakes have been made by the Provincial Governments; but of this there is little doubt : the new Constitution has been worked with a very considerable amount of success. The second point of similarity is not such

a hopeful one. It is the existence of communal differences between Hindus and Muslims. One of the most unfortunate features of the last three years has been the worsening of the relations between the two major communities. One can only hope that the two great communities will come together and settle their differences, for on a settlement of those differences depends the unity of India.

I formally ask you to give a very hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman, Sir Hugh O'Neill, and the Lecturer, Sir Harry Haig. (Applause.)

EMPIRE FIBRES

BY MR. A. WIGGLESWORTH

JUTE

JUTE is a bast fibre obtained from the *Corchorus* species of the natural order *Filiaceæ* and is native to Bengal. There are two main varieties, known botanically as *Corchorus capsularis* and *Corchorus Olitarius*. Eighty years ago the word "jute" was not in our vocabulary, now it looms large in all languages as the name of an Indian fibre used at the present juncture on a vast scale for war purposes, notably for the manufacture of sandbags, which are now being turned out by the million from the looms of Calcutta and Dundee.

The new type of warfare, so deplorable in its effects on the civilian population of nations at war, has necessitated the introduction of this kind of defence formerly confined to trench construction at the battle front, but now used on a vaster scale to buttress buildings in the cities.

Although long known in India, jute was first imported into Britain on a small scale in 1838. An enterprising flax spinner from Dundee, Edwards by name, chancing to inspect a few bales put up for auction in London, bought and shipped them to Dundee to try if the new fibre were spinnable on his flax machinery. By the addition of oil he improved the spin, and naturally he chose whale oil, which was readily obtainable in Dundee, the centre at that time of the Scottish whaling industry. Thus that city became the centre of a valuable and profitable jute industry, whose products are distributed to the four corners of the earth. A useful division of responsibility was arranged, the distribution having been placed largely in the hands of merchants. In this way the manufacturer was able to concentrate on the operation of his factory, gradually improving the machinery to fit it to make the many fabrics for which jute was eminently suitable. The trade

extended from narrow looms, weaving the standard 40-inch hessian, to those immense looms weaving material 8 yards wide to be turned into floorcloth. The appearance of the goods was improved by cropping and by calendering and mangling, but though jute was employed for carpet backing, or for jute rugs or twine, for imitation tapestry used for wall decoration, for webbing, curtains, mats and sundry other uses, sacking—or hessian as it is called—was the principal product, to be used as the cheapest obtainable container for grains, coffee, flour, cement, coal, etc. Dr. S. G. Barker, who was recently appointed as research officer by Calcutta interests, proved that jute sacks for packing material will withstand hot climates better than any other textile covering, and that jute is certainly as heat resisting as any other soft fibre, hence its popularity as a container for grain, coffee and many other crops. Expanding exports of these products has called for ever-increasing quantities of raw material.

THE HOOGHLY MILLS

Meanwhile in 1855 an enterprising Dundee manufacturer, probably after a dull period of trade, dismantled and erected some of his machinery in Calcutta, thus initiating a vast industry which grew steadily until it absorbed the major part of the crop of raw material.

The standard of living in tropical India being much lower than that of Britain, provided abundant labour at wages considerably below those ruling in Dundee, and thus induced formidable competition, but although the intelligence of labour in India did not compare favourably with that of Dundee, its cheapness led to its rather extravagant use. Nevertheless, the Calcutta product gradually forced its entry into the world markets, so that at present 65 per cent. of the crop is manufactured locally and 35 per cent. abroad.

Dundee did not long maintain its European monopoly, British machine-makers having sold spinning and weaving plant to Germany, France and Italy, while extending their sales gradually to every country in Europe, and to North and South America. Under the stimulus of high protective tariffs these ventures in some cases

expanded, eventually to cover whole national requirements. Certain undeveloped countries, notably the Argentine with its vast output of grain, continue to import large quantities of bags from Calcutta, though the policy now is to follow the lead of Brazil in industrial development, which is intended subsequently to embrace the cultivation of substitute fibres for local manufacture.

One marvels indeed that Dundee should so long have been able to compete with the cheap Indian labour without protection of any kind, and it is greatly to the credit of the manufacturer that by improvements in machinery, so as to turn out a larger output of goods of attractive quality, they have been able to retain a leading place in the industry, though obviously they have, in volume, had to cede first place to Bengal and their profits on the average have not been too satisfactory to shareholders, with a few notable exceptions.

A few years ago a new type of spinning frame with spindles revolving at almost double the speed of the older machines, and with automatic doffing (*viz.*, changing the bobbins when full), a factory operating three shifts, each about eight hours, was able to produce at a figure which permitted profit-earning in the face of Calcutta competition. By such means has Dundee held its head up.

PRODUCTION OF JUTE GOODS IN INDIA.

		<i>Tons.</i>			<i>Tons.</i>
1935	...	1,000,000		1938	1,253,000
1936	...	1,198,000		1939	1,183,000
1937	...	1,285,000			

THE BENGAL MONOPOLY

It may be wondered why, despite the extension of jute manufacture to so many countries, they have not succeeded in growing their own raw material. The reason is not far to seek. The Province of Bengal is singularly well placed for the cultivation of this important fibre. A glance at the map shows the vast areas in close proximity to tributaries of the huge Ganges and Bramaputra rivers. The plant grows best on rich alluvial soil, which is deposited freely within the Ganges delta. After careful weeding of the plantlets little remains to be done until cutting time, just after the seed pod has been formed. The stalks are then tied into bundles

and steeped in the sluggish streams or stagnant water for twelve days when the temperature of the water is 80 deg. Fahrenheit, and up to a month in cooler water until fermentation loosens the fibre from the stalk—the so-called retting process. Although much thought has been expended on mechanical preparation, the stripping or scutching of the fibres continues as primitive as ever, the stalks being thrashed on the surface of the water and beaten with sticks until the fibre is readily detachable, after which there only remains to dry it in the sun and to bale and cart the product to the store, in expectation of a buyer. Subsequently the crop passes through many hands in Mofussil (the country districts) before it arrives at the press house in Calcutta, where it is graded and densely packed into 400 lb. bales for sale in 250 or 500 bale lots, under certain recognized marks. Mr. R. S. Finlow, the late founder of research in pedigree seed, indicates the cost at about £10 per ton.

PRODUCTION OF JUTE

When it is realized that over a million ryots are employed on the growth and preparation of a 2,000,000-ton crop, and that innumerable men are engaged as dealers or brokers in marketing the produce, some idea can be formed of the importance of a crop that yields at pre-war prices some £40,000,000 to £60,000,000 annually.

EXPORTS OF JUTE, 1934-35 TO 1938-39 (APPROXIMATE) IN BALES.
(000's Omitted.)

<i>Destination.</i>	1934-35.	1935-36.	1936-37.	1937-38.	1938-39.
U.K.	970	890	1,125	755	1,060
Germany	990	910	970	815	870
France	440	405	470	340	425
Belgium	270	250	310	205	215
Spain	260	280	15	—	35
Italy	430	235	540	365	245
Holland	85	45	45	40	20
Scandinavia	75	50	50	40	50
Port Said f.o. and other ports	145	185	235	320	235
U.S.A.	320	480	615	365	270
South America	130	165	200	235	185
Japan	125	140	175	125	140
Other Eastern ports	100	140	110	70	80
TOTALS	4,340	4,175	4,860	3,675	3,830

Jute is subject to wide price fluctuations, mainly due to irregular demand and uncertainty of yield of fibre, since seasons and rainfall vary considerably. An attempt to regulate planting is now being made by Government, mainly through the issue of coloured posters throughout the jute district, enjoining the grower to sow less jute. Such posters give graphic illustrations of the dire result of defying the advice. The effort is not without success, the production of jute after years of depression having receded from 11,000,000 bales at the peak to 6,000,000 in 1932, thus helping to maintain a measure of price stability. But it must never be forgotten that a low price of raw material stimulates demand, for although jute is an unique fibre it is possible to find substitute products. For instance, the rise to over £60 per ton in 1925 led directly to the substitution of paper bags for cement, so the jute trade permanently forfeited a large and constant consumption which seriously dislocated the relations between supply and demand for a long period. It is calculated that the loss amounted to between 15,000,000 and 20,000,000 bags a year. There is danger that history may repeat itself in so far as today's high price is out of relation with many other fibres. That a cessation of the purchase of sandbags for army or air raid precautions may have a drastic effect on prices is borne out by the recent fall in values on the Calcutta market, one day in January last, of £7 per ton in four hours' time, merely because Government announced that they would extend the delivery period of existing contracts by two months, thus checking the demand for raw material in anticipation of further orders for sandbags for delivery after April.

RESEARCH

India, having a monopoly of jute, has delayed too long the start of research which in this scientific age plays so important a rôle in industry, but this is now being remedied, a department having been organized in Calcutta within the last few years in charge of Dr. S. G. Barker, who has published a valuable treatise on his findings. Research has a double object. Firstly, to improve methods of growth and preparation by selected pedigree seed so as to yield a heavier crop of better quality. Though it is not easy to

increase quantity and to improve quality concurrently, progress has been made in the direction of a heavier crop. To Mr. R. S. Finlow, late Director of Agriculture in Dacca, credit is due for his pioneer work in this direction. The second type of research seeks to extend the uses of jute. Here is a wide field to explore. For the moment, demand being centralized on sandbags, there is no immediate urgency to seek new uses, but the problem may become acute after the War.

The *Journal of the Textile Institute* for September, 1939, published a series of addresses of outstanding importance to be delivered, appropriately, in Dundee at last year's meeting of the British Association for Science, which opened early in September, but was cut short by the declaration of war. Those who desire to study more closely the course of modern research will find much food for thought in the articles of Dr. S. G. Barker, Dr. W. G. Macmillan, Mr. Herbert L. Parsons, Mr. R. S. Finlow and others.

Some form of control of crops is generally admitted to be necessary if planned industry is to follow the unrestricted free methods of the past, but without far-reaching statistics, which today are scarcely obtainable, such control may prove hazardous. The jute crop is subject to such vicissitudes of both supply and demand that very careful investigation of all features incident to production and consumption must be available if success is to attend such attempts, but the most strenuous efforts of the department which organizes the jute forecast have seldom been able to approach reasonable accuracy of returns. True, jute is an annual crop, and its sowing is easier to control than, say, the planting of rubber, tea, coffee, sisal or manila, all of which take years to mature and continue to produce for several years whether harvested or not. Rubber control has taken many years to develop its present technique. Its first effort, promoted by Lord Stevenson, failed to benefit the industry through the refusal of the Dutch planters in the Netherlands East Indies to co-operate, hence reduced output within British territory was more than compensated by increased effort in the Dutch Colonies, where profits by all-out production were disproportionate to those of the British estates whose costs were enhanced by curtailed output.

Tea control started at a later date, and having profited by the errors of rubber control it has met with reasonable success, while the tin production of the Federated Malay States constitutes so large a percentage of the world output that it has been able to make control effective.

In the case of jute, the problem will certainly come to the fore after the war, and it must be studied not only from the point of view of the area under cultivation, but also from the side of controlling the marketing so that it may be regulated to supply world needs without throwing redundant supplies upon the world's markets, while it must also avoid creating a shortage. Stability of price should be the aim. Such an effort can scarcely be organized by trade associations without the friendly co-operation of Government working through these Associations, and it may well prove difficult to get the necessary support from the Indian Government, which has to walk warily when interfering with national effort, especially where it concerns agriculture.

OTHER FIBRES

Past experience has proved that foreign competition to grow jute is a most unlikely contingency, as no country which has made the attempt has possessed the requisites of climate, soil, water supply and skilled labour, which in Bengal is supplied gratis by the family of the grower.

The Dutch have produced in the Netherlands East Indies serviceable fibre from *Hibiscus sabdariffa*, commonly called *Roselli*, which spins satisfactorily on jute machinery, but being a plantation crop, its cost far exceeds that of Bengal jute. The Belgians are growing in the Congo a substitute fibre, *Urena lobata*, but again its cost is relatively high, so it is unlikely to compete with jute. Brazil has also produced *Hibiscus* fibre similar to jute. It is marketed locally, thus displacing Calcutta imports, which are subject to a heavy import tariff. This fibre is most unlikely to compete with Indian jute in foreign markets.

East African rainfall and general climatic conditions are quite unsuitable for jute, and though the labour is cheap it could not compete with the Indian native industry. The West African

climate is more favourable, but wages are comparatively high, and this would put jute out of court.

Small scale experiments in jute cultivation in West Africa, where rainfall is abundant, met with scant success on account of high cost, so that it may safely be assumed that Bengal, the cradle of the jute industry, will retain its monopoly. It is, however, highly recommendable that this privilege should not prevent the prosecution of extensive research and the introduction of every possible reform to place the industry on a higher pedestal. Much remains to be done in grading and packing the raw material, so as to ensure greater regularity of quality and the standardization of grades. Each district possesses its own particular merit or demerit, and the practice of mixing the products of different districts should be abandoned, so that spinners could know the exact origin of the fibre and thus be able to pick and choose with care the district and grade requisite for their particular class of work.

In general it might be profitable to export the best grades so that the incidence of freight could be reduced; Europe and America, being mainly concerned with the manufacture of high-class goods, require fibre of good quality.

TRADE ORGANIZATION

Association is a principle which nowadays is being widely extended. Calcutta has its Jute Balers' Association looking after the collective interests of this branch of the industry. Its counterparts in Britain are the London Jute Association, which concerns itself with regulating trade by drafting a standard contract and controlling by arbitration the settlement of disputes between buyer and seller on quality or other differences. Dundee has also its Association, its contract differing from that of the London Association as regards the standard of quality and a few other points. War conditions and currency controls now impede the transport of bales to London for arbitration purposes, and this, combined with the transfer of a section of the trade to other points, is weakening the control in London. The loss of London as an emporium for jute has undoubtedly been accelerated by the high charges levied in the docks here for landing, storing and transhipping cargo.

Doubtless closer co-operation between these Associations would have helped to consolidate the trade by regulating it for the benefit of all concerned in preference to operating for sectional interests. Monopoly again may be to blame for omission to recognise the truth of the old adage, "Union is strength." The lack of friendly co-operation is illustrated by the following incident:

Many of the mills in Calcutta are now owned and operated by wealthy Indian firms whose policy is not always in line with that of the Calcutta Jute Fabrics Shippers Association, which controls the manufacture. A period of depression shortly before the war caused a heavy accumulation of stocks of manufactured goods, to curb which the British-owned mills sealed up a number of looms. Unfortunately this policy was not supported by their Indian rivals, who continued to work at full speed. The controversy could only be solved through pressure of Government to bring the two parties into line, but not before dislocation of the world's markets had been caused by uncontrolled full production of all the mills, thus precipitating a crisis both in the goods and the raw material markets.

India may naturally be concerned about the future of jute after the war, but meanwhile the Government of Bengal has decided to restrict jute sowing this year to an extent equal to that of 1939, and has appointed a committee of experts to consider means for regulating the crop in subsequent years. The co-operation of the Government of Assam and Bihar is invited. The world hopes for a long spell of peace hereafter, though we may not be so optimistic as those who, after the last war, declared hopefully that the war had been fought to end war. Certain it is that future demand for goods may vastly change, and the trend will depend upon the new orientation of world development which may take quite a new direction after the War. The extent to which jute sacks will continue to be used to move crops will obviously affect the demand for jute.

U.S.A. TARIFFS

As regards future trade developments it is of paramount importance to observe the new policy of the U.S.A. After a long battle the Secretary of State was empowered by Congress six years

ago to make bilateral treaties, and his power has just been extended for a further period of three years. Meanwhile, Mr. Cordell Hull has concluded over twenty treaties with various countries, including Canada and Great Britain, each embodying a clause relative to the "most favoured nation" treatment, which widely expands the area of the tariff concessions. This is America's first step towards freer trade and its importance to the economic history of the world must not be overlooked. Further, our Prime Minister in January declared his sympathy for this policy, and it may have wide repercussions in post-war reconstruction. If, then, the two greatest trading nations of the world resolutely set themselves to put an end to the trade obstructions which were fostered during the past decades by means of prohibitive tariffs, quotas, embargoes, subsidies and all these patchwork remedies for a grievous malady, they will impose a check upon the policy of self-sufficiency which defies the liberal ideal and prevents the clearance of the blocked channels of international trade. Such a policy should exercise an important influence on the jute manufacturing industry of India, which would benefit by the closing down of ephemeral industries established abroad under high protective tariffs, in countries whose interest should be rather to increase those agricultural and industrial pursuits which are best suited to their particular climatic, geographical and labour conditions. Without drawing invidious distinctions, one may compare the cost of a sack in Calcutta with, say, that of Brazil, Guatemala, the Balkan Peninsula or other countries, and ask what benefit they derive from eliminating a cheap source of supply of essential containers for the export of coffee, grain, wool, etc. On the other hand, India in turn may have to open her frontiers to foreign importations to pay for her increased exports of jute and other goods.

Mr. J. C. Eastham, in his paper for the British Association of Science, on "Economic Problems of the Jute Industry," brought out some interesting points. He indicated that the maximum demand Calcutta has ever known for its goods could be met with a third of the existing machinery. He writes regarding the world industry, that the excess capacity which exists is primarily the result of a policy pursued over a number of years by an important

section of the industry, but he is against restriction on the grounds that the growth of new capacity in unexpected places might upset calculations and indicates that unit costs, including overheads, are lowest when a mill is working 100/120 hours a week.

One hears much talk nowadays about *Lebensraum* and denial to Germany of access to world raw materials. Nothing could be more misleading than the latter statement. Empire products are available for sale to all who can or will pay for them. Jute, for instance, was shipped to Hamburg in large quantities until war was declared; in fact, that port was an emporium for its distribution to Central European countries, large stocks being held available, their market price generally being about the lowest in the world. The following table indicates the growth of India's jute industry during the last five years.

EXPORTS OF JUTE, RAW AND MANUFACTURED, FROM INDIA.

			Raw Tons.	Manufactured Tons.	Total Tons.
1935	...	...	795,000	766,000	1,561,000
1936	...	...	769,000	960,000	1,729,000
1937	...	...	830,000	1,051,000	1,881,000
1938	...	...	657,000	963,000	1,620,000
1939	...	...	585,000	1,021,000	1,606,000

INDIAN SUNN HEMP

Another Indian bast fibre of comparatively small importance, known to commerce as Sunn Hemp, is derived from *Crotalaria juncea*, a leguminous plant, which is sown widely in India to provide green manure. Only a small part of the crop is harvested for the production of fibre and the rest is ploughed up. The stalks, when mature, are either cut or pulled up by the roots; thereafter they are steeped in small pools to facilitate separation of the fibre from the woody stalk. If clean water is used the colour of the fibre is light, but if, as is all too frequent in the North-Western Provinces, muddy water alone is available for retting, the resultant fibre is discoloured and full of earthy dust. The plant is widespread, each Province producing fibre so different in appearance as to give the impression of being the product of different species. That theory was exploded when Sir David Prain, then Director of Sibpur Gardens, Calcutta, at the suggestion

of the lecturer, sowed in that garden in identical plots seed from each distinctive area, with the surprising result that the variations disappeared, under identical conditions of soil, rainfall, pulling and retting. In short, all was resolved into *Crotalaria juncea*, and Jubblepore hemp, which Dodge considered originated from *Crotalaria tenuifolia*, was obviously derived from a variety. Further investigations were subsequently pursued by Dr. and Mrs. Albert Howard at Pusa.

Since Russian hemp has ceased to be exported, Indian Sunn is used as a substitute, its strength and durability being comparable to Russian and superior to jute. It is sold under the name of the district in which it is grown, Bengal, Benares, Jubblepore, Deoghad, Itarsi, Seoni or Sewnee and Philibhet. The Madras coast produces Godavery. Grading, though somewhat improved during recent years, continues too irregular to secure full advantages in competition with other fibres, and the export is practically stationary, being mainly to this country and to the Continent.

Some years ago an experiment was made in Portuguese East Africa with the cultivation of Sunn hemp (*Crotalaria juncea*), and although the soil and climate were suitable and the labour was cheap even for Africa, while the product was superior to that of India—being prepared for machinery instead of hand labour—its cost far exceeded that of Indian varieties, and the scheme was abandoned as unprofitable.

The extent of the Indian crop varies considerably, an average for a number of years being approximately 110,000 bales per annum (about 20,000 tons). Of this 75 per cent. is shipped from Calcutta and the remainder from Bombay and the Madras Coast. It is taken by the various countries in approximately the following proportions:

						Per Cent.
United Kingdom	...	...	...	...	...	33
Belgium	...	...	...	...	...	29
Germany	...	...	...	...	...	9
Greece	...	...	...	...	...	9
Scandinavia	...	...	...	...	...	7
France	...	...	...	...	...	6
Italy	...	...	...	...	...	3
America	...	...	...	...	...	1
Portugal	...	...	...	...	...	1
Other countries	...	...	...	...	...	2
						<hr/> 100

SISAL

Let us now turn to another Empire fibre of increasing importance to our national economy.

The name sisal is derived from the small port situated on the coast of Yucatan, whence the fibre was formerly exported. It is the product of the Agave. The soil of that Province is almost sterile, its surface being mainly coral rag with small pockets of soil. Its rainfall is small. Until 1893 Mexico had a monopoly of this fibre, its production increasing rapidly to meet the demand created by the use in U.S.A. of the automatic reaper and binder for harvesting grain crops. On that date plants which had been introduced experimentally into Florida by Dr. Trelane were exported thence to that part of East Africa which was then in German hands. A few years later plants were brought over the border into Kenya. It was soon proved that the migration to Africa was favourable to the growth of the plant under very different conditions of climate and soil. In East Africa, with its double monsoon rainfall in spring and autumn, it was found that the cultivation thrived, not only at the coast, but also in highland areas up to 6,000 and 7,000 feet altitude. In Kenya there are many plantations hundreds of miles from the coast and at altitudes of 3,000 to 6,000 feet. Above that height night temperature is too low to grow sisal successfully, but the coastal area of Tanga following inland through the Usumbara valley rapidly expanded as the centre of production and it has continued to maintain its lead. The war of 1914-18 caused a serious setback, as this area was the scene of a long struggle between Britain and Germany, but since the Armistice of 1918 great headway has been made in the cultivation of sisal in East Africa, and especially in Tanganyika. There are many variations of the Agave family which produce this valuable fibre. In Mexico, *A. fourcroydes* is preferred, and in Africa and Java *A. sisalana*. There are many varieties of the Agave, but these two supply all the fibre excepting small quantities from *A. cantala*, grown in Dutch possessions, and certain varieties in Mexico.

Sisal differs materially from jute, in so far as the latter matures

within fourteen to sixteen weeks of its sowing, whereas the Agave plant, which produces sisal, takes three to four years before the first leaf can be cut. Jute is said to yield an average profit of 130 rupees an acre, but no such returns have been realized from sisal during recent years. Again, while jute is entirely a peasant crop, sisal is a plantation industry, highly organized and requiring large capital and direction by trained Europeans.

Sisal was very little known until recently; Cortez found the Agave indigenous in Mexico, supplying the Aztec tribe with fibre for rope and fishing twine, while alcohol, beer, fabrics, medicine, brushes and many other products were produced from different varieties of the plant. Not until 1836 was it planted experimentally in Florida, but no development took place in that region. Subsequently, in 1893, as already mentioned, Florida supplied plants to East Africa; thence it spread to other countries now engaged in its production. Java began its cultivation about 1900.

The Mexican monopoly having been broken, East Africa now tops the list for volume of exports, although climatic and soil conditions vary so much from those in the country of its origin.

The following table indicates the expansion of the industry in Tanganyika and Kenya over the last ten years :

<i>Exports (in Tons) from :</i>			<i>Exports (in Tons) from :</i>		
	<i>Tanganyika.</i>	<i>Kenya.</i>		<i>Tanganyika.</i>	<i>Kenya.</i>
1930 ...	48,500	16,000	1935 ...	82,300	32,700
1931 ...	54,700	16,000	1936 ...	80,600	36,200
1932 ...	59,700	15,200	1937 ..	89,500	32,000
1933 ...	69,500	20,000	1938 ..	101,400	29,800
1934 ...	72,000	24,000	1939 ...	93,500	29,900

The industry cannot be profitably developed unless land is cultivated in large areas. The reason for this is not far to seek, as each unit of machinery—being composed of a decorticator, or fibre stripper, brushing plant, baling press, and a power engine with building, stores and drying ground—may cost some £12,000 to £20,000. This will require an area of about 5,000 planted acres to keep the machinery engaged all the year round, producing on the average some 1,200 to 1,500 tons of dried fibre of a value, at today's price, of £30,000 to £35,000. To control this plant two experienced European engineers are required, several field men and a manager,

whose salaries total a substantial sum, justifying employing their services on two or more units of a capacity of 3,000 to 4,000 tons of fibre, the larger figure requiring 10,000 to 15,000 planted acres and surplus land to renew exhausted areas. Since the leaf contains only 3 to 4 per cent. of extractable fibre, the production of, say, 3,000 tons of fibre entails the cutting and transport for distances up to five or ten miles of some 100,000 tons of leaf each year.

NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES

While Africa works on a small scale of units, two planters in the Netherlands East Indies have adopted the practice of huge batteries of "decorticators" up to 15 or 20 in one factory; thus the sisal industry in that area is controlled mainly by large producers, one producing about half the exports, another, a British concern, some 15,000 tons, while less than a dozen smaller concerns produce the balance, totalling about 80,000 tons.

One can spend a whole enjoyable day visiting even superficially a well-organized sisal estate. Here one finds miles of private railways and roads for motor transport, scattered villages, a hospital, schools for native children, perhaps a church, a football ground, several factories, stores, offices, with managers' and assistants' houses. One cannot but admire the co-ordination of the work, so that planting may keep pace with the leaf-cutting programme in such a way as to give a constant supply all the year round. Further, spare parts of the complicated machinery, of infinite variety, must be on the spot to avoid long delay in bringing them from Europe so as to avoid stoppages in case of breakdown. Success implies clever and tactful control of labour, which makes all the difference between profit and loss at the end of the financial year. There are, indeed, few industries where the tight control of expenditure plays so great a part in the returns. Work starts at dawn and usually goes on until the estimated output is reached. This may be within eight hours or it may take much longer. The same with the field tasks. These are allotted on the piece-work system, and one may, in fact, see a man returning from his day's cutting of leaf at 10 a.m.; as he may have worked by moonlight to save toiling during the heat of the day.

AFRICAN PLANTATION

Care in the feeding of the African is now regarded as of prime importance, and it may be safely stated that plantation workers enjoy a fuller and more varied diet than is possible in their own homes, hence their health is naturally improved. Anti-malarial control is another highly beneficial factor, while new drugs such as M. and B. 693 are helping to eradicate venereal disease and to cure pneumonia and influenza. As a rule the labour is partly residential but it is mainly under six months' contract. Occasionally the men come from far afield; Rhodesia, over 1,000 miles distant, sends quite a quota of labour to Tanganyika Territory. It has been found that the experience gained in the field work is utilized to introduce improvements on their own primitive methods of agriculture. In this way the planter helps the Government agricultural schools. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that nearly all natives possess their own "shambas," or farm, and resort thence each season to sow or plant crops for the use of their family. This helps to maintain tribal organization, and, although it tends to make labour supply inconstant, it retains the natives' independence.

There can never be any real unemployment problem in primitive tropical Africa, where a living is so easily earned from the soil. Indeed, it is estimated that thirty days' work in the year supplies the annual food requirements of a household. In addition, the native has been encouraged by Government to grow "cash crops," another name for surplus growth of beans, groundnuts, and in addition coffee for export, as it is not a native drink. All the same there are at present some 300,000 natives in Tanganyika alone who perform no work of any kind.

It would be interesting, though scarcely appropriate to relate the development of the policy of indirect rule, which seeks to encourage the African to constitute primitive self-government. There is much conflict of opinion as to the merit of this scheme, and many consider that *Festina lente* would be an appropriate motto.

TRADE ORGANIZATION

The sisal industry has gradually evolved a controlling organization which is now financed by a cess of 3s. 6d. per ton of export.

Kenya has its Association in Nairobi, while Tanganyika has its central association branches in Tanga, with branches in Dar-es-Salaam and Lindi, these three holding a joint meeting occasionally in Tanga, the main producing centre of the industry. By means of a Research Station at Mlingano, behind Tanga, experiments are constantly being carried out in plant breeding, and in a study of comparative methods of planting, including the distance between plants and rows, period of cutting, number of leaves to be cut, fertilizers, rate of growth under varying conditions of soil and rainfall and other agronomic studies. Plant diseases are constantly investigated, and careful comparison is made between plantations free from weeds, which in the tropics grow prolifically, and others in varying states of cleanness. Cover crops are studied, and, perhaps most important of all, fibre content of the leaf is strictly watched, as here is the crux of production. The hope of breeding a better yielder is ever present, either by crossing, by plant selection, or by breeding from seed. Here it may be mentioned that the whole of the crop in Africa has been produced vegetatively from a few dozen surviving plants originally brought to Africa in 1893. The Agave plant is extremely tenacious of life, and is reproduced either from suckers from a parent plant or from "bulbils," as they call the plantlets that come from the efflorescence, several thousand in number, as each plant matures, making its last supreme effort in life before perishing. Seed is seldom produced, and its use is confined to plant research at the Biological Institute at Amani.

The London Sisal Association centralizes the control of the industry, much of the recent capital having been raised on the London market. During the last few years the Experimental Station at Lambeg, Northern Ireland, has been investigating means of extending the uses of sisal, following on work initiated by the Imperial Institute some years ago, when tests made at Southend pier exploded an old prejudice that sisal was ill-suited for marine ropes. It may be admitted that sisal absorbs more water than Manila, but other points favour sisal. Anyhow, the war has afforded an opportunity of applying this finding on a large practical scale, as it has been found expedient to curtail the imports of

Manila fibre, displacing this with a mixture of $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. sisal in 2nd and 3rd grade rope and 25 per cent. in 1st grade. This change should make sisal less dependent on the vagaries of demand for fibre for binder twine and should help to adjust the balance between supply and demand. Stable prices are most necessary if an industry is to avoid periods of depressed prices, which throw losses on producers and thus disarrange the normal development to the detriment of all concerned, and this is the aim of the Association.

All the same, although over the last twenty years prices have fluctuated between £13 and £52 per ton, the production has rapidly increased, and consumption has kept pace with it, without any undue accumulation of stocks. But it must be admitted that Africa has pushed Mexico into the background, exports there having declined from about 200,000 tons in 1916 to 90,000 or 100,000 tons in 1939.

Notwithstanding the attempted planning of industry in dictator States, economists lag far behind any scientific solution of the co-ordination of supply to demand, development taking place spasmodically without a statistical guide upon which any value can be placed. We continue to live in a world where survival of the fittest is the ruling influence, and it may indeed be doubted whether the best laid schemes of mice and men will not continue to "gang agley" until a central world statistical bureau is able to supply accurate figures of consumption and demand. A useful beginning was made by the inauguration by the King of Italy many years ago of the International Bureau of Agriculture in Rome. In the case of sisal, much of the crop is used for spinning binder twine for harvesting grain crops. Crops naturally vary considerably from year to year and country to country, scattered over both the northern and southern temperate zones, so it would be ambitious to expect a reliable figure concerning consumption for this purpose, hence the difficulty of reliable forecasts.

Lambeg has extended the field of research by joint work between the rubber and sisal interests, and valuable results have accrued. Sisal for sacking, for carpets of excellent durability, for mattress filling, for road beds, plastics, cushions after rubberizing

sisal kraft, and other uses, all contribute to extend consumption. Various experiments have been made to soften sisal to permit spinning into finer yarns for weaving sackcloth and for finer ply twines. It may be gathered that steady progress is being made all along the line, thanks to the far-sightedness of those engaged in the industry, who at an early stage have engaged in profitable research work, whose fruit will certainly mature in course of time. In short, it may be claimed that the East African sisal industry is well organized and holds promise of steady progress in future. With suitable conditions of climate, soil and labour, well organized to operate constantly improving plant, and with the world-wide distribution, prospects are bright. Africa may indeed come to be the world's main supplier of so-called hard fibres, with a steadily expanding production.

It can be readily perceived how important a place the British Empire occupies in the supply of hard and soft fibres.

There are already indications of a reversal after the war of the mistaken economic policy of past decades. Such changes, to be beneficial, must be wisely considered as part of a broad policy, freed from the stigma of sectarian interests. The change must be gradual and carefully studied from an international point of view. If each stroke of the artist is correct his picture may become a masterpiece.

“Coming events cast their shadow before.” Do we not all feel that after the termination of present hostilities, in this war which may decide the fate of Europe for many centuries, we shall enter a period of reconstruction in the field of finance, economics and industry which will bring men closer together towards the era of association and co-operation, displacing the unregulated, one may almost call it anarchic, competition of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries? Let us all frame our thoughts so that each may contribute a crumb to the great task that faces us. Then we can look forward to the future with serenity, confidence and hope that we shall accomplish the great task before us, and thus fulfil the destiny of the British Empire, that cradle of freedom.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a meeting of the Association and the Royal Central Asian Society, held at the Royal Empire Society, Northumberland Avenue, W.C. 2, on Wednesday, April 10, 1940, Mr. Alfred Wigglesworth read a paper on "Empire Fibres." Sir Harry Lindsay, K.C.I.E., C.B.E., was in the Chair.

SIR ATUL CHATTERJEE : We were to have had in the Chair this afternoon Mr. R. S. Hudson, who was until a very few days ago Secretary of the Department of Overseas Trade. Unfortunately for us, he has changed over and is now Minister of Shipping, and he has been prevented, owing to the pressure of his new work, from coming to preside at this meeting. He has sent a letter, dated April 8, to Sir Frank Brown, our Honorary Secretary, in which he writes :

"You had very kindly invited me to take the Chair at the meeting of the East India Association and the Royal Central Asian Society on Wednesday, April 10, at which Mr. Alfred Wigglesworth was to speak on 'Empire Fibres.'

"I am extremely sorry that, as a result of the new duties I have had to assume in the Ministry of Shipping, I shall not be able to come after all. I have had the pleasure, however, of seeing some notes of what Mr. Wigglesworth intends to say and so I know you will have an interesting and instructive meeting, and I hope it will be the success you deserve.

"I would like to thank you once again for asking me to be present and to express my sincere regrets at my inability to do so."

In the absence of Mr. Hudson we have been fortunate enough to secure Sir Harry Lindsay's chairmanship this afternoon.

I do not like to say too much about Sir Harry Lindsay, because he is one of my oldest friends. We have known each other for more than a quarter of a century. As you know, he has a very wide and deep knowledge of trade conditions all over the Empire, and I think that he will fill the place very well indeed.

SIR HARRY LINDSAY then took the Chair.

SIR ATUL CHATTERJEE added : Mr. Chairman, before you start the proceedings of the meeting, I crave your permission on behalf of the Council of the East India Association to say a few words about the very severe losses which the Association has sustained in the course of the last few days by the death of Sir Malcolm Seton, the Chairman of the Council, and Sir James MacKenna, the senior Vice-Chairman.

We are all very glad that we have today amongst us Lord Lamington (applause), who has never spared himself in the service of the East India Association, and whom we are always glad to welcome in our midst. We are also very happy indeed that Lady Lamington has been able to accompany him here today.

But why I asked the Chairman to let me speak was that within the last few days the Association has suffered a very severe loss by the death of Sir Malcolm Seton and also of Sir James MacKenna.

Sir Malcolm Seton had devoted his whole life practically to the service of India. Indeed, when he passed the open competition of the Civil Service Examinations, he chose a career in India, but owing to reasons of health he had to abandon his first love; fortunately for India he was absorbed by the India Office. He served at that Office for over thirty years with great distinction. I think everyone who came in contact with him was struck by his great ability, his sincerity of purpose and his devotion to the cause of the advancement of India in every sphere. When he retired from the India Office he readily undertook the duties of Chairman of the East India Association's Council, and he performed his functions in that capacity with his usual devotion and industry. All who saw his work at the Council or at the meetings of the East India Association must have observed his very great love for India and his anxiety to promote the best interests of India and of this Association.

Sir James MacKenna was a member of the Indian Civil Service for thirty-five years. He had a distinguished career, first in Burma, and then at the headquarters of the Government of India. He was specially devoted to the cause of the improvement of the agriculture and industries of India. He rendered excellent service, first as agricultural adviser to the Government of India, as the head of the great Agricultural Institute which was then established at Pusa in Bihar, and afterwards as Chairman of the Sugar Committee and as a member of the Agricultural Commission which was presided over by the present Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow. He also devoted his whole life to the interests of India, and after retirement from India he joined this Association and other institutions which had for their object the advancement of India. In these capacities he, as well as Sir Malcolm Seton, will be difficult to replace, and I am sure you will all join the Council of the Association in expressing deep sorrow at the death of these two gentlemen.

The members stood in silence for a few moments as a tribute of respect to the memory of Sir Malcolm Seton and Sir James MacKenna.

The CHAIRMAN : I have very much pleasure in introducing our speaker of this afternoon, Mr. Wigglesworth, who is an old friend of mine and who is a recognized authority on sisal, jute, hemp and other fibres.

What will give us all particular pleasure is that he is able to combine a very practical knowledge of those fibres with a very profound knowledge also of the theory and science of their cultivation and their marketing. Mr. Wigglesworth went out to East Africa first in 1913, before the Great War, and after that war he went out again at the invitation of Lord Milner to take a practical interest in the development of sisal in Tanganyika. Later on he pioneered flax development in Kenya; and he has also travelled extensively in other parts of the Empire, particularly in Australia, where he was interested in flax development and, in New Zealand, in the development of phormium fibre. He is a member of the Council of the Joint East African

Board and of the Council of the Sisal Growers Association. He is a member of the Councils of the Royal African Society and of the British Empire Producers Association, and he is also, I am glad to say, Chairman of our Vegetable Fibres Consultative Committee of the Imperial Institute. I am sure you will agree with me that that practical experience, coupled with his theoretical knowledge, has made him just the man to read us the paper which he proposes to give us this afternoon.

Mr. A. WIGGLESWORTH then gave his lecture.

The CHAIRMAN : I am sure you will agree with me that we are very much indebted indeed to Mr. Wigglesworth for a most interesting paper. He was set an extremely difficult task in being asked to describe Empire fibres in general, and I am glad to see that he has taken the wise course of specializing on one or two of the more prominent Empire fibres rather than trying to cover the whole field. I am going to follow his example in opening the discussion on this paper.

Jute came first in Mr. Wigglesworth's paper; and here, of course, we must remember what a tremendous advantage jute has in the very large area in which it is cultivated. When you consider that Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Assam all grow jute, and that their area is just about the same as that of France, Belgium and Holland combined, you will see that variations of the monsoon between one district and another simply even themselves out, especially in a province like the Bengal Presidency, which has so good a reputation from the monsoon point of view. That, I think, is the first reason for the success with which jute has held the field.

There is a competitive fibre, which Mr. Wigglesworth just mentioned—namely, rozelle—which is being grown in the Dutch East Indies, and which has the distinction of being grown not only for its fibre but also for the flower, part of which can be used for a decoction which, I believe, is rather pleasant to drink; so that it looks as if rozelle combined the advantages of jute and tea—but that, perhaps, is going rather far! Certainly rozelle has so many real disadvantages in the costs of its production that it cannot be held to be a serious competitor of jute in the world's markets.

With regard to sisal, Mr. Wigglesworth has made some complimentary remarks about the activities of the Imperial Institute in stimulating the demand for sisal and the development of the fibre, and I should like to retort by reminding Mr. Wigglesworth that, although we took up the investigations of sisal at the Imperial Institute in 1925, it was only a year later that the Consultative Committee on Vegetable Fibres was formed at the Institute in 1926; and that Mr. Wigglesworth was and still is its first Chairman, so that he has been serving with us now as Chairman of this Committee for fourteen years. I do congratulate him on his public spirit in having given up so much valuable time to this work.

We certainly have been able to do a good deal for sisal at the Imperial Institute. Our first report was published in 1927, and our latest only a couple of years ago in 1938. The Admiralty have been able to extend very considerably the naval uses for which sisal is employed in competition with manila, and that is a great step forward.

There are one or two points which I hope Mr. Wigglesworth will be able to elucidate in his reply to the discussion. The first is this. I should like to know what in his view is the effect of Government-controlled prices on cultivation, and whether the question of bulk purchases by Government is having a satisfactory effect on the prospects of the industry. I think he will probably be able to answer that question in regard to both jute and sisal. The prices of jute in particular make rather lamentable reading. I should like to quote them, if I may. They are quite easy to remember if stated in percentages of the price in July, 1914.

The price of jute was 100 in 1928—*i.e.*, it had reverted again to exactly the pre-war price : 1929, 95; 1930, 63; 1931, 49; 1932, 45; 1933, 41; 1934, 39.

From 100, representing the price of jute in 1928, it had dropped to 39 in 1934, a drop to just over one-third of what it had been. That is a rake's progress indeed, and I think it was as a result of that decline that Government stepped in and controlled to some extent the cultivation of jute.

There will probably be other problems of similar interest attaching to sisal prices, and perhaps Mr. Wigglesworth will kindly take up those points when he comes to reply.

Mr. ALEXANDER HOLM : I am very glad indeed to have the opportunity of attending this meeting and of hearing my old friend, Mr. Wigglesworth, give this address. You, Mr. Chairman, referred to his high standing in the fibre world. I should like to confirm that and to tell you that many years ago, when I happened to be concerned in the advancement of the sisal and flax industries, I often appealed to Mr. Wigglesworth here in London when I was in East Africa. He never failed to give me accurate information, and I found that I could rely entirely upon his advice.

The first point I would like to make on his very valuable and informative address is in connection with the production of jute. I know not India, though I know a little about jute. Mr. Wigglesworth quite accurately stated that the reason why West Africa could not compete in the production of jute was that the wages were too high. There is another way of looking at that, and it is that the wages of India, where jute is produced, are too low, or the reward to the cultivator is inadequate. I have expressed the view for some considerable time past that the primary producers in the Empire have not been getting a "square deal," and that they have been expected and called upon to, and in fact do, produce a lot of raw material for the home and other industrial markets at far too low a price, at so low a price that they do not give a sufficient reward to the primary producer for his efforts. The cultivator of jute might reasonably be expected to get a higher reward—not that the wages in West Africa or other parts of the world are too high.

Mr. Wigglesworth referred to the policy of production having been very carefully thought out. I would say that a great deal remains to be done with regard to the policy of marketing, and I am going to relate this view to the preparation and marketing of sisal. Some years ago, when the producers in East Africa put their sisal on the market, each one used his own estate mark. There was no agreement with regard to standards of grades or anything of that kind. Each grower had his own grades. Again, Tanganyika and

Kenya had different grades. There was an entire absence of uniformity, to the detriment of growers as a whole.

That could not go on from the point of view of the trade nor from the point of view of the needs of the trade. I know that Mr. Wigglesworth did a great deal to remedy that position, and I hope and believe that the Sisal Growers Organization which has recently been formed and centred here in London will achieve a great deal more.

There remains a great deal to be done. I have had experience for more than thirty years in the grading and marketing of Empire products produced overseas for the European markets, products which have been officially graded and which have been sold on a grading certificate interchangeable in the trade. I see no reason why the same principle cannot be applied to sisal. There is a good deal of prejudice, in my opinion, on the part of growers. Their first attitude is to say that it cannot be done, and "we will never allow Government to do it." I do not care whether Government or an independent authority does it; it ought to be graded on standard grades which can be recognized in the trade throughout the world.

Think of the position of these big buyers of sisal and users in the United States of America, who want to buy or enter into contracts for the purchase of 1,000 or 5,000 tons of sisal. Let me repeat that the position has during quite recent years been improved, but formerly they could not buy more than 50 tons or something like that at a time of the same grade or quality of sisal. They could not enter into contracts of the kind needed for industrial concerns on a big scale. I therefore suggest that a great deal remains to be done in that connection.

I hear that it has been decided to close down the Fibre Research Institute at Lambeg in Northern Ireland. If that is true, in my opinion it is definitely a retrograde step. It is a comparatively easy matter to close down this sort of organization, but a very difficult matter indeed to build up. The establishment of a research institute takes years. We have all along expressed the view that continuity in scientific research work is of great importance. I do not know the facts of the case, nor what Ministry was responsible, but on the face of it I think it has been an unsound decision. It seems to me to be somewhat inconsistent with the policy of Government recently declared. You will remember that the Secretary of State for the Colonies said that the policy of the Imperial Government was to speed up the process of development of the Colonies, and for that purpose he was authorized to provide two funds, one of £5,000,000 a year and another of £500,000 a year for research work in the Colonies. The work at Lambeg was very definitely linked up and associated with production in the Colonial Empire. It is very difficult to make the two things agree, but perhaps Mr. Wigglesworth will be able to give us more information.

Mr. E. F. HITCHCOCK, C.B.E. (Chairman of the Sisal Growers Association): I should like very much to add my thanks and the thanks of those with whom I am associated to Mr. Wigglesworth for the trouble and knowledge which he has put into this paper today. I think Mr. Wigglesworth is one of the most remarkable young-old men that I know. I do not know

whether his age is a tender point with him or not, but I believe he is several years over seventy. He is a versatile man, who has a young, active, versatile mind and personality, and I think we are very fortunate indeed to have him addressing us today on this subject.

I do not propose to say much on jute, but to indicate the main difference between jute cultivation and sisal cultivation. The annual production of jute is something like 2,000,000 tons, and the sisal output of East Africa is about 150,000 tons, although, of course, that does not comprise the whole of the world output. But even the world output, when you take in the Dutch East Indies and Mexico, is not very much in relation to the cultivation of jute. But there is this difference between them: Jute, as Mr. Wigglesworth has said, is a family cultivation. It is a seasonal crop, and you do not have to take very long views. Sisal takes a very long time to grow to maturity—in Mexico seven or eight years, in East Africa three or four years. It also requires very large capital for its large-scale agricultural cultivation, and very considerable factory and transport organization. In order to extract the 130,000 tons output of Tanganyika and Kenya, 4,500,000 tons of leaf have to be cut, transported and decorticated, so you will see that the general basis of the sisal industry in relation to the capital involved and the unit of production is a very different proposition from that of jute. We have to take long views, and very often, when you start producing today in the Colonial Empire for a return which matures in four or five years' time, the whole price basis of your commodity may have entirely altered when you come to market your product. The result is that the producer of sisal has in the past always faced the maximum of uncertainty and insecurity and on the whole poverty.

I do not here wish to refer to the more general point Mr. Holm raised, and that was the economic organization of the Colonial Empire, which is a subject which I have no doubt will come more and more to the fore. We certainly cannot do it on the lines at present suggested.

With regard to the sisal industry, I think the Chairman referred to bulk purchase by the Government. There is no bulk purchase by the Government. The arrangement at present is that the industries of East Africa have agreed to quota their output, without any guarantee, for the British and the French Governments up to roughly 70 per cent. of the output, but purchases are made in the ordinary way by the trade under arrangement with the Hemp Control. The price has been fixed, which gives a bare economic return to the grower, but only just that; but it is a return very much higher than the immediate pre-war price. That was negotiated with the British Government and the Sisal Growers Association here, and the two Associations in East Africa. The London Association includes all members of the Kenya Sisal Growers Association and the Tanganyika Sisal Growers Association, and some even of Portuguese East Africa and, in addition, those who finance, import and look after the interests of the industry here in London. A very large part of the control of the industry is centred in London and so is the marketing.

We are very concerned about the future of the sisal industry. With regard to Lambeg, this question was considered with very great care, and the

decision to close it down was taken by the industry as a whole and not dictated by any Government Department. The sisal growers decided on a line of policy for very good reasons.

That does not mean to say that research has been stopped and it is our hope to expand it on more adequate lines in the future. Research is going on in East Africa and in Kenya and also in London, more particularly economic research. We have plans for the future, embracing not only an expansion of scientific research but economic research as well. Growers pay, by means of a levy on every ton of sisal they export, something over £20,000 a year for organization and research in connection with our industry, and we intend in the future, if it is possible, to tackle this question of an economic and more stable price level.

In one important economic respect sisal is very different from almost any other main primary commodity. In spite of what you may have heard of the combine and the decline in the market for binder twine, the fact is that although the production of sisal has increased every year, and during the last ten years has doubled, there is never at any given time any carry-over worth talking about. It is a commodity which is not competed with by lower priced articles to any great extent, and its increasing production has each year all gone into consumption.

There is one other factor, and that is the question of labour. Mr. Wigglesworth was kind enough to send me a copy of his address before this meeting, and I read it with care. He very rightly referred to the question of labour in East Africa. That is a deplorable position; compared with the Dutch East Indies we have no organization of labour. In Tanganyika, although 50 per cent. of the able-bodied males never do any work, the industry has to recruit its labour from the Belgian Congo, from Portuguese East Africa, from Nyassaland, from Rhodesia, anywhere it can; in fact, something like a million sterling is going out of Tanganyika each year on this account alone.

Java sisal commands a premium of £2 to £3 a ton over African sisal. Therefore, if we sold our East African sisal at the same price basis as Java, the consumer would have to pay over a quarter of a million sterling more for it. I doubt very much whether that extra appearance is really worth while. Meanwhile, East African sisal is each year becoming an increasingly important Empire asset, and we are doing our best to improve the conditions of the industry. (Applause.)

Major AINGER (Hon. Treasurer, Royal Central Asian Society): There is one point I would like to stress. Mr. Wigglesworth was talking about the dollar exchange, the question of hemp and the work of the Imperial Institute in helping on sisal. There was one figure which I think is interesting—that we imported in 1937 one and a half million pounds' worth of Manila hemp alone from the Philippine Islands. Had those experiments been carried out there successfully at an early date, we should be in a far better position to be using Empire materials now and not be so dependent on the United States.

That brings me on to my second point about sisal and about the dollar exchange, which is the United States market in sisal, because I am given

to understand that East African sisal could be delivered c.i.f. in the United States port to compete with Yucatan sisal from Mexico. I would like to know, if that is correct, what is the reason that the East African product is not making so much progress as it might. Is it a matter of bad marketing, and is it possible that bad marketing is in part concerned with the different prices of production in the different areas in East Africa? Portuguese East African sisal can be produced at about £9 a ton, whereas in Tanganyika it is £13 and in Kenya £20, so that it is very difficult to get your producers working together and working in organization.

The lecturer said that there had been a disagreement between the Indian manufacturer and the British manufacturer about production in Calcutta some years ago. I would like to ask one question about that. Was that dispute a matter of purely local, sectional interests fighting each other, or was it a matter of general policy? If the latter, is there any way in which the producers, both Indian and British, can be got to think from a Commonwealth point of view and not exclusively from the point of view of either Great Britain or of India?

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH: Sir Harry Lindsay asked what effect Government control on prices might have on the cultivation of sisal. That is a difficult question, but I think I can only answer it by saying that any control of prices, if it means paying a higher price, is likely to encourage the production. Government does not as a rule, especially at present, go for high prices. There was indeed rather an argument as to what price they would fix for sisal under the present control. They thought, if they gave £19 a ton, they would be generous. I undertook to present figures which showed that the pre-war average was nearer £26, and £26 was fixed.

One point of great interest to me was where it was shown by one speaker that Indian jute prices were just where they were before the Great War. By coincidence it is the same with sisal, the pre-war averaging about £26 taking the years 1926 to 1938 inclusive.

Sir Harry also asked if bulk purchases by Government would help the industry. That was answered by another speaker, that they are not making bulk purchases. Their organization is making purchases, but that is on account of the consumers.

Mr. Alexander Holm spoke about the primary producer not getting a square deal. I could give you a whole lecture on that, but I do not intend to inflict it. I am absolutely in favour of that opinion. In fact, you may take it that this war is largely due to that condition. There is a battle going on between the two economic interests, that of productive goods and that of raw materials. There is no organization to support the small man who grows his material on his field and has to sell it at best. There are thousands of organizations for supporting the prices of manufactured goods, and thousands of manufacturers willing to back tariffs and other policies calculated to keep prices up. I for one maintain that a whole new economic order will have to be brought about in the world after this war. There must be fair play to the grower. Every child knows that to bankrupt your customer is not going to pay you in the long run, yet that is what is being done.

Mr. Holm spoke about the policy of marketing being organized. I really do not think in regard to sisal, or jute either, that there is very much complaint about the marketing. Mr. Hitchcock explained that in spite of very bad markets at times, there has never been any accumulation of sisal. That is correct. Therefore you cannot say that the marketing is badly organized. The fluctuations in price I cannot explain. I have often thought that at times certain powerful interests in America helped to bring the price down when the production suddenly expanded. There is a certain amount of speculation too. That does not depress it below the economic level for long, so it must be a question of supply and demand.

Mr. Hitchcock showed that we doubled our output in a few years. That is true, and it takes a gigantic effort to double output. The best way of finding a new market is by a low price. Although these low prices have been very trying, especially to the producer with small capital, they may have been a blessing in disguise, because, firstly, they have helped growers to economize in the cost of production, and, secondly, they have offered so attractive an article at so low a price that sisal has been introduced for many things for which it was never used before. Today many of your mattresses are covered with sisal. The most comfortable beds made today contain sisal pads. It is being made into all kinds of fine twine, into sisalkraft, into plastics, for silage and other uses.

Mr. Holm referred to grading. I am in agreement with him that uniform grading is of the greatest value, but I fail to see why graders when employed in the industry itself are going to do better work when engaged as Government officials.

We have had examples in New Zealand where the grading has never been entirely satisfactory, and in Manila where twice the system has had to be remodelled. I think if the industry organizes the grading, on proper technical lines, that more satisfactory progress would be made.

Mr. Ainger stated that East African sisal could be sold cheaper in America than Mexican. That is not the case. No one has any information on fibres from Mexico worth heeding. They sometimes issue a price list, but deals are frequently carried through at entirely different prices. They generally sell at considerably below the price of East African sisal and their quality is lower.

Major Ainger referred to the cost as Tanganyika £13, Kenya £20 and Portuguese £9. I am sorry to say that these figures are quite inaccurate. The Portuguese sisal costs no less than the British production when all charges are met, and its best product sells at the same price.

Another question was about the Calcutta dispute. It was distinctly sectional. I think the lesson has been learnt. The Government had to interfere, and I question whether such a quarrel will take place again.

Lord LAMINGTON: I must at the outset express my own personal sense of loss at the death of Sir James MacKenna and Sir Malcolm Seton. As President of the Association I deeply valued their services, and I know I shall miss them. I need say nothing further on this after the speech of Sir Atul Chatterjee.

The immediate object of my rising is to ask you to show your gratitude to Mr. Wigglesworth for having delivered so very interesting a lecture from his vast store of knowledge of Empire fibres. It was very informative indeed to those of us who knew nothing about it, and he described the subject most lucidly.

Two particular points pleased me. One was the reference to the United States of America, in which he forecast a freer system of trade between our two countries. That I thought very satisfactory. Also his concluding sentence, which was hopeful that in the reconstructed Europe we could come to a better method of carrying on our lives. I am certain that if we do not find some alternative to what is going on now, it means absolute annihilation of civilization altogether. Therefore it is to be hoped that this reconstructed Europe will be on a sounder basis.

Then we are very grateful to our Chairman. We regret that Mr. Hudson was prevented from coming to take the Chair, but I am sure you agree with me that Sir Harry Lindsay, with his knowledge and experience, has filled the position admirably, and we are very grateful to him for having undertaken at short notice to preside. I will ask you to show your thanks in the usual way. (Applause.)

FORTY YEARS' PUBLIC HEALTH PROGRESS IN INDIA

BY COLONEL SIR ALEXANDER RUSSELL,
M.D., C.B.E., LL.D., I.M.S. (RETD.)

It was in 1875 that the first great forward step in public health was taken in England, for in that year a comprehensive Public Health Act was placed on the statute book. It is, in fact, customary to look upon this "Magna Charta" of public health as the *fons et origo* of modern sanitary practice. The point I wish to make is that even in England, which has been generally recognized to be the world pioneer in health progress, the period of activity comprises only some sixty-five years—a brief span in the history of any country. This is a fact often ignored when making comparisons of the health standards in other parts of the British Empire with those now existing in the homeland, because most of these other countries, and India in particular, have been actively engaged in health and welfare programmes for much shorter periods. It must be remembered, too, that progress in public health is always slow, and, in order to obtain a true perspective, it is necessary to take the long view. And so it is that, in making a review of public health progress in India, I have taken the forty years of this century as a suitable period.

It happens, also, that for most of these forty years I have been engaged in this field of human endeavour, and it may at once be said that those of us who are able to look back so long can derive considerable satisfaction from what has been gradually achieved during these four decades. Many grave deficiencies no doubt still exist, but the public health movement in India has now gained a considerable momentum, whilst during the past ten to fifteen years in particular, the rate of development has markedly quickened in many different directions. In my opinion, war conditions will

probably tend to accelerate the pace still further, so that health activities should effect in increasing measure their true purpose—that of improving the physical well-being of the people of India and of ensuring to them greater opportunities for happiness and enjoyment of life.

This expression of opinion may seem to some of you to err on the side of optimism. My object must, therefore, be to indicate those facts on which that optimism is based, and, although it will be difficult in the time at my disposal even to mention all the points I would like to make, I hope that before I finish unprejudiced listeners will agree that I have proved my case.

HEALTH STAFFS

Although the need for permanent public health organizations at provincial headquarters and for trained health staffs in urban and rural areas had long been recognized, it is more or less true to say that until the Government of India Act of 1919 placed “medicine and public health” under the control of elected Ministers, very few permanent health officers were to be found except in the largest cities and towns. This date marked the beginning of determined effort to appoint to every municipality a qualified medical officer of health and to provide at least a skeleton health staff in rural areas. During the past twenty years, some provinces, such as Madras, have managed to complete their district health staffs, which comprise health officers, sanitary inspectors, vaccinators and a few health visitors, whilst in Madras Presidency, the United Provinces and the Punjab, for example, nearly every municipality now has its own medical officer of health. Some provinces have not perhaps progressed so far, but the desire for advance exists everywhere, because it has come to be recognized that without a trained full-time staff organized preventive work is unlikely to be effective. Moreover, the whole question of what is known as “rural reconstruction,” which has rightly been one of the main concerns of all Governments during recent years, is so dependent for success on hygienic improvements that health measures are certain to receive more and more attention both in the Provinces and in the States.

PREVENTIVE WORK

I would like to give you just one illustration of what can be done by a well organized and trained health staff. Most of you have no doubt heard of the great Mettur Dam, a brilliant engineering feat which provides irrigation to a large part of the Cauvery delta in South India. The site of the dam lies in an intensely malarious valley, but, within six years and well below the estimated cost, the project was completed without a hitch. Although as many as 26,000 labourers and their families were living on the spot, in none of the years of construction work were there more than 300 cases of malaria, whilst, within my own observation, the physique of the men, women and children was vastly superior to that commonly associated with South Indian labouring classes. It is no exaggeration to claim that the completion of the dam was only made possible by skilful and unceasing preventive work planned by the Public Health Department and carried out by the resident health officer and his staff, for, had any serious epidemic disease broken out, most of the workers would have fled and construction would have been indefinitely held up. The complete story makes a thrilling health epic, but this brief sketch must suffice for the moment.

In order to promote rural development, the Government of India have made within recent years two large grants to the provinces, and these, along with additional allotments from provincial sources, were devoted mainly to public health needs such as rural water supplies, rural sanitation and anti-malarial measures, and have also assisted schemes for medical relief, agricultural and animal husbandry development, cottage industries, village roads and rural broadcasting, all of which directly or indirectly serve the same end.

Costly sanitary schemes for rural areas are, however, outside the bounds of practical politics, because of the enormous areas to be covered and the scattered nature of the thousands of village communities. In order to evolve suitable plans for the solution of India's rural health problems, organizations known as "Health Units" have been established in a number of provinces, with

financial and expert assistance from the American Rockefeller Foundation. These "Units" cover only restricted areas and populations, but the work is carried out by qualified and trained staffs. In addition to intensive investigation of health conditions and the trial of different health measures for the benefit of the local populations, these schemes serve as valuable demonstration areas for the training of new workers. The success already achieved gives promise that, by the extension of similar methods, the gospel of health will gradually be spread to large numbers of the rural population.

Then, again through the generosity of the Rockefeller Foundation, India was endowed in 1933 with a modern and well-equipped Institute of Hygiene and Public Health, an institution of an all-India character for the training of medical graduates in public health and for the investigation of India's health problems. The Institute has been provided with a suitable teaching staff and with adequate facilities for research, so that it is no longer necessary for those desirous of taking up a public health career to go abroad for higher studies. It is confidently anticipated that this Institute will have an increasingly profound effect on the development of preventive medicine all over India.

A CENTRAL BOARD

Another new health organization, which was inaugurated by the present Viceroy in 1937, is the Central Advisory Board of Health, whose members comprise representatives of the Central Government, the Health Ministers of all Provincial Governments, representatives of a number of States and members of the Central Legislatures. The idea of a Central Board of Health was no new one, for experience had shown the necessity for providing some machinery for the discussion of mutual public health problems and for the formulation of a wider and more uniform public health policy. The Board has no statutory powers or functions, but that it met a need was quickly made obvious. Provincial Health Ministers and States' representatives realized at once the valuable assistance such an organization could give, and it has not been easy for the Public Health Commissioner, who is Secre-

tary of the Board, to meet the urgent demands for more frequent meetings and for the discussion of a wider range of subjects.

An important part of the Board's work is the preparation of special reports by *ad hoc* committees, whose members all have wide experience of Indian conditions. For example, a comprehensive report on "Maternity and Child Welfare Work in India" was presented to the Board in 1938, and this should be a useful guide to all interested in that field of public health work for a period of years to come. The central organization of the Board has also been charged with the development of an Information Bureau whose functions are to make available information on every kind of health subject and to assist health organizations in obtaining material suitable for propaganda purposes. It seems certain that, with continued support from Provinces, States and Legislatures, the Central Board of Health will play an increasingly influential part in the future development of public health in India.

RESEARCH WORK

It is not perhaps generally known that India had organized a medical research scheme, through the establishment of the Indian Research Fund Association, several years before the Medical Research Council was founded in England. Since 1911, research work, under the auspices of the I.R.F.A., has in the main been closely connected with India's chief health problems, and notable achievements had been recorded, for instance, in respect of plague, cholera, malaria, kala-azar and nutrition, whilst continued investigations on Indian indigenous drugs have gone far to determine once and for all the therapeutic value of those substances. The I.R.F.A. was also a pioneer in the field of nutritional research many years before that subject was taken up by the League of Nations and by the Governments co-operating with that body. Within the past fifteen years a flood of light has been thrown on India's vital problems of malnutrition and deficiency disease; with continued co-operation from the Agricultural Departments of the Central Government and the Provinces, it is certain that the practical application of the new knowledge to correction of errors

of diet will be of the highest value to the Indian cultivator and his cattle.

Many thrilling stories could be told of the results obtained from the application of research studies. Assam and Eastern Bengal could tell of the control of kala-azar and the consequent saving of thousands of lives, and those dealing with cholera prevention could enthuse on the value of the method of forecasting outbreaks of that disease, which enables public health organizations to be both forewarned and forearmed. It must suffice to say that the Research Association, which has an annual budget varying between £60,000 and £90,000, has provided magnificent opportunities for the training in research of a large number of young Indian graduates of science and medicine and that these opportunities have by no means been wasted. The large contributions to knowledge made by medical research workers in India have given that country a high place in the estimation of international scientists capable of judging results. There can be little doubt that the practical application of the new knowledge so obtained has ensured and will ensure the scientific development of preventive measures suited to India's needs and means, although, as in other countries, a considerable time-lag remains to be overcome.

The prevention of malaria is the most difficult of all the difficult problems facing public health workers in India, for this disease is widespread and is responsible for more ill-health and deaths than any other of the epidemic diseases afflicting that country. Pains-taking and brilliant research has no doubt indicated many preventive methods capable of giving valuable results, but the whole malaria problem is so closely linked with all kinds of socio-economic questions—the high world-price of quinine being one of the most serious—that any campaign against malaria must be considered in relation to such factors as relief of debt, improved agricultural practices, the development of co-operative societies and a general increase in the standard of living of the rural populations. As I have already indicated, however, serious attention is now being paid to these interrelated economic problems, and, although it must be admitted that progress is bound to be slow, there is distinct hope for the future.

MATERNITY AND INFANT WELFARE

Nothing gives the public health worker in India more concern than the terrible wastage which occurs among young mothers and their infants. It is no exaggeration to state that every year over $1\frac{1}{2}$ million infants die before they reach the age of twelve months, and, although a considerable reduction has been effected in recent years, the recorded infant mortality rate is still between 160 and 170 per 1,000 live births. Moreover, a series of careful observations has shown that the maternal death-rate lies somewhere between 16 and 20 per 1,000. It would be a little unfair to compare these figures with those for England and Wales which are 53 and 2.8 respectively, especially when it is recalled that in some industrial cities of this country the infant mortality rate is still as high as 119 per 1,000 births. The fact remains, however, that many thousands of young mothers and their infants die annually of easily preventable disease. Before the end of last century a number of voluntary women workers had made isolated pioneer efforts in this field of preventive medicine, and gradually public opinion began to realize the need for a wider and more general campaign and for large numbers of trained women. In 1920 an all-India League was formed to promote maternity and child welfare throughout the country; in 1930 this became the Maternity and Child Welfare Bureau, and now in most provinces the work is carried on either through the official Health Department or by voluntary organizations. In Madras Presidency, where the organization and its control are in the hands of the official department, a trained woman medical officer has been in charge for some years past and the time has come when other provinces should follow suit. One of the greatest handicaps to progress has been, and is, the difficulty of obtaining educated girls and women for health visitors' work. There may be good reasons for this reluctance, but as education among women spreads and the horrors of existing conditions become more generally realized, it is to be hoped that this sphere of activity may appeal to many of India's young women, who will certainly find in it abundant scope for their energies and abilities.

The Institute of Hygiene and Public Health provides a course of instruction and a diploma in Maternity and Child Welfare for medical women, whilst five or six small provincial schools serve for the training of health visitors. The number which these schools can turn out annually is small, and the supply has so far been unable to meet the demand, so that in 1939 only 251 of the 900-odd Maternity and Child Welfare centres in existence had trained health visitors on their staffs. Both these figures indicate the great expansion which must take place before this preventive work can have any lasting influence on the appalling disability and mortality among India's women and children. Like so many other health activities, more and more money and more and more workers are required, but gradual progress is being made and, if only the pace could be quickened, the money spent would earn dividends undreamt of even by the most grasping of money-lenders.

TUBERCULOSIS

At the beginning of the present century tuberculosis was a disease whose incidence was not such as to invite special attention. With the development of industry in the large urban centres, however, and the concomitant overcrowding which everywhere seems to follow such development, infection with the tubercle bacillus has spread to an alarming extent. The Indian workman's admirable habit of retaining his connection with his village by periodic return visits has unfortunately resulted in the carriage of infection to those rural tracts which serve as industrial recruiting areas. The non-immune rural population of India, already suffering from a low power of resistance to infection because of malnutrition, malaria and other predisposing causes, has been unable to resist this new plague and the incidence and death-rate from tuberculosis in many areas has become a source of grave anxiety.

The first preventive organization to be formed was the King George V. Thanksgiving Fund, but its activities were compulsorily restricted, by lack of money, to propaganda and to special training courses for doctors. In late 1937, H.E. the Marchioness of Linlithgow issued a national appeal for funds, and the excel-

lent response has made it possible to organize the anti-tuberculosis campaign on an extended basis. The new Tuberculosis Association of India, which was formed last year, and to which provincial and State associations are affiliated, has planned its campaign on well recognized and successful lines. The central organization promotes research, offers expert advice and is a co-ordinating agency—*e.g.*, in standardizing methods, in arranging conferences, in training workers and in educating the public by different forms of propaganda. The establishment of tuberculosis hospitals and clinics and the carrying out of preventive measures are functions left to the provincial and State branch associations. Since 1929, therefore, the evolution of the anti-tuberculosis campaign has progressively advanced, and the new scheme marks an important stage in the development of that campaign. It may be anticipated with some confidence that the Tuberculosis Association will do much to stimulate public interest and to promote preventive measures. That these will all be necessary is certain.

LEPROSY

Another disease affecting the happiness and lives of many hundreds of thousands of the people is leprosy. For many years anti-leprosy work was confined to the maintenance of a number of leper asylums, these being managed and financed by missions and other private bodies, with some assistance from Provincial Governments. The prevailing opinion was that little or nothing could be done for the unfortunate victims of this infection. Fifteen to twenty years ago, however, scientific research was able to prove that early cases of the disease, at least, were amenable to treatment and this brought about a great mobilization of new effort. In 1924 the British Empire Leprosy Relief Association was founded, and an Indian Council for the Association was inaugurated early in 1925. Although an appeal for funds evoked a wide response, the Indian Council was unable to plan any very ambitious programme. Research work, however, was intensified, and the Calcutta School of Tropical Medicine has all along played a great part in this connection, assisted by grants from the Indian Research Fund Association. In addition, a considerable amount of

educational work has been done, and the propaganda officer employed by the Indian Council is continuously on tour in both Provinces and States, inspecting treatment centres, carrying out experimental surveys and advising local authorities on the development of their anti-leprosy work. Special courses on the diagnosis and treatment of leprosy have been held in different parts of the country at which over 1,000 doctors have already received instruction.

A great deal of work is also done by the provincial and State branches of the association, and many Governments have taken an active and practical interest in the campaign. Large numbers of leper patients attend at the leprosy clinics, which now number over 1,100 in all, and every branch reports the beneficial results of regular and continued courses of treatment. Every leper who after treatment becomes "symptom-free," "non-infectious" or "apparently cured" (you will notice the caution implied by these terms) brings to the clinics many others who were previously without hope and whose appearance before a doctor is frequently the means of discovering other early cases which can almost certainly be cured. With larger attendances at the special clinics, and with increasing demands from general practitioners for special training in the treatment and prevention of the disease, the possibilities are immense. What is most satisfying is the new hope which has been given to a million and more of depressed and hopeless outcasts of society.

HEALTH EDUCATION

In these days there is a Nazi-like odour about the word propaganda, but in the field of public health the need for education is as great as in any other walk of life. This need has not been forgotten by those who in India have been concerned with spreading the gospel of hygiene and healthy living. Not only has there been organized instruction of the public by means of printed literature, lectures, films and broadcasts, but personal instruction by health officers, health visitors and midwives, either in the home or in the health centres, has been widely practised, whilst there is also the gradual educative effect on the people by such methods as

the enforcement of sanitary bye-laws. Education in the principles of health is, however, always a difficult task, and is all the more difficult when one is dealing with a largely illiterate people. It is probably correct to say that satisfactory progress will only be made when every school child receives, as part of his ordinary education, instruction in the laws of hygiene as well as in the rules of syntax. Some effect has no doubt been produced, but there is a great need for wider appreciation in educational circles of the necessity for healthy bodies in the young if there is to be any chance of forming healthy and receptive minds.

SOUND FOUNDATIONS

And now, have I proved my case? Personally, I believe that I have, but then I may be prejudiced. I am only too well aware that both rural and urban populations still suffer, sometimes severely, from recurring outbreaks of epidemic disease; that malaria, enteric fever, tuberculosis, plague, smallpox and cholera still cause much sickness and many deaths; and that Indian death and morbidity rates at every age-period are considerably higher than those found in countries with well-developed health services. But none of these stains on India's health banner need be—nor will they be—permanent blemishes. During the past twenty years or so the incidence of many of the familiar epidemic diseases has been greatly reduced by well-planned preventive methods. One does not see nowadays the terrible waves of cholera and smallpox which regularly swept over great tracts of the country; the control of kala-azar has been effected; great reductions in the incidence of bowel diseases of all kinds have been recorded in those towns which have been provided with water and sewage schemes; the striking decrease of malaria in Delhi and New Delhi during the last three to four years has demonstrated that this disease can be effectively controlled.

What I have said clearly shows that in many different directions sound foundations have been laid capable of carrying the superstructure of modern hygiene practice and of effecting general improvement of health standards throughout the country. Moreover, every public health worker now knows that he has an

awakened public opinion to support him in his task, an opinion made evident not only by the wide activities of voluntary workers and voluntary organizations, but by the greater attention and time being paid by Provincial Governments to the health and welfare of the populations they represent.

One has only to glance at the Public Health Act recently placed on the Madras statute book to realize the tremendous change of outlook among legislators and their constituents to questions of health and welfare. When I read this draft Bill a few weeks before it was introduced into the Legislative Council, I asked the Minister in charge if he did not think some of its clauses were a little ahead of public opinion and if he had any modifications in view. His reply was, "The Bill will go through without a comma being altered," and, in fact, it became law without drastic change. Events such as this are a clear indication of what the future will bring. Progress will be difficult, advance will be slow, but without doubt the aim is towards a new and higher standard of health and this will gradually but inevitably be reached, bringing happiness and prosperity to the people of that great land which for ever holds the hearts of all who have served her.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A SOCIAL meeting was held at the Rubens Hotel, Buckingham Palace Road, S.W. 1, on Wednesday, May 8, 1940. Members and friends were received by Sir John and Lady Woodhead, and after tea had been served Colonel Sir Alexander Russell, C.B.E., I.M.S. (RETD.), spoke on "Forty Years' Public Health Progress in India," and a discussion followed. Sir Firozkhan Noon, K.C.I.E., was in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN said: I have much pleasure in introducing to you the lecturer this evening, Sir Alexander Russell. It is a special privilege and pleasure for me because Sir Alexander is an old friend of mine. He has rendered unique service to the cause of health in India. He started his work in Madras, and later on he became the Deputy-Director of Indian Medical Services in Simla; so he has a provincial as well as an all-India outlook on health questions. Later on he became the Public Health Commissioner under the Government of India, and at the time when I met him he was a member of the Labour Commission. I had the privilege of having him to stay at my house in Lahore, and may I add that as well as being a good health officer he is an excellent horseman. I am sure he has a very excellent lecture in store for you, and now I will request him to give his paper.

Sir Alexander Russell then read his paper.

Sir FRANK NOYCE: Some years ago, as Secretary of the Department of Education, Health, and Lands, it fell to my lot to read the reports of the Public Health Commissioners for the Government of India as a duty. Since I left that Department I have continued to read them as a pleasure. Those reports are, I think, the most informative published by any Department of the Government of India. But I am sure Sir Alexander Russell, who spent many months every year in compiling them, will agree with me that they are amongst the most voluminous. Each one of them is a miniature encyclopædia. I think, therefore, that both he and his audience are all the more to be congratulated on the very able way in which he dealt with the essentials in a lecture of less than an hour's duration.

He has raised so many points of interest in his valuable lecture, and it covers such a wide field, that it is very difficult to select any for comment, but there are three on which I should like to say a few words.

Many of us realized, before the introduction of provincial autonomy, that it would accentuate the centrifugal tendencies already in existence, and did our best to counteract those tendencies by the establishment of central organizations of different kinds which would serve as meeting-places for the Ministers and experts from the various provinces to meet and discuss their various problems and to formulate a common line of policy in dealing with them. Before I left India there were several already functioning, dealing with agricultural research, industries, education, irrigation, and other sub-

jects. One to deal with, perhaps the most important subject of all, public health, had not then come into existence. Sir Alexander Russell and his colleagues, departmental and other, put up a stout fight to bring it into being, but were invariably met by the stereotyped reply : "No funds available." It is, therefore, all the more satisfactory to hear from him that the Central Advisory Board of Public Health is now functioning successfully and is already amply justifying its existence.

One of the most important points in Sir Alexander Russell's lecture seems to me to be contained in one sentence—that in which he dealt with the subject of nutritional research. His reports and those of his predecessors have consistently stressed the problem that faces India in the millions which are being added to her population every year. There is no question here of a stationary or declining population; the question is what to do with the millions who are being added to it every year. It is very little use preserving their lives, reducing infant mortality, maternal mortality, preventing epidemics, and so on unless you do something to ensure that they are properly fed. I am strongly of opinion that it is in the co-operation of the Public Health and Agricultural Departments in the direction of deciding how they can best and most suitably be fed on the very small resources they have available that the most hopeful solution of that problem lies.

Now for my third point. Sir Alexander Russell referred to public health work in connection with irrigation schemes. Twenty years ago the India Cotton Committee dealt with that subject. They pointed out how often the carrying out of new irrigation schemes increases the incidence of malaria in already malarious tracts. I still think that that lesson has not been properly learnt. It might appear from what the lecturer said about the Mettur scheme that it has been learnt in Madras, but he had a dogged fight—and those who know him will agree with me in saying that when he gets his teeth into anything he keeps them there—he had a dogged fight to persuade the authorities of the value of public health work in connection with the Mettur Dam, and only a very grudging recognition was given of the saving in money and lives that resulted from his work and that of his staff.

In conclusion I should like to endorse what the Chairman said about Sir Alexander Russell's work with the Labour Commission. The Report of that Commission was my bible during the five years I was Industries and Labour Member, and it is both to Sir Alexander Russell and to me a matter of considerable satisfaction to feel that so many of its recommendations in regard to the health and hygiene of the industrial worker have been embodied in legislation in recent years. (Applause.)

Sir THOMAS CAREY EVANS : I have listened with very great interest to Sir Alexander Russell's address this afternoon, and I am sure we can all say the same, for the simple reason that we are all friends of and devoted to India. We are all pleased to hear of the progress that has been made. Sir Alexander has given in a very brief space of time a concise report of the progress that has been taking place recently.

We have gone to all parts of the world, and wherever we have gone the first thing we have done is to carry with us this great gospel of hygiene. Our

association with India has been of great benefit in this respect, not only to India and ourselves, but to the whole world. The discovery of the malarial parasite and of the part the mosquito played in the spread of malaria has been of enormous value to the whole of mankind, and our efforts have, in consequence, been the means of the saving of millions of lives. In this connection I feel I must associate the name of the late Sir Ronald Ross with this great work. The story and progress in regard to malaria is an epic of romance.

Then we come to the question of plague. The progress that has been made since the discovery of the cause of plague has been phenomenal. By our organization and administration we can now localize outbreaks and prevent their spreading to other parts. This is the practical application of our scientific knowledge, and we can claim to be able to control this terrible disease.

I feel this afternoon that I am here under false pretences, as it were. I left India many years ago and have not had the long service and experience the majority of officers of the Indian Medical Service have had there. During that brief period the progress was astounding. When I went there in the early part of this century, kala azar was then a dreaded disease which claimed over 90 per cent. of its victims. Thanks to the researches carried out, this mortality has been reduced to between 4 and 5 per cent.

I took an active interest in welfare work while in Simla, and I remember well inaugurating with Dr. Margaret Balfour the first Baby Week. At first we were very concerned about the venture, but we soon found that there was a definite demand. We found there was a hunger and thirst for knowledge and information regarding child welfare. We discovered that the Indian people were very human, and the way to get at their hearts was through their children. The first Baby Week was a colossal success. The second year it was a tenfold greater success, and I am informed that it has now spread to all parts of India and become firmly established. The infant mortality rate in large industrial areas like Calcutta and Bombay approached 600 per 1,000. The figures given today are evidence of great progress.

We know there are many handicaps, whatever we do in this respect in India. You have ignorance, religious customs to contend with, and, above all, economic difficulties, poverty—the latter the same in every country. This is always a bar to progress. You have also climatic difficulties, which no one can control. We cannot lessen the intense heat of India; this will always take its toll. It is pleasant to hear that the Government of India is still keen on these problems, that it is giving bigger and bigger grants for research. That is the only way of carrying on this great torch of progress.

Dr. D. C. WILSON: At the present time in India health figures in the programme of nearly every social and political organization. During the past four years I have motored many thousands of miles, and everywhere I have found the leaders amongst the people anxious for detailed information as to what can be done to improve their health conditions. To show how general health principles can be adapted to the needs of the various communities and in different localities require expert knowledge, as Sir

Alexander Russell has told us, and this often necessitates patient local research.

There is a wide field for co-operation in health education, as Mr. Gandhi is continually pointing out in his paper, the *Harijan*. First, there is the necessity for teaching the teacher. Methods for such practical training have been worked out at Moga in North India and at various other experimental teaching centres. Much pioneer health work in Indian schools has been undertaken by the Indian Red Cross. Our Chairman has been responsible for much of this work in the Punjab, but we have found that if hygiene is to be adequately taught by an already overburdened teacher it must be considered sufficiently important to be recognized as a subject for school examination. That has now been done in the Punjab. Lantern lectures, travelling cinemas, and exhibitions are useful methods of health instruction if depicting local scenes, not only for school children, but for gathering their parents also.

The extension of literacy by the Laubach and other similar simple methods of adult education is all helping to spread health knowledge. One may see school children now in villages teaching their parents and even their grandparents to read, and in India, as in every other country, there is power in the printed word.

In the future, also, one hopes much from the dissemination of health knowledge by means of village broadcasting. A very interesting beginning has been made in that respect.

Finally—because we have rather concentrated in this meeting on what we have done from this country for India—may I just remind you that we, from the health point of view, owe a great deal in this country to what has been worked out for us in India. It has been rather interesting just lately to study the scientific magazines that come from Germany and to see that under war conditions some of the population there are beginning to suffer from the same nutritional diseases that are being prevented amongst under-nourished peoples in India. It is also due to the knowledge about deficiency conditions gained in India that those now responsible for rationing are trying to avoid malnutrition amongst the most susceptible section in this country—our growing children.

Major-General E. W. C. BRADFIELD: The time is already very late, but I should like to add my congratulations to Sir Alexander Russell on the very comprehensive review of the public health problem which he has given us. He set himself out to prove that his optimism as to the future was justified, and I think we can assure him that he has been successful.

There is only one point I would like to make, and that is the value of general education and the advance which India has made in general education. The original public health policy of the Government of India—that is, the Government which succeeded the John Company—was to avoid imposing any restrictions which might arouse opposition amongst the people, but instead to popularize modern medicine by opening hospitals and medical schools. By these means, combined with the spread of general education, it was hoped to create a spirit of goodwill towards modern medicine. In

addition, of course, the revenues of the country at that time and for many years could not bear an extensive public health programme. Sir Alexander Russell has told us today to what extent that policy has succeeded; as a result of education the people themselves and their elected Ministers are promoting intelligent measures designed to improve the health of the people.

Another point is that the most successful part of the Government of India's policy was the encouragement of medical education. That in itself is an important public health measure, for public health is in itself only a branch of medicine. I think it is a matter of very great satisfaction to those of us who have taught in India's medical colleges to know how many of our old students are engaged in this work of improving the physical well-being of the people of India. They form the vast army of health officers which Sir Alexander has told us about, and it is also an interesting fact that at the present time nine of the Directors of Public Health in India are Indian graduates.

I should like to have said something about the new Tuberculosis Association, a work in which I was chiefly interested during my last few years in India, but I would only say that from what I saw I would heartily endorse Sir Alexander's optimism as to the future of that new organization. I had ample opportunities of seeing the progress of the plan, as we called it. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: We have had a very interesting discussion on a subject which is most vital for India. Nobody will deny, even the worst critics of England, that her work in the sphere of hospitals and public health in India has been most creditable, particularly when you compare it with other European Powers who have had the administrative control of foreign countries. These enormous strides made in public health matters since provincial autonomy came into force will astound even the most up-to-date supporters of the claims of public health in Europe and elsewhere.

When I travel about I see that when we compare the public health conditions of the Punjab with those of the Eastern European and some non-European countries, we can hold our heads high.

But our chief difficulty in India is the poverty of our people. The excellent hospitals we have and the preventive methods adopted by the Health Department are increasing our population, for whom the quantity of food and wealth available is limited. I doubt whether all this is really an unmixed blessing. But along with these health questions the Agricultural Departments have done wonders in improving our agricultural methods. In spite of that India is poor. I do not know if any other country, even in the East, is as poor where the income per head of population is lower than it is in India. Some people compute that this income in India is Rs. 63 per head per annum as against Rs. 1,160 in this country.

With that low standard of living, and the provincial Governmental incomes almost rigid, provincial governments find it difficult to look after our health affairs. What hope is there of our being able to supply our people with their health needs and their needs of better food and clothing? The low purchasing power in India, I feel, is one of the main causes why her

trade with Europe is lessening, and the poor people have to depend more and more on cheaper goods made, perhaps, outside the Empire.

Our chief source of wealth is agriculture, and the prices of agricultural products have been so low in recent years that it has not been possible for our agricultural population to make both ends meet. Some people say America is responsible for this fall in the agricultural prices, since she has an excess of exports over imports of over £1,200,000,000 a year, which has to be paid for by means of gold in America, where 65 per cent. of the world's gold is now concentrated. If that goes on, some people say the prices of agricultural products will go on getting more and more depressed.

Our problems of health, education, and population cannot be settled unless the production of wealth in India, whether agricultural or industrial, is increased in order to bring up the level of our living and our purchasing power. I think it is time our economists devoted more attention to increasing the purchasing power of the Indian people if their health is to be improved. A great deal has been done and is being done. We cannot expect miracles, but I am sure that, given the will and the industry, India may be able to find her place amongst some of the foremost countries so far as economics are concerned within the next twenty or thirty years.

I should like to take this opportunity of thanking the lecturer for the very excellent way in which he has dealt with this question and for all the sympathy that he has shown towards my people. (Applause.)

LORD LAMINGTON : I rise to propose a vote of thanks to those who have so well contributed to our gathering this evening.

The lecturer mentioned the success in combating diseases such as malaria, cholera, and especially leprosy, and from his comments it is to be gathered that people themselves begin to realize how their happiness and welfare are increased by improved health conditions. This is a matter of great importance. In connection with that I should like to ask the lecturer whether the result of the improvement of conditions of living in India as regards health and sanitation generally is likely to be followed by a decline of the birth-rate. That has been the case in almost every country of Europe.

What a pitiful contrast it is when so much is being done in India for the good of the people that here in this quarter of the globe human ingenuity is exercised in the destruction and maiming of human life!

I only rise to thank Sir Alexander Russell for the vivid account he has given us of the result of his many years of work in India, and I congratulate him on what he has been able to do there.

Also I thank Sir Firozkhan Noon for coming here to preside. We are very glad to have him here.

SIR ALEXANDER RUSSELL : I think it is usual at these meetings for the speaker to reply to questions and criticisms. There have been, as far as I can make out, no criticisms, and there has only been one question, that put by Lord Lamington.

This is a very difficult question to include in a short paper on public health. As a certain number of members in this room are aware, I have

myself taken a great interest in the population problem for a number of years, and have both spoken and written on that subject as strongly as the Chairman has indicated I can do. But I was unable to touch on the question this afternoon just because it was such a large one. However, as Lord Lamington has raised the point, I will try and deal with it as briefly as I can.

In practically every country in the world where an improvement in the standard of living has occurred there has been a concomitant fall in the birth-rate. In most poor countries there is a very high birth-rate. In Eastern Europe, for instance—Russia, Roumania, and so on—the birth-rate is probably three and a half times as high as it is in this country, whilst in India the birth-rate corresponds closely with the present rates in Russia and in China. I am convinced by my reading and studies and by consideration of the question generally that the population problem in India, serious as it is, is not so serious as some might think; because, if the Governments of India do in the future what they are now attempting to do, and that is to improve economic conditions and increase generally the standard of living, I am certain that concomitantly there will be a fall in the birth-rate. If you consider the question from an economic point of view, you will realize that that must be so. I am not pessimistic about the increase of the population and the non-corresponding increase of the food supply, although some differ from me in that respect, because I believe that if the standard of living improves the birth-rate will begin to fall. In the last five years India's population has increased by about twenty millions; the annual increase has, therefore, been between three and a half and four millions a year, but that figure will fall progressively as the standard of living improves.

Dr. E. Muir writes : One of the most hopeful signs in India at the present time is the efforts that are being made here and there by educated and trained Indians to help their poorer and more ignorant fellow-countrymen. Government efforts do not and cannot reach more than the fringe of the poverty, disease, and helplessness of the Indian village. But public-spiritedness is on the up grade, and the sporadic attempts which appear here and there are gathering force, and their appearance is making others think. An example of this is shown in a small leprosy investigation and treatment centre begun recently in the Nizam's Dominions. The doctor, who had previously worked for years in a large mission leper settlement, realized that there were large numbers of lepers who for lack of space and funds could not be accommodated in this institution. He calculated that there were between 200,000 and 400,000 lepers in the Nizam's Territories, and only 700 of these could be accommodated in the institution.

He set himself to see what could be done to start small nearly, if not entirely, self-supporting village leper settlements. A grant of thirty-seven acres of land was asked for and received. Villages within a radius of ten to twenty miles were surveyed, and about 1 per cent. of the villagers were found to have leprosy. He has now 57 in-patients and 84 out-patients regularly under treatment. Of the in-patients, 18 are partly self-supporting and pay two rupees a month for treatment; 13 are self-supporting but get treatment free. They build their own huts in places allotted to them. The remaining

patients have to be supported by the doctor. He adds : "The leper population is only too glad to avail itself of any help offered to it in the shape of treatment. We have proved to ourselves that it can be done cheaply and efficiently. . . . Our treatment hall and laboratory is a wind-blown, ramshackle affair whose roof flies off with every storm. It leaks during every monsoon, and yet patients flock to us. . . . A simply designed but permanent treatment hall and laboratory would make much difference to our work." How the doctor supports himself, his assistants, and his work is not mentioned; presumably it is by his private practice in his spare time. An example like this appeals to the Indian, and we may look forward to more and more who will follow in his steps. I believe it is largely in ways like this that the public health and many other problems of India will be solved.

Mr. J. P. BRANDER, late I.C.S., writes : Sir Alexander Russell intimated that he was not pessimistic about the increase of population and the possibilities of increasing the food supply. This view is not shared by economists and public men. The opinion of Sir John Megaw, formerly Director-General, Indian Medical Services, is quite the opposite (vide *Social Service for India* [Blunt]). He points out that in Japan increased output of commodities, industrial development, and prevention of disease have coincided with increases in the birth-rate, death-rate, infant mortality rate, and with reduced expectation of life; unrestrained human reproduction has gone on, and the people are probably not so well nourished as before. He adds that population control forms the foundation of all public health effort. Dr. Wendell Cleland, in his book *The Population Problem in Egypt*, states that in this land of high-class irrigation and high-paying crops the peasants have multiplied so excessively that millions are semi-starved and riddled by disease. The British West Indies are another instance. In such countries general adoption of birth control is the only alternative to Nature's elimination of the surplus population by famine or epidemics. It is a pity that public health administrators do not all realize that their laudable efforts to prevent disease in Oriental countries which have an illiterate, ignorant, and low-grade population are one-sided, and by increasing population growth only increase the sum total of human misery, and that, however much economic conditions are improved, population growth soon overtakes it.

- Fortunately, Indian public men are realizing this truth, and on the motion of Mr. P. N. Saprú the Council of State on March 18 last has passed a resolution, Government remaining neutral, in favour of having birth control clinics. Mr. Saprú stressed the alarming growth of population, the high birth-rate, and the high death-rate. The Mysore Government have established four birth control clinics. Birth control should now begin to forge ahead in India.

THE BRITISH IN INDIA AND THE WAR

By F. E. JAMES, M.L.A.

ON August 4, 1914, the brief announcement by the Viceroy proclaiming that the Empire was at war with Germany was preceded by an almost complete collapse of markets in the main business centres in India. The Government of India was not prepared to place India upon a war footing until months, and in some cases years, had elapsed.

In September, 1939, however, the situation was quite different. The Munich crisis a year earlier had given a plain warning of what might follow, and few people in India were under any delusion as to the ultimate course of events. Markets were little affected by the outbreak of war.

In the European community the need for preparedness was crystallized in a resolution which was passed by the All-India Council of the European Association in Calcutta on December 21, 1938, reading as follows:

“That the Branches of the European Association should prepare, in conjunction with Chambers of Commerce and Industrial Associations, a Register of Europeans with their special qualifications—military, technical, and otherwise—with a view to assisting the Government in defining the best use that could be made of individuals in case of emergency.”

The Emergency Register was started by the Association, and when war was declared on September 3, 1939, a considerable amount of information had been collected from members of the European Association relating to occupation and experience in India—language and technical qualifications, military training and obligations, and preference for service. Endeavours had been made to persuade the Government of India to insist upon compulsory registration of all European British subjects, but there were political difficulties in the way of making such registration apply only to one community, and administrative difficulties in making it apply to all.

Four days before the outbreak of war, however, Registration Ordinance (No. II.) was issued, making compulsory the registration of all European British subjects between the ages of 16 and

50. (In the last war, the corresponding Ordinance was only issued in 1917!) At the same time rules issued under the Defence of India Ordinance (No. I.)—subsequently replaced by legislation—prohibited the exit from India of all European British subjects between those ages without a permit from the military authorities. This was necessary to prevent the depletion in the numbers of those in the comparatively small European community who were available and suitable for defence services in India. Leaving India was controlled, not prohibited, but those who wished to go had to satisfy the military authorities that they had good reason for going and that they were either returning within a specified period or were not needed for service in India's military, naval or air forces.

During the first month of the war the representatives of the European community in the Central Legislature were in daily touch with the military authorities with regard to man-power requirements. The real problem was to reconcile military needs with those of industry and commerce. In order, therefore, to effect a liaison between the military authorities and the commercial community, National Service Advisory Committees were set up in the various District Commands, consisting of representatives of the European industrial, trading and commercial community, whose duty it was to assist the authorities in the calling up of the men of the community so as to cause the least dislocation to trade and industry.

The experience of the war in the years 1914-18 showed that this liaison was very necessary. During the debate on the Defence Force Bill in 1917 the representative of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce in the Central Legislature made the following remarks:

“The cause of many of the Empire's difficulties in this War has been that too much has been left to the discretion of the individual, resulting too often in the employment of that individual's services in the direction of his inclination rather than in the direction which would really have been in the best interests of the Empire.”

During the same debate Mr. J. S. (now Sir John) Wardlaw Milne remarked that more than two years previously the question of the expansion of the Volunteer Force or, as an alternative, of the introduction of a system of compulsion, was brought prominently before the Government of India by the Chamber of Commerce. He regretted that the Defence Force Bill was not introduced earlier, and drew attention to the willingness of the non-official community to allow as many of their men as possible to join the defence forces.

In 1939, the names received under the Registration Ordinance were classified with the assistance of the National Service Advisory Committees, under various heads, relating to availability, age and family obligations. It was expected that a Compulsory National Service Ordinance, to be followed by legislation, would be promulgated towards the end of that year, but at the beginning of 1940 the European community learnt to its great disappointment that certain legal difficulties had been found in the way of enforcing compulsory service upon European British subjects in India without parliamentary legislation which the British Government were unwilling to undertake. It was, therefore, decided to proceed with legislation on the basis of voluntary service, and the National Service (European British Subjects) Bill was passed into law in April, 1940. It gave statutory recognition to the position and authority of the National Service Advisory Committees, compelled the military authorities to consult these Committees before offering European British subjects national service in any capacity, and made provision for the reinstatement after the war of employees called up for national service on the lines of the provisions in the National Service (Armed Forces) Act of 1939. There was considerable controversy in the Central Legislature when the Bill was under discussion, mainly because the definition of "European British subject" in the Bill included Dominion subjects, and it was felt by all Indian parties that, in view of the treatment of Indians by some of the Dominions concerned, it was hardly fair that their citizens should be given an opportunity to serve in India's defence forces as commissioned officers.

The unexpected developments of the first few months of the war falsified all peace-time calculations with regard to manpower. The absence of heavy casualties on the Western Front and of hostilities in Eastern theatres at the time made it unnecessary to call upon the resources of the European community to any very large extent. It also enabled the authorities to complete their classification and call up for training for emergency commissions comparatively small groups from time to time.

Up to the middle of May this year 109 European British subjects had been trained in the training camp at Belgaum for emergency commissions in various branches of the defence forces, and a further 265 are at present undergoing training. Arrangements have also been made for the recruitment and training of 390 additional cadets, all of whom will have started their work in the training camp by September of this year. In addition to these, of course, there are a large number of the members of the community who belong to the A.I.R.O. and the Naval Reserves, many of whom have already been called up for service.

The total requirements will, of course, depend on the course of the hostilities. With the quickening of the tempo in the fighting in the West, calling up of members of the community has been much accelerated, and now that Italy has joined her Axis partner in the struggle the demands upon the community will be greater. The leaders of the European community in India, however, have been reminded by the Viceroy that the high standard of living that the British peoples within the Empire have achieved is largely dependent upon their overseas trade. The maintenance, therefore, and if possible the expansion of this trade is of vital importance to the Empire, and it would be shortsighted so to divert the available man-power resources of the community in India as seriously to diminish this trade. Those who are engaged in maintaining or increasing British trade in India are rendering national service of outstanding value, for there are plenty of competitors anxious and ready to take over any business which is relinquished by Britain. It is not surprising, therefore, that there are a number of members of the community in key positions, who, though of military age and anxious to offer themselves for service, cannot be spared because they are considered to be doing national service in their present posts. The military authorities have been empowered to give a certificate to such persons which will declare that they have not been offered opportunities for military service owing to the fact that in the view of the military authorities they are considered to be essential in their present posts and to be performing national service of the greatest importance.

At the same time there is a strong feeling on the part of the European community that the legal difficulties which stand in the way of the application of the system of compulsion should be overcome, so that European British subjects in India may feel that they are subject to the same powers as their fellow-countrymen in the United Kingdom.

Recruitment to the Auxiliary Forces has been encouraged and a number of units have been embodied, so that they can relieve some of the regular forces which are required elsewhere. As younger men are called up, their places will have to be taken by the older members of the community, many of whom will be required to rejoin the Auxiliary Force unit from which they retired some time ago.

In other directions the community is making a contribution in connection with the organization of supplies and the development of trade. The Supply Department set up by the Government of India before the war, which is the executive of the War Supply Board, has attached to it certain advisers or liaison officers representing the jute, petroleum, wool, engineering, tanning and

leather industries, and most of these advisers happen to be leading members of European firms engaged in these particular industries. The representative of the British Ministry of Shipping and the Controller of Shipping in India is Sir George Campbell, late senior partner of Messrs. Mackinnon Mackenzie and Co., Calcutta. He is also a member of the War Transport Board, through which the various forms of transport are co-ordinated for internal movements of troops, materials and commodities, and the allotment of ocean-going tonnage for the carriage of war supplies and materials. A Board of Scientific and Industrial Research has also been established, whose purpose is to enable India to increase her industrial activities with a view to fulfilling more effectively the demands for war materials from the Empire and Allied countries. The European commercial community is represented on this Board. The Chairman of the Jute Mills Association is the Jute Controller of the Government of India, and some of the great shipping companies represented in India are assisting the Ministry of Shipping in connection with the allotment of space and priority claims. There are many other ways in which European trade and commerce is assisting Government.

The main feature of the first war budget of the Government of India was the Excess Profits Tax Bill, whose principles had the support of all sections of the European community. In 1919 (for in the last war this measure was not introduced until enormous war-profits had already accrued) the corresponding Bill was severely criticized by several important European Chambers of Commerce.

Even before the outbreak of war, as on the last occasion, European women applied themselves to the task of rendering service in various directions—*e.g.*, through the Red Cross for supplying comforts to the troops, through the St. John Ambulance Association for nursing, through the Overseas League and other organizations in the United Kingdom represented in India for supplying various amenities to British and Allied troops. Not satisfied with the restricted purposes of the Red Cross and St. John Ambulance appeals, representations were made by the leaders of the community, and the Viceroy and Provincial Governors established a War Purposes Fund to which ear-marked contributions could be sent for all or any purpose connected with the war. In Calcutta an East Indian Fund for British War Services was established under the chairmanship of an ex-Chairman of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, and has already raised nearly £50,000.

At the same time certain members of the community, feeling strongly that inasmuch as assistance on the economic front was the only contribution to Britain's war effort that they could make, inaugurated a British War Savings Movement, which was in-

augurated on April 7. This encourages the purchase of National Saving Certificates and National Defence Bonds, and encouragement and offers of assistance have come from high and low from all parts of India and from Indians as well as Europeans. The initiative came from members of the European community and was a genuine expression of the desire of many to assist in this way. The Bank returns of remittances from India to England, which will be published in June, will show to what extent this useful lead has been followed.

Although the actual fighting which is now taking place is remote from India's shores, the European community follows its fortunes with grave anxiety. The threatened attack upon the United Kingdom brings the war more closely home to the members of this community than to any other community, as many have their homes, some have children in schools, and most have relations in the mother country. Indeed, arrangements are in operation for the return to India of numbers of European children to rejoin their parents.

The political situation in India has also been a cause of some anxiety. As the direct outcome of the part she played in the last war, India has advanced far along the road to sovereign nationhood, and the Constitution Act of 1935 provided for full responsible self-government, subject to certain safeguards, in the eleven Provinces which make up British India. As a symbol of India's position, a representative of her Government has attended, with the representatives of the Dominions, conferences in London on defence. The Congress Party, however, was not willing to commit itself to the full support of the Allies without certain undertakings as to India's constitutional future. At the time of writing political India is still withholding its full co-operation, though this has made little difference to the military and other contributions with which India is supporting the Allied cause.

The establishment of a National Government in the United Kingdom, with the appointment of Mr. Amery as the Secretary of State for India, and his appeal to political parties in this country, the German thrust into Holland, Belgium and Northern France, and the imminence of the danger of an attack upon the United Kingdom itself, the possibility of Italy's intervention on the side of Germany, all these factors are rapidly creating a new outlook in India. Criticism has been heard from Indian and European quarters alike of the lack of leadership in the country with regard to the equipment of India's own defence. There is a growing tendency for political leaders to regard this as the most urgent necessity. Constitutional discussions can wait, but there is an almost desperate anxiety on the part of every community to take an increasing share in the organization of India's internal

defence. Those who are in power in this country and in the United Kingdom would be well advised to recognize and encourage this tendency. On this basis there is every probability of a solidarity of effort in India which might lead to the establishment of a National Government at the Centre and coalition Ministries in the Provinces, pledged to the fullest prosecution of the war and the more effective equipment of India for her own self-defence.

The contribution made by the European community in the last war was great. In the present war it will be as great, if not greater. Although the community is smaller, its resources in man-power are now classified, and there will not be the same waste of material. It has an opportunity, which it is taking with both hands, to show to the peoples of India that, whatever may be their political differences, all can unite in the struggle against tyranny and aggression and for the defence of the Empire and the freedom of this country. Most Europeans consider that India's future constitutional status is of small importance compared with the present peril. If Britain is defeated her aspirations for independence or dominion status will be for ever frustrated. If Britain wins, and the Empire survives its greatest ordeal, a free India in association with other free countries of the Commonwealth is assured.

NOTE

Since the foregoing was prepared the announcement has been made by General Sir Robert Cassels, the Commander-in-Chief in India, of an army expansion scheme, which aims at recruiting 100,000 men or more for the Indian Army, quadrupling the existing Air Force, augmenting the Territorial Army by new units, and accelerating the provision of officers to these new forces.

He announced a large expansion of the Royal Indian Navy, and also that Indians would be given a full share in the new scheme of officer recruitment. They would be posted to all units throughout the Indian Army, and would not be restricted to those units already Indianized.

A few days later the Viceroy announced that steps were being taken throughout India to establish without delay a voluntary organization known as the Civic Guard, which would render service in connection with the maintenance of public order, air-raid precautions, the prevention of sabotage, and other aspects of internal defence. The Civic Guard is being affiliated to the regular Police, and is to be organized throughout each Province.

The rulers of the Indian States are being invited to establish similar organizations in their territories.

The opportunity provided for part-time service in connection with the war will be welcomed by British and Indian citizens alike, and especially by those whose duties in official, professional or commercial life preclude whole-time volunteering.

THE INDIAN SOLDIER IN THE B.E.F.

BY EDWIN HAWARD

AMONG the many stirring stories of feats of endurance, courage, and resourcefulness performed by the British Expeditionary Force and their gallant allies in the Dunkirk evacuation the work of the small body of Indian troops has not been overlooked.

At the end of the week in which they arrived in England these officers and men of the Royal Indian Army Service Corps were visited by Mr. L. S. Amery, the Secretary of State for India.

Mr. Amery was accompanied by Sir Sydney Muspratt and the Duke of Devonshire, and the quite informal inspection was linked up to India by means of a recording unit of the B.B.C., with Mr. Z. A. Bokhari in charge, as well as a party of Press representatives. Among the latter, by the way, was Reuter's correspondent, Mr. A. D. S. Catling, who himself had known the Indian troops in France and had only recently returned to England when the corps of correspondents were evacuated in the early days of the German thrust through Flanders.

Mr. Catling's book, *Vanguard to Victory*, contains a chapter of impressions of his visit to the Indians at the front, and he took the opportunity to renew that acquaintanceship.

In the almost tropical sunshine of that week-end the Indians seemed to be at home; in fact, their camp, somewhere in Surrey, was pitched in a clump of pine-trees, and the smell of the pines, the radiance of the sun, and the dust from the military road skirting the camp reminded them, as one of them told me, of a scene near Murree or Ghora Gali.

My informant was a man from Rawalpindi, or, rather, from a village, as he carefully explained, two miles north of that city; but he had seen the world. He had been to Hong-Kong, Singapore; he had even touched at Rangoon, and, learning that I, too, knew Rawalpindi and the Punjab as well as China, he at once plunged into comparisons. Although he had seen France and liked France, especially the French people, he put Hong-Kong on the highest pedestal of all. "Hong-Kong was No. 1," he expressively remarked. He spoke in English and invited me to unpack my almost forgotten and somewhat imperfect Hindustani. This enabled us to understand each other pretty well, but suddenly he asked me whether I spoke French. This was not unnatural because, as so often happens when you try to talk Hindu-

stani, you drop into the last language you had to speak, just as when the traveller arrives at Marseilles from the East he frantically dashes into French, only to find that he is talking Hindustani more fluently than he could speak in India.

The soldier had picked up a good deal of French in his six months with the B.E.F., and we amused ourselves by resorting to that language in further discussion of the war. "The war," he said, "was very bad for the civilians," and then he let me have a glimpse of the horror and disgust which he and his comrades felt at the treatment of civilian refugees by German soldiers. The deliberately sustained machine-gunning of these unfortunate people from the air and the panic it created have made a lasting impression on the minds of these peasants from the Punjab. For themselves they had no fear, although they came through some very sticky patches in their journey by forced marches to the Dunkirk Mole. They had to leave their mules behind, much to their regret, and it was recorded of one of them that when his mule was killed he had to receive a strict order from his commanding officer before he would give up the idea of carrying the equipment with him on the march.

All the way, through bombing and machine-gunning, and desperately in danger of capture by the enemy—at one time they were within almost hailing distance of a superior German force, but managed to elude it—the officers and men of the Royal Indian Army Service Corps never lost their march discipline, and when, penetrating the blazing inferno of Dunkirk, they reached the Mole to await embarkation, they stood there with aeroplanes roaring overhead as if on their parade ground in Jhelum.

The ship that took them to England was one of those gallant vessels which were suddenly called upon to exchange the peaceful life of a ferry steamer for the stern adventure of naval warfare. In normal times she carries passengers from England to Ireland with nothing more to fear than an unruly Atlantic. Thanks to the benevolence of Neptune, there was no need to be worried about the sea, but the plucky little ship had her fill of danger and excitement. She embarked the Indians in workmanlike fashion, and so they crossed to the English shore after having enrolled themselves nobly on the register of the Heroes of Dunkirk.

Even to one who has long known, as I have done, the stolid courage of the Punjabi Mussulman, it was amazing to observe the calmness and cheerfulness of these men. They had settled down to the routine of camp life in comparatively peaceful conditions as quietly and coolly as if they had just been transferred from another station. The guard, commanded by a non-commissioned officer with drawn sword, performed its duties with precision and verve, and less arduous labours were just as thoroughly executed.

For example, in the mess tent one of the troopers was most efficiently ironing the tablecloths so that everything should be spick and span for the subsequent entertainment of the Secretary of State. These soldiers have all the shrewdness of the countryman everywhere, and this shrewdness is no less evident because, again like all countrymen, they are not quick in expressing themselves. Their words are few.

Their experiences in China had enabled them, apparently, to get quite a serviceable idea of the issues in the war which is still going on in that country. They had a keen appreciation of the superiority of Japanese military might, but they seemed to put their money on the Chinese, whose military instincts, they suggested, were counter-balanced by a lively individuality and a sense of family cohesion. Of course, they did not put it in exactly those terms, but that was roughly the note which they struck. One of them said: "Chinese he call you daddy, and very friendly, but he can fight if you not friendly." They regretted, however, that the Japanese had been able to make such big inroads into Chinese territory, and they were cheered to know that far in the hinterland Chinese armies were still making good fighting.

Turning to their more recent experiences on the Western front, they had abounding admiration for the French soldier, and they spoke with deep gratitude of the kindly treatment they had had from all French people during their time in France. Somehow or other the French have the knack of making strangers feel at home, and it was obvious from the way in which these men had picked up French phrases and French jokes that they had been very happy in their French billets.

As for the outcome of the war, they were under no illusion regarding the strength of the German onslaught, but they were equally convinced that in the long run the cause of liberty would triumph.

They had comparatively few casualties, about which, at the moment of writing, it is not possible to speak, but perhaps when these lines appear in print it may be permissible to tell the story of the four men who were killed by an enemy shell. Their bodies were taken to a French hospital and enquiries were made regarding them. The enquirer was shown four coffins of polished wood side by side with many other coffins of French dead in plain wood. On the four Indian coffins flowers were placed. Questions were asked. It appeared that flowers had been put there by one of the French Sisters at the hospital; and she was invited, through an interpreter, to speak. She said that her French dead would be buried in their own country, where flowers bloomed all the year round, but these Indian soldiers had come from a strange land to fight for France on French soil, and she wanted

to be sure that they had flowers for their burial. Their burial was arranged according to Muslim rites, the officiating maulvi being provided by the French Army.

Mr. Amery, who, incidentally, is the first Secretary of State for India to have been born in that country, inspected the officers and men. As they were drawn up on the parade ground under their company commanders they presented a very workmanlike spectacle. Many of them were wearing the medal ribbons, somewhat stained and faded, of previous campaigns, mostly on the North-West Frontier, and one man with two rows to his credit admitted that he had already put in thirty years' service in the army. On being asked whether he was prepared to do another thirty years, he promptly replied that his services were at the disposal of the King-Emperor, and Mr. Amery undertook that thirty years hence the two of them would meet. The grey-haired veteran permitted his eye to twinkle, a twinkle which became more expressive as his commanding officer, in an undertone, made an appropriate comment in Hindustani on his audacity.

Finally, Mr. Amery addressed the officers and non-commissioned officers apart from the companies, and in a few closing words congratulated them on their magnificent performance and wished them luck wherever they might go. Not only did he commend their soldierly conduct in the retreat to Dunkirk, but he also praised the work which they had so well done throughout the bitter winter. It was no small feat for these men from the Punjab to keep their mules fit and hearty through one of the worst winters Europe has known. Even when allowance is made for the fact that the Punjabi knows bitter cold as he knows torrid heat, the effort must be accounted praiseworthy in the extreme. It is due to the fine qualities of the men themselves, and, above all, to the unshakeable confidence existing between them and their officers.

General Sir Sydney Muspratt, himself an Indian veteran with long family connections with India, for his father was in the Indian Civil Service, also took the opportunity to have many talks with the companies, and was highly delighted with the general efficiency in front of him.

They have well maintained the traditions of their corps, and those traditions are worth maintaining, for it is of no mushroom growth. On February 18 it may be said to have reached its third jubilee. For the Royal Indian Army Service Corps dates its origin from the Army Commissariat Department of Bengal, raised on February 1, 1810. The Madras Department was raised in the following December, and that of Bombay on August 29, 1811. The three were formally amalgamated in July, 1878, and even-

tually they became known as the Supply and Transport Corps in 1901.

In 1923 a further change occurred and the Indian Army Service Corps came into being. They were designated the Royal Indian Army Service Corps on June 3, 1935—just five years ago. Their Colonel-in-Chief is the Duke of Connaught, another veteran of Indian service, and he will no doubt have learned with the greatest satisfaction of the way in which one of his many regiments has played its part in the latest war.

INDIA'S WAR EFFORT

BY SIR GEORGE DUNBAR, BART.

IN a review of the war before Paris fell, the Prime Minister, picturing the worst possibilities, declared that, should France be beaten and the British Isles successfully invaded, the Empire would fight on until the Nazi power was destroyed.

Three-fourths of the entire population of the British Empire is to be found in India, and, whatever the immediate future may hold, the value of the contribution which that country can make should be recognized.

Beneath the deepening shadow of the desperate fight against irreligion and barbarism purely Indian differences and quarrels are fading into insignificance, and the whole country is united today in its detestation of Nazism. In the words of Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab: "As a self-respecting and God-fearing people, we must unequivocally throw in our lot with the nations which stand for justice, righteousness, and self-determination for all, strong and weak alike."

Prince and peasant, in face of the greatest danger that the civilized world has ever known, are rising to the emergency, as their fathers rose to it a quarter of a century ago. The Indian Corps in 1914 and 1915 played its gallant part in Flanders when what was left of the Old Contemptibles were fighting desperately to bar the German thrust to the Channel ports.

In that earlier struggle against wanton aggression the Princes and Ruling Chiefs of India offered their personal services and their resources in men and treasure in support of the Allied cause. Not only did the Imperial Service troops of twenty-seven States replace regiments that could not otherwise have been spared from the country, but 20,000 men from Indian India went on service overseas. The Princes not only contributed millions of pounds as free gifts and to the war loans; their war effort included ships, hospitals, ambulance units, and goods of every description. In British India nearly a million and a quarter men, combatant and non-combatant, were recruited; and of the million Indians of all ranks who went overseas the casualties in killed, wounded, and missing amounted to over 121,000.

Considering the fact that India is to an enormous extent an agricultural country, and was far less industrialized in 1914 than she is today, the industrial effort made in the First World War is remarkable.

As an indication of the still greater extent to which the country

may be relied upon to turn out war material for the fight against the unholy alliance of Naziism and Fascism, one or two details are of interest. The great Tata Iron and Steel Works at Jamshedpur turned out nearly 1,000 miles of track rails; in the year ending in March, 1917, the Indian Ordnance factories had an output of nearly 1,000 tons of cordite and 147,000,000 rounds of .303 ball cartridges. With her jute monopoly, India sent overseas about £137,000,000 worth of raw jute sacks and cloth, and in cotton over 67,000,000 yards of dyed drills and turban cloths before the war ended.

With War Savings in this country now taking so important a place in the Home Front, India's financial help in the last war should be mentioned. Over £100,000,000 were raised by the Government of India, representing more than the Budget income for a year, the subscribers to the 1918 loan totalling 227,706.

To rich Western countries the sum may seem small. But it must be borne in mind that, while there are exceedingly wealthy landed proprietors and industrial magnates in India, vast masses of the population are desperately poor and that the average income per head in India is less than £8 a year.

Turning to the position today, let us look, first, at India's potential military assistance. Her geographical position makes her the centre of the Allied Eastern defences against Naziism. The wide range of modern aircraft may be said to have advanced the Indian frontiers to Singapore and the Suez Canal—the gateways to East and West. Set between Britain's Far Eastern possessions on the one side and Egypt, Iraq, Palestine, and the Middle East countries on the other, with a friendly Afghanistan over the North-West Frontier, India holds a commanding position as a reservoir of men and material for the Allied cause.

Among the 400,000,000 people of the sub-continent is to be found a large supply of the finest types of fighting men. The peace-time strength of the Indian Army, apart from the British troops stationed in the country, is about 150,000 men, including the Indian Regiment of Artillery raised in 1935, and to these must be added over 15,000 Indian Territorials. The total strength of the Indian States forces was about 45,000 men in 1938. Our staunch ally, Nepal, supplies India with 19,000 men for the Gurkha Brigade and to fill the ranks of the military police rifle battalions on the North-West Frontier. In addition to the land forces, there is an Indian Air Force to supplement the R.A.F. squadrons stationed in the country; while the coasts are protected by the ships of the Royal Indian Navy.

Before the outbreak of war last September contingents of British and Indian troops were unobtrusively sent to Egypt to form a substantial element in the Allied forces in the Eastern

Mediterranean, to Aden and Singapore. Regular units of the Indian Army played their part in the epic of Dunkirk. The full force of India's military effort will only be felt gradually, but steps have already been taken to develop her great resources in manpower.

Recruiting offices all over the country have been congested with volunteers from every class, community, and occupation to such an extent that the authorities cannot as yet cope with their numbers. But at the end of May the Commander-in-Chief in India outlined the details of the scheme for Army and Air Force expansion. The Indian Army is to be increased by at least 100,000 men to provide for new formations which will comprise mechanized and motorized troops as well as infantry, artillery, and technical units. To officer this enlarged army the existing process of "Indianization" will be speeded up, and Indians will be posted to all units instead of specified formations only.

Eight new territorial battalions have already been raised. Pilots and observers for the Air Force are being recruited and trained, and five new auxiliary flights have been formed. The difficulty in finding skilled mechanics is being met by an appeal to employers to relinquish men both for the Air Force and the Ordnance factories.

Since the outbreak of war so many contributions in money and in kind have been sent to the Viceroy that he found it necessary quite early to open a War Purposes Fund, which has reached a total of £600,000 and is steadily growing. These gifts have come from rich and poor alike, from the large donations of the prosperous to the rupees of the clerk and the produce of his field sent by the peasant farmer. Nor has India's liberality been confined to the central fund. The Indian Red Cross, St. John's Ambulance Association, St. Dunstan's, the Lord Mayor of London's Fund, and many others have been generously supported.

Voluntary service organizations, in which the women of India are taking a prominent part, have been started all over India. Enemy air raids have not as yet been made any nearer than Aden, but air-raid precautions have already been organized on a voluntary basis in the vital centres of the country.

No picture of India's war effort would be complete without a reference to the Indian States. True to their allegiance to the King-Emperor, the Princes have once again offered their all—Rajput and Muslim, Sikh and Mahratta, the rulers of 90,000,000 people, with great military records that are interwoven in the history of their country. There can be no question that the response which the States have made will stand as high as it did in 1914.

Two examples may be quoted as typical of all. H.E.H. the

Nizam of Hyderabad has given £100,000 towards the cost of the R.A.F. squadron which bears his name, and which has already proved itself in action. His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, a veteran of three wars, with the characteristic remark, "No Rajput is ever too old to fight," has offered the personal services of himself and his only surviving son, a large sum from his private purse, six battalions of infantry, his famous Camel Corps, doubled in strength, and a large quantity of State products for use in munitions manufacture.

It will be remembered that the historic chivalry of Rajasthan was fittingly represented in the last war by the gallant Sir Pertap Singh, then aged seventy, and his sixteen-year-old nephew, the Maharaja of Jodhpur, who fought in the trenches of Flanders.

At the time of writing it is impossible to foresee the effect of Italy's entry into the war or of the French Armistice. Hostilities have spread to Africa, and brought the conflict nearer to India. Should a great call be made upon the country, as it was between 1914 and 1918, British India and the Indian States will make full and worthy response.

The quality of the Indian Army stands high. It has been taught in the hard school of the North-West Frontier. It has been trained in modern methods of attack and defence. Mechanization has begun and is being increased. An Indian Sandhurst trains young Indian officers for regular commissions in all branches of the service, and young Indians are being trained in ever-increasing numbers for emergency commissions. The Indian Air Force is growing and volunteer reserves are expanding. Since the outbreak of war India's Navy has been guarding the trade routes and keeping the ports safe for shipping, reinforced by auxiliary vessels officered and manned by personnel of the Royal Indian Navy.

When we turn to India's economic co-operation in the war, it must be borne in mind that her industrial workers are proportionately very few in numbers as compared with countries like Great Britain. Even as recently as 1931 there were not more than 15,000,000 in all India, out of a population of 353,000,000, and this makes the country's material contribution all the more remarkable.

India is today far better prepared to meet the calls upon her than she was in 1914. In the last war she was hampered by her totally inadequate economic equipment, and it took three years to make really effective expansion. Since then there have been remarkable developments in industrial output. India has advanced to a prominent place among the great industrial nations of the world, and nowadays it is not only her immense reserves of raw materials which are of consequence, but also the variety and quality of her manufactures.

Were it not for those foundations and for skilful pre-war planning, it might not have been possible for the Supply Department of the Government of India, during the first six months of the present war, to have dealt with orders two and a half times greater in value than those placed during the first twelve months of the last war. During the months of last September and October the volume of orders placed through the Supply Department equalled the total demands of 1917-1918.

Among exported raw materials, jute and jute manufactures easily head the list, representing in normal times about one-quarter of the total export trade. Jute, in fact, is practically an Indian monopoly, and there can be few people in Allied countries who have not seen it in the form of sandbags. To take this item alone, India is nearing completion of orders for Great Britain amounting to one thousand millions. It has, indeed, been said, with good reason, that it has become India's duty "to cushion the world against air attacks."

Other leading raw material exports are cotton, wool, hides and skins, lac, hemp, coir, timber, and other forest products. India is one of the world's greatest producers and exporters of the oil-seeds, mostly ground-nuts and linseed, from which those essential war materials, oils and fats, are extracted. Normal exports of ground-nuts alone are approximately 1,000,000 tons annually. India also grows and exports rubber—18,000,000 lb. in the pre-war year. That was under the restriction scheme, and much larger supplies are available when required. Mineral exports include over 1,000,000 tons of manganese in an average year, also considerable quantities of chromite and mica. Among foodstuffs, barley and lentils are exported to Great Britain, and the whole world draws upon India's supplies of tea. And while India has little exportable wheat surplus at the moment, it must not be forgotten that at one stage during the last war the Royal Commission on Wheat Supplies was able to purchase in India nearly 5,000,000 tons of various foodstuffs of a total value of over £40,000,000.

The cotton industry up to February has received orders to the extent of Rs. 23 lakhs (£172,000), and the entire production of the woollen mill industry has been taken over for military requirements—uniforms and blankets, for example. The growth of India's textile industry is, of course, well known, but developments of no less importance have occurred in other directions. For example, in 1914, the quantity of Portland cement manufactured in India was insignificant, and even in the last nine months of the war the output was no more than 59,000 tons. Nowadays over 1,000,000 tons are manufactured annually.

Industrial activity, however, is extending far beyond staple productions. Large quantities of army boots and other leather

requirements are being made from hides and of rope and matting from coir. Army boots for the United Kingdom are being produced at the rate of 125,000 pairs a month, in fulfilment of an order amounting to £750,000. India is also making electric bulbs from imported parts, and paints and varnishes from imported materials, cast-iron piping, several grades of road tars to the specification of the British Ministry of Transport, low-tension insulators, pottery and refractories, cranes and large machine tools, raw abrasives, and considerable quantities of sulphuric acid. Even electric cables for demagnetizing merchant ships are being supplied, and, for the first time, India is now manufacturing broad-gauge locomotives.

Among new industrial efforts stimulated by the war, pre-war plans to manufacture aluminium are taking shape—from imported alumina, in the first instance, but eventually from local resources. Factories planned before the war are now commencing the production of chlorine, caustic soda, and soda ash. Some medical drugs and stores are already being produced in India, and this enterprise is being encouraged. Then there are substantial orders for a substitute for cellular cotton cloth, for cotton duck canvas, for the new material made from cotton and jute. The range is fascinating and impressive as a finger moves down the list, picking out items here and there—railway equipment, biscuits, rubber tyres, asbestos products, barbed wire, ground-sheets, paper, glycerine, copper sheets, hurricane lanterns, soap and agricultural implements.

But perhaps the iron and steel industry provides the most striking evidence of India's potential industrial help in the war. For 1938-1939 the total production of pig-iron in India was 1,644,000 tons, of steel ingots 922,000 tons, and of finished steel 867,000 tons. Before long the production of finished steel will be 1,250,000 tons. The steel industry today is working to the limit of capacity, being booked with orders for several months ahead, and, as the Chairman of Tata's recently pointed out, is in a position to meet practically the whole of the requirements of defence forces for steel. In fact, apart from comparatively limited quantities of special steel products which have to be imported, the Indian steel industry is able to meet all the normal requirements of India, and there will be this year, for the first time, a substantial exportable surplus of steel available for the purposes of the Allied Governments in the Middle East. Large orders for steel sheets and steel huts are being met, among them one for £300,000 worth of fabricated steel buildings for Palestine and Egypt.

Most important of all, in the existing Allied lack of munitions and equipment, we come to the production of the ordnance factories in India. They are turning out munitions at a speed and

in a quantity which, a few months ago, would hardly have been contemplated. And when expansion schemes are complete it is anticipated that India will become an important centre of munitions production, able not only to meet her own needs, but to an appreciable extent those of the Allied forces abroad. Even now it is computed that India manufactures within her own borders 90 per cent. of her war requirements. She makes rifles, machine-guns, small arms ammunition, propellants of all sorts, saddlery, blankets, clothes, artillery up to six-inch guns and six-inch howitzers—everything except automobiles and aeroplanes.

That India should be able not only to meet the requirements of her own expanding army, but that she is now sending ordnance stores of this nature to Britain and British forces in Malaya, Egypt, and the Middle East, emphasizes two important points upon which this review of the country's potential war effort may close.

India's geographical position, taking strategic considerations into account, makes her an ideal supply centre for all points of consequence from Egypt to Malaya. Finally, not only is India economically self-supporting, which is much more than can be said for Germany's solitary ally and doubtful friend, but she can make, and by careful planning and enthusiastic co-operation she now is making, most valuable material contributions towards ultimate victory.

ORIENTAL STUDIES IN THE UNIVERSITY OF ALGIERS

BY GEORGES MARÇAIS

WE should undoubtedly be quite justified in tracing back the history of Oriental studies in Algeria to the morrow, if not to the eve, of the landing of 1830. The expedition had been prepared with the help of military interpreters, who, in these first contacts with the Algerians, played a valuable part, which was often even dangerous and heroic. The imperative need for Arabic-speaking officials entailed the opening of an elementary course of lectures, which as early as 1837 was converted into a University Chair. The celebrated Silvestre de Sacy appointed one of his pupils, Louis Bresnier, as first holder of this Chair, and it was he who really commenced the systematic teaching of the Arabic language in Algeria.

Meanwhile, simultaneously with these innovations of a utilitarian order, the scientific exploration of the country was proceeding. As early as 1832, when the military conquest had hardly started to take shape, the quest for documents, which it was felt North Africa might contribute in the orientalist sphere, had led to the constitution of a library. Within a few years the librarian, Berbrugger, collected 700 manuscripts for it. The study of the Muslim authors—philologists, theologians, jurists, historians and geographers—and the translation of their works into French, placed valuable documents on which to work within the reach of erudite non-specialized European scholars and settlers anxious to obtain a better understanding of the country in which they were to spend their lives. Among those who carried this deserving work into effect must be mentioned another disciple of Silvestre de Sacy, MacGuckin de Slane, a man of Irish origin (he was born in Belfast), a learned translator with an extraordinarily extensive knowledge of many Arab authors, and particularly of Ibn Khaldoun, the great historian of the Berbers.

The practical study of both the written and spoken language,

and initiation into the knowledge of the Muslim world, of its past, of the abundant work of its savants and men of letters, were the two kinds of parallel activity which were henceforth to occupy enthusiastic teams of workers in Algiers. The study of Arabic remained particularly the province of the military and judicial interpreters. An imposing collection of publications was produced. These were of varying value, but one stood in a rank by itself: "The Great Dictionary of Marcellin Neaustier," published in 1871, which remains "the principal work of the old Algerian school of Arabic scholars."

Moreover, more than one of these officers or civil servants applied their knowledge of the language in like manner to research work in law and history, amongst them Carette, Brosselard, Féraud, Ernest Mercier, Motylinski. The scientific exploration of Algeria between 1840 and 1880 was largely the work of these cultivated men, Arab scholars by profession or by chance, whose natural curiosity and the sudden revelation of an unknown world had made attentive and sympathetic students of the things of Islam. Orientalism was also to benefit by the creation in Algiers of a special university classified under the general French University system. In 1880, the *École Supérieure des Lettres* was opened, in which the Arabic language and literature were taught by three professors. The professor of literature, René Basset, was destined to remain at this important post for the next forty-three years. "Director of studies" by calling, he was indeed a leading scholastic personality, and by his prodigious labours and the extent of his knowledge, a savant of world-wide repute. The Fourteenth International Congress of Orientalists, which met in 1905 in Algiers, and of which he was President, stressed the position established thanks to him by the *École Supérieure des Lettres* in Oriental studies. In 1909 this School became officially a Faculty, the teaching of Arab subjects was formed into many University professorships, and as time went on these professorships became increasingly numerous.

At the present time, there exist no less than seven professorships or lectureships in connection with Semitic linguistics, Arab philology and literature, and the history of Muslim countries. But the scope of Orientalism extends beyond this teaching: initiation into Islamology and to the life of the North African

peoples calls for methods of teaching somewhat outside the province of the ordinary Faculty of Arts. Every year a table of courses grouping the different subjects is issued for French and foreign students in Algiers who wish to become acquainted with Islamic life and culture. On this list the lectures given by jurists are placed side by side with those undertaken by their sociologist or geographical colleagues. This general programme divides into four sections the teaching known as the *Institut d'Études Orientales*.

1. The History and Archæological Section comprises, in addition to the study of the past history of the Muslim countries and the subsidiary sciences indispensable for the documentation of the historian, archæology, epigraphy, palæography, African prehistory and the ancient history of Western Asia.

2. The Linguistics Section not only provides for the teaching of classical Arabic and both spoken and written modern Arabic, but also for the initiation into other Semitic languages and to the Berber dialects.

3. In the Literature and Philology Section there are four professors who share the different literary periods and styles and explain and criticize Eastern and Western Arab texts, including the reviews and newspapers published in Islamic countries at the present time.

Finally, the fourth Section—Sociology and Law—embraces in one vast programme a general knowledge of human geography, the ethnography of North Africa, Islamic institutions, Muslim law, Berber customs and Algerian, Tunisian and Moroccan legislation.

It need hardly be added that the whole of this teaching, which represents some fifty hours a week, is increased twofold by the facilities offered to the students by a stay in a town and country in which Islam has been established for the last twelve centuries and where it remains extraordinarily alive, where Arab culture is still honoured and where the everyday sight of people and things illustrates so vividly the reading in the classroom.

Moreover, what is good for the student is even better for the master. He especially can benefit to the full from the atmosphere in which he lives and works. For, with a few exceptions, the University staff do not consider that their duty is confined to

spreading the doctrine entrusted to them: they know that it also remains for them to enlarge this doctrine, even to the extent if need be of renewing it entirely. They know that the solutions of many problems can only be provisional, and that probably the greatest objective of human science is always to raise questions. The lectureships of the University of Algiers are, in their way, research laboratories or permanent missions in the service of the great work which has been carried on in the region itself for over a century: the scientific exploration of the country, its inhabitants and their civilization.

The Institute of Oriental Studies, planned in 1924 and established ten years later, is not only given form in an imposing programme of classes and lectures, but is in fact a group of research workers maintaining not only amongst themselves but through their colleagues in France and abroad the contact which is so valuable to all, and which takes place through periodical discussions and the publication of papers. Monthly sessions are devoted to the study of current questions. As for the publications, they comprise three distinct collections which, added to the old collection of the Faculty of Arts, would themselves be sufficient testimony of the activity of Orientalism in Algiers.

One of these collections is really an heirloom which has been taken over by the Institut. It is the *Bibliotheca arabica*, the first volume of which goes back to 1925 and which now has nine. It contains texts in prose and verse, such as the *diwans* of the poets Algama, Orwa ben al-Ward, Az-Zadjadji, Kotaïyr Azza. The second collection, of seven volumes, is made up of works in French on subjects of philosophy and Muslim law, literary history, philology and linguistics. The extent of the field of study of the Institute may be judged by the diversity of titles to be found among these works, as for example: *Grammaire du palmyrénien épigraphique*, by M. Cantineau; an outline of *La poésie hispanique en arabe classique au XI^e siècle*, by M. Pérès; an *Étude comparée du régime successoral en droit germanique et en droit musulman*, by MM. Peltier and Bousquet; and the first instalments of an *Atlas linguistique des parlers berbères*, a vast and methodical study undertaken by M. André Basset of a subject as yet ill-explored, but which is full of promise. Finally, a third series of publications is formed by the *Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales*,

which group together the articles on philology, philosophy, literature, history and Muslim archæology.

This latter collection has just reached completion of its fourth volume. If it cannot point to the long and glorious past of a similar collection in the European universities, at least the welcome given to it by specialists augurs well for its future. Everything leads one to hope that the young Institute of Oriental Studies will maintain on African soil the French tradition of disinterested research and human understanding with which it is entrusted.

(Translated.)

PEACOCKS AND IVORY

You led me, Tara, by the hand
 Through streets in Bangalore;
 That leafy city at the heart
 Of rose and gold Mysore.

You showed me birds of ivory,
 Milk-white, of strange design,
 And in your joy your little hand
 Throbbled like a bird in mine.

The poets sing of lovers' clasp,
 The drift of angel wing;
 But that sweet tremble of your palm
 No poet's art could sing.

We wandered on to Cubbon Park,
 And watched the peacocks there.
 We saw the shining, feathered wheels
 Their tails made in the air.

And still I hear your fluting voice,
 Your happy eager cries;
 And still I see your tawny face,
 The stars in your dark eyes.

STELLA MEAD.

THE KHYBER PASS

These rocks have voices I shall ever hear;
 This sky, above the tawny gulfs and peaks
 Of bare, majestic brown, shines blue and clear,
 And glows serenely while the Khyber speaks
 Of surging armies and the flash of swords.
 I watch the winding road, and in a dream
 See Alexander with his Grecian hordes,
 Mahmud of Ghazni and his warrior team.

Slowly they fade, each warring tribe and clan.
The shout of conquering armies fills the air.
Proud Ahmed Shah, his grandson, Shah Zaman,
Fierce Afghans, wild Afridis mingle there.
Their bones are dust : ended their joy and pain.
Great Khyber smiles—in pride or in disdain?

STELLA MEAD.

RECENT PROGRESS IN TRAVANCORE

BY ROBERT PARRY-ELLIS

THE birth of real progress in Travancore was just over a century ago when a Maharaja died leaving the rule in the hands of a woman, who turned the administration over to the British Resident, Colonel J. Munro. It is now ably and justly ruled by its present Maharaja, and many of the innovations which have been introduced into a country whose early days were scourged with internal warfare and feuds may be attributed to Colonel Munro. With these innovations Travancore could rightly claim the title of "The abode of the goddess of prosperity."

While its busy ports are on the main East and West trade routes, Travancore's hinterland is a wealthy district reaching far back into the picturesque jungles of the centre of the Great Indian Peninsula. Truly has it been written of this abode of prosperity, "Where land is capable of culture there is no denser population. Where it is occupied by jungle, or backwater, or lagoon, there is no more fairy landscape." No less than two-thirds of Travancore is rich in minerals and crops such as paddy, pepper, coco-nuts, sugar-cane and tea, both for export and internal consumption. Not content with the staple crops which, for generations past, have provided the people of Travancore with a livelihood the State authorities have given careful consideration to the possibility of growing other produce. Perhaps the foremost is tobacco, and arrangements are now well in hand for its production on a really vast scale after the successful experiments at the Government farm at Puliya. Other Government farms, spread over the length and breadth of the State, have been investigating the results of growing African crops such as tomatoes, bananas and, particularly, the soya bean on a commercial basis.

Meanwhile no effort is being spared to make even more profitable the production of sugar-cane and other crops on which the wealth of the State largely depends. Until recently one of the greatest difficulties experienced by planters was the combating of the many crop diseases and blights against which they were power-

less without either scientific equipment or expert assistance. These are now made available to him. Entomologists and mycologists from the State department pay visits to the affected areas, and their work has, in practically every case, minimized losses from such pests as the rice swarming caterpillar and the coco-nut leaf roller. The research section of this department, after many months of enquiry, have bred another type of parasite which, when released in an affected area, destroy the coco-nut leaf roller without harming the crop.

IMPORTANCE OF INDUSTRY

Whilst agriculture, through the tradition of centuries, is the basic occupation of the people, a high percentage are now employed in many branches of industry and commerce. During the year 1937-38 (the latest for which statistics are available) exports of the three main minerals produced in the State—monazite, zircon and sillimanite—were more than doubled. Paper, matches and other minor industries, meeting the requirements in the State itself, also showed a marked increase. These, as well as the more important industries, are fostered by the State. Loans were granted between August, 1937, and August, 1938, to assist, among others, the weaving industry and the carving of beautiful ivory models which, more than anything else, have made the name of Travancore known throughout the world. While the agricultural authorities have been doing everything in their power to augment the present resources and open up new and profitable channels, similar research has been carried out by experts in the economic field. A Board has for some time been investigating the expansion of old industries and the stabilization of those that are still in the experimental stage. Among the many schemes under review is the possibility of conserving the monsoon rains and utilizing the water during the dry season for industrial purposes. The Co-operative Movement and banking societies have grown in the last few years, and the future financial security of the people is assured. Upwards of 200,000 people are members of these societies who own deposits of more than Rs. 31 lakhs.

Although the railways are an important factor in the encouragement of the trade of the State, transporting imports and exports between the rural and industrial districts, the commercial canal,

here illustrated, is also extensively used in the carriage of goods from the hinterland. Backwaters, too, have been converted into practical and important commercial highways. In 1937-38, Travancore acted on the principle of keeping imports at a minimum and exports at a maximum. The main imports of the State are hardware, petrol and provisions, the value of which has decreased in the past year. There was, on the other hand, a marked and satisfactory increase in the value of many exports, such as coco-nut oil, timber, pepper and hides. The centre of this incoming and outgoing trade of the State is the port of Alleppey, whose usefulness was, some years ago, threatened by the growing and sinister silting up of the harbour. Immediately a dredger was purchased and, in spite of the cost, its operations have now eliminated this danger and made the port of Alleppey a clearing centre for the vast and ever progressive trade of the State of Travancore.

EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS

The first seed of educational progress as a State-controlled institution was sown in 1834, when the first free school was opened at Trivandrum. The tree has since grown and has been well tended until it has branched out to every department of technical education, although the main object has always been, and will remain, the reduction of illiteracy among the working classes. Recent statistics show that illiteracy is considerably lower in Travancore than in other States excepting Cochin. Even as early as 1901 the census revealed that more than 12 per cent. of the population were able to read and write, a figure at that time greatly in excess of that of any other State in India. As there are now nearly 4,000 educational institutions in Travancore, it is safe to assume that the figure has been several times multiplied since that date.

Education in Travancore has been divided into three main categories—vernacular, English and higher. With this latter, of course, are coupled the technical institutions fitting both men and women for remunerative posts in the many departments of the State and industrial and administrative positions in the world at large. The word “women” in this context is used advisedly. Travancore has never been a stronghold of the purdah system and

in this State women have been free while their sisters in adjacent States have been kept in purdah. This factor has facilitated a system of parallel education for boys and girls. In the backward areas there is slowly being established an educational system which, before long, will eliminate all illiteracy and place the son of an agricultural labourer on a level with his more sophisticated brother in the town. That Travancore is proud of being in the forefront of educated India may be judged from the fact that no less than a fifth of the State's revenue is being spent on this all-important department. Not only is the problem of highly trained teachers being studied and promising young men and women are being sent from the State for intensive specialized courses in European universities, but more and better schools are being built and conditions made more conducive to study. The Girls' School at Trivandrum is one example of the modern educational equipment now being provided for the Indian boy and girl.

Apart from the elementary educational advance, a solution of the pressing demands of agriculture and industry presented a formidable problem. These were met by the complete re-orientation of educational policy and the inauguration of a separate university for Travancore in 1937. The Maharaja is the Chancellor of the University, and its aims are of higher education, the encouragement of original research, both scientific and economic, within the State and the pursuit of the Kerala culture coupled with a comparative study of other Eastern and Western civilizations. Lately many other technical colleges in Trivandrum, such as the Law College, have come under the University jurisdiction. It can be seen, therefore, that Travancore has a clearly defined scheme for educating its people from their youth up. By a progressive system of scholarships from one seat of education to another a boy or girl from the most humble home can take his or her place in the university, the apex of scholastic attainment in the State.

LEGISLATION AND ITS ENFORCEMENT

The new epoch of education in Travancore is likely to have a vital effect on Government legislation. All prospective legislation is published for public comment before it becomes law, and the increase in the number of educated people will no doubt

shortly necessitate the extension of the franchise. This, it may be added, is already wide including both men and women who are either owners or tenants of land assessable at a tax of 1 rupee, provided they are over twenty-one years of age. Practically the same method of voting is in force for both the Sri Mulam Assembly and the Sri Chitra State Council, each of which is composed partly of elected and partly of official members, and must give its assent before a Bill can become law. This bicameral legislature was evolved out of the Legislative Council formed in 1888. There is little penal jurisdiction today, for the people of Travancore are peace-loving and law-abiding, as can be shown from the fact that the police force, which includes a modern criminal investigation and finger-print department, numbers little more than 2,000 for a population of more than 5 millions. Of the 918 prison convictions during the year 1937-38 only 8 were women. By far the most pressing problem both for the Government and the local administrations arises from civil cases, dealing largely with inheritance disputes, which are extremely complicated. A recent Bill in its second reading in the Legislative Council aimed at the solution of the vexed problem of whether a person suffering from an incurable disease should be liable to the forfeiture of his inheritance.

THE WELFARE OF THE POPULACE

The incidence of diseases has diminished vastly in the light of modern scientific discoveries and the progress of medical facilities throughout the State. The natural increase of nearly 75,000 in the population may be attributed to the many wonders of medical science now in regular use throughout the State. Modern hospitals with the latest equipment, the medical examination of school children at regular intervals, the continuous battle against disease waged by the Public Health Department and research laboratories have all played their part in the creation of a healthier and happier State. The Public Works Department has also borne a share of the burden. The establishment of the Willingdon Water Works at Trivandrum, one of the most modern water works in the whole of India, the widening of roads and the renewal of the drainage system have contributed to the well-being of the 5 million inhabitants of the State, while their comfort is being cared for by

the wider distribution of electricity and power and the extension of the telephone service. With the increasing appreciation of the value of electricity there is the prospect of a radio transmitter in the State. Plans for the erection of a broadcasting station have already been sanctioned and are now being carried out, while a number of officials have been sent to Delhi to receive specialized training to fit them for their duties.

The question of the future financial well-being of the aged and their dependents is being dealt with by a State life insurance scheme and a State savings bank. There was a substantial increase of policies during the year in the former, while the latter, paying an interest of 3 per cent. on capital, has opened over 135,000 accounts. More important still is the State provident fund, whereby Government employees are encouraged to put aside a portion of their savings to be increased at compound interest and provide a "nest-egg" for their retirement. Travancore, like many other Indian States, started much later than some European countries in taking an interest in the ordinary man of humble means and acknowledging his right to a share in the Government. Already it is in many respects of social advance the equal of progressive European countries.

AN ANNAMITE LEGEND: THE VIOLIN OF THE KING OF THE WATERS

BY TRÂN-VAN-TÔNG

ONCE upon a time there lived in the celestial country beyond our frontiers a poor couple of wood-cutters. The husband was eighty years old and the wife seventy-two. They had no children. The woman, indifferent though she was, stoical and courageous in her misery, nevertheless felt her sterility acutely. Night and day she besought heaven and earth, the Buddha, the genii and the ancestors to grant her husband an heir, for the worst thing that can happen to a man is to die without leaving behind him a little of his blood, a morsel of his flesh.

The Almighty King of Heaven, deeply touched by the fervent prayers of the old dame and by the desperate hopes of the wood-cutter, decided to grant them a son. One night, when she was alone in the hut and her husband was still working in the depths of the forest, she saw a shining star fall into the courtyard, felt something stir within her, and next day, when the dawn had just begun to lighten the sky, she gave birth to a boy of extraordinary beauty. He had blue eyes, rosy cheeks, well-rounded limbs, and was of a milky whiteness.

The child grew up in the solitude of the forest, and when he was twelve he lost his parents. Left there alone on the threshold of life, Thach-Sanh (such was his name) took up his abode at the foot of a fig tree, and to get his living he followed the calling of his father. The King of Heaven sent a messenger to protect this helpless being. The messenger was disguised as a mendicant and was bidden to endow him with divine powers which could enable him to tread the rough path of life without fear of danger or of enemies.

Fate, which so often intervenes to entangle the footsteps of men, threw in the orphan's path a fine young man called Ly-Thong, to whom he swore eternal friendship and for whom he gave up his bed of leaves and the grateful shade of the fig tree for the comparative prison of a hut.

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Months passed. One day, on her return from the market, Ly-Thong's mother, pale as death, told her son that his turn had come to go into the forest and to offer his young body to the Evil Genius, for it was decreed that in order to secure the safety of the people, all the villages of that district were bound to sacrifice a young man every year to the devil.

The old woman, already sensing the absence of her beloved, tore her hair, wept, cursed herself like a madwoman. The boy, having made his treacherous plan, calmed his mother. In the evening, when Thach-Sanh came back from the forest, Ly-Thong, with much subterfuge and many lies, succeeded in persuading him to take his place at the temple.

In the uncertain shadows of twilight, along a path which was vaguely white, the young woodsman with his bronze axe in his hand went straight on into the forest and disappeared in the darkness. He climbed the rocky paths, when the moon at its full arose from the distant horizon and threw her blue light upon a hillock of skulls and human bones piled up at the entrance of the sanctuary, which was still silent. Not a song. Not a voice. No sign of life. Night and death stalked gloomily around. The leaves, murmuring like unburied phantoms, groaned and whispered. Seated on a rock, silent and motionless, he let the moon outline the harmonious curves of his body. A harsh rumbling, which seemed to come from the bowels of the earth, broke the silence, stopped and then became immeasurably louder. Thach-Sanh turned his head. The Evil Genius, changed into a serpent 100 metres long, with a dozen gaping throats, was at his side. Quick as lightning he got up, brandishing his bronze axe. There ensued a terrible fight between the monster and the divine boy, in which miracles were performed, impossible to describe or even to imagine.

Victorious at last Thach-Sanh cut off the serpent's head, and, having opened the body, drew out of it a bow and some golden arrows and returned with the monster's head. Ly-Thong took him for a ghost and refused to receive him. But when the door was shut and he had visible proof before him, he flung himself on the ground and pretended to be in despair, saying that the king would never forgive so odious a crime. In the most friendly, even brotherly, way he advised Thach-Sanh to flee at once. The

latter did not dispute, and without further thought went away. Ly-Thong took the head of the monster to the capital, presented it to the king and was proclaimed minister with the grand title of "Quân-Công."

While his treacherous friend was wallowing in riches and honours, Thach-Sanh went back to the shade of his beloved fig tree and took up his trade of wood-cutter, as happy and contented as a king on his throne. One evening, seated alone on the bank of a clear stream, he saw a great bird pass which carried a human being on its wide wings; he took his bow, pulled the string and let fly a golden arrow, which reached its mark. The bird, however, did not fall, for it was a demon in disguise which had just carried away the charming princess from the palace. Thach-Sanh followed it and discovered its lair.

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The abduction of the princess plunged the court in sorrow and alarmed the whole country. The king ordered Ly-Thong, till then regarded as the bravest of his court dignitaries, to pursue the demon and to save the princess, promising him her hand as a reward and also the succession to the throne. Fortune, to help our hero out of his difficulties, brought him to the presence of his poor friend; of whose power and talents he was fully aware. He received him politely, asked him to dinner, and, telling him of his difficult task, asked him to help him. Thach-Sanh, whose mind was as pure as spring water, listened to the voice of his good genius and led his false friend to the demon's cavern.

There, quite alone, he climbed down to the bottom of the chasm, taking with him a long rope, the other end being firmly held by the attendants of his friend.

Down and down he climbed, and at last arrived at a luxurious palace. The demon, wounded by the golden arrow, was attending to his hurt in his room. The princess, sitting by a window, was dreaming and weeping. The heart of Thach-Sanh was beating fit to break. Fairer than the day, more shining than the sun, sweeter than the moon, she hypnotized him. She made him weak, very weak, in spite of his divine powers. What should he say? Ah! What should he say?

Their glances met and mingled, interpreting eloquently the

music of their feelings. Though they had never met, they felt that the one was made for the other. But their mortal foe was still there near them, between them; he must be destroyed. The youth put the demon to sleep with a magic philtre and returned to the princess. She was the first to break the silence and to let her heart sing freely its inspired song. The divine youth, wounded by the sharp arrow, which was poisoned by love, bowed before this living beauty. They swore eternal love. After innumerable protestations, he fastened the rope to his beloved and signed to his friend's soldiers, who immediately drew her up. In token of his gratitude, Ly-Thong gave orders to close the mouth of the chasm with great stones, hoping thus to bury his devoted friend alive. Thach-Sanh, in a great rage, demolished the palace of the demon with his bow and golden arrows and his bronze axe. He then woke the demon and they joined battle. But the divine youth, as always, was victorious. Master now of this immense domain, he explored it and found the Prince of the Waters held prisoner in a golden cage. He freed him and accompanied him towards the Kingdom of the Waves, escorted by crayfish, crabs and fish.

The King of the Waters, happier than Demeter at the return of Persephone, showered honours on his benefactor, and at the suggestion of his son offered him his magic violin, which, he said, was more powerful than Apollo's lyre. Thach-Sanh took leave of his hosts and returned. The flower-bound strings gave out sonorous and prolonged notes: the ocean forgot its growling, the waves ceased to rage, the wind to howl, and a large and spacious path through the dense mass of water opened before the musician and led him to the kingdom of light. At his rising nature trembled with joy, the sun smiled, the birds sang and the trees decked themselves with leaves.

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Thach-Sanh proudly and contentedly returned to his fig tree. But the demons were not dead. Their souls were bent on vengeance. Disguised as the young woodsman, they managed to break into the Royal Treasury, and stole all the jewels and precious stones. Thach-Sanh was arrested, brought before Ly-Thong and sentenced to death. In order to add to his sufferings before his execution, his old friend, the perfidious minister, ordered his guards

to torture him. The divine child, calmly smiling, plucked the strings of his violin, when lo! a miracle. The executioners, charmed by the divine music, flung themselves on their knees before the prisoner. The power of the melody soothed and calmed all hearts, even the most corrupt and perfidious. The most discordant noises, the most inharmonious cries fell into order. The vibrant strings faithfully represented his contempt for his treacherous friend and all the tenderness of love, but these thoughts were increased a thousand times and a thousand times were purified. This musical performance told the princess all the adventures of her lover, all the stormy sentiments of the poor prisoner. The melancholy and languorous notes which told of their first meeting awakened her from her deathly sadness. She listened. The violin continued to give out its vibrant notes. Who had conquered the monster in the mountains? Who had killed the demon and recovered the princess from the realm of shades? It spoke of friendship here below as a beautiful lie, of love as an empty and sonorous word. And so the echoes of the notes touched the heart of his beloved. She could bear it no longer. She asked to see the player of the violin, and her prayer was granted. With tears in her eyes she looked at him. "Oh, God!" she cried, "it is he himself. It is my friend, my brother, my lover, my spouse!" He for his part recognized that she was indeed his angel, his heroine, his goddess, his very soul!

And before the king, the queen, the princess and the whole court, Thach-Sanh told the story of his life in melodious tones, told all his adventures. Ly-Thong was unmasked, confounded, but he was generously pardoned by the friend he had so basely betrayed: divine justice, however, did not let him escape so easily; he and his mother were smitten by a thunderbolt. The wedding of the beautiful princess with the divine youth was celebrated without delay, and to increase their happiness the king, already an old man, gave up his throne to them.

The eighteen kings, his neighbours, were jealous and invaded the kingdom. Thach-Sanh, though urged to do so by his father-in-law, refused to take the offensive. And at the last moment, when the enemy were about to blockade the citadel, he climbed with his wife to the top of a gallery and began to pluck his violin. The sounds, long-drawn-out, deep, immense, seemed to comprise

in some spiritual fashion all the beatings of the drums, all the clashes of the warriors, all the clatter of the gongs, all the sobbing clashing of arms and all the lamentations of the widows.

The violin trembled and told how war is the worst misery for man, that it is stupid to fight, to make blood flow, to wish to add to the innumerable sorrows of humanity a thousand other sorrows.

Listen, ye brave fighters, retreat ! retreat ! retreat ! War will turn against you, against you alone, its sharp swords. Yield yourselves, great generals ! War will press with all its weight upon the heads of your children, of your mothers and your wives ! Be wise, be wise, my friends ! My golden arrows would not spare you.

The sonorous sounds of the violin, powerful yet delicious, now sweet as the murmur of a spring, now swelling as a roll of thunder, destroyed the hate, the envy, the jealousy of the eighteen kings. And so, docile and polite, they came unarmed to submit to the victor. All with one voice sang the triumph of the young emperor and then went away, enlarged in wealth and wiser in spirit.

(Translated by Stanley Rice.)

THE ALL-INDIA PHILOSOPHICAL CONGRESS: THE FIFTEENTH SESSION

(HELD AT HYDERABAD)

IN December of last year there took place at Hyderabad, Deccan, under the auspices of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar, the fifteenth Session of the All-India Philosophical Congress. The Session was held at the new Osmania University, the establishment of which marks a fresh step on the part of His Exalted Highness in the direction of culture and true educational progress in the State over which he holds rule.

In the course of his Message of Welcome to the members of the Philosophical Congress, his Highness said :

“I consider it auspicious that the devotees of the Mother of Arts and Science should meet in these premises, almost within a fortnight of the opening ceremony of this building. India has been a cradle of Philosophy, and the Deccan has had the distinction of producing thinkers of the first rank. I hope that the renaissance of learning and the revival of India's best thought will be greatly furthered by such gatherings.”

The Address of Welcome was delivered by the Vice-Chancellor of Osmania University, Nawab Mahdi Yar Jung Bahadur, whose excellent and sympathetic observations it is unfortunately impossible to do more than summarize here, for right well do they deserve to be quoted in full. In the course of his Address, the Honourable Nawab remarked that the presence of eminent philosophers assumed a higher significance when we saw what the world was passing through. When chaos reigned in the realm of thought or action, it was the proud function of the philosopher to bring about order. India had been for centuries the cradle of great metaphysical systems. The mystical attitude had been so commonly associated with the Indian mind that even today the Indian way of looking at things was considered by some to be synonymous with the philosophical outlook on life. But with the passing away of the old traditions, India had made way for the materialistic concepts of Western culture. Nevertheless the speaker refused to believe that the highest culture of the West was necessarily materialistic in its essential character. The true philosopher, as his name suggested, was a lover of wisdom. It

was he above all others who desired and strove to see ideals and values taking concrete shape in the world of fact and experience.

The Nawab Mahdi then proceeded to explain the different stages of human development. At the lowest stage man was but the slave of his wants and desires. The pleasure of the senses he might call happiness, but a little higher up man ceased to look to his own pleasures but sacrificed himself for the pleasure or profit of his family, clan, or some other greater social whole. Then at last came a moment when he outgrew the pleasures of the senses completely and found bliss and contentment in the contemplation and realization of spiritual values. God was now his stronghold. One of the greatest thinkers of all time, Plato, had said that only philosophers should become kings. What he meant was that only a true philosopher was capable of realizing the ideals and values in a State.

There had been a time when metaphysics had dominated the philosophic field, but with the growth of scientific technique and the development of natural sciences modern man had become sceptical of metaphysical truths. Experience and experiment were the two catchwords of modern science. Modern psychological research had no doubt thrown light on the dark nooks and corners of the human mind, but psychology without any metaphysical foundation, without soul and consciousness, is only a dream which can never be realized. There was something in man which could not be caught by the experiment, but was a direct emanation from God.

The Chancellor of the Osmania University, Sir Akbar Hydari, P.C., then addressed his Words of Welcome to the Philosophical Congress. The concluding sentences of Sir Akbar's interesting, thoughtful and friendly discourse are well worth quoting:

“Scientific misapplication of doctrines like those of the survival of the fittest, even of a political ideal like nationalism, is leading to the worship of Might, and to the oppression of the weak by the strong. Just as architecture is harmony in brick and mortar, music in sound, painting in colour, so philosophy is harmony in thought and mysticism harmony in life. I hope your deliberations will lead to the creation of such harmony in thought and life, particularly in the thoughts and lives of those millions, differing in creed and caste, who alike are sons of our common Motherland.”

JOHN KAVANAGH.

MANIFESTATIONS OF INDIA'S SYMPATHY FOR POLAND

BY A POLISH RESIDENT IN INDIA

WHEN I first came to India in 1933 I was somewhat disappointed to find that even among the intelligentsia of the country there prevailed a great deal of ignorance about Poland, her people, her history and her culture. They seemed to have some vague idea that Poland was a part of Russia and that she separated herself from the U.S.S.R. at the end of the World War. Nine out of ten persons could hardly give without some mental effort the name of the capital of Poland. That Poland was one of the most powerful and important states in Europe from the ninth to the eighteenth century, that there are 35 million Poles all over the world with a history, culture and language of their own, came as a surprise to most of them. Evidently little or nothing was known in India of the life and culture of Eastern Europe.

Today, however, the situation has quite changed. Poland is on the lips of every schoolboy. Far away in remote villages and even among the illiterate classes the tragic story of the sacrifices of the Polish nation at the altar of freedom and democracy, their stand against the mighty hordes of ruthless invaders, the stubbornness of their resistance in the face of the most cruel persecution—all these are known to them, and arouse not only their sympathy but also a sincere desire to do what they can to relieve their sufferings.

The peoples of India, with their natural aspirations for full political and economic freedom in their own country, have always shown their strong disapproval of the aggressive tendencies of powerful nations towards their smaller and weaker neighbours. Thus when Japan started her war of "new order in the East" in China, India expressed her disappointment and disillusionment in no uncertain terms regarding that country which she had looked upon as the "hope" of the Asiatic nations. The rape of Abyssinia by Italy and the powerlessness of the League of Nations aroused so much indignation that Indian politicians pressed for withdrawal of the Government from that body. When the aggressive National-Socialist Nazism of Hitler enslaved Austria and Czecho-Slovakia, Indian public opinion became even more exacerbated.

There was, however, one country which enjoyed a certain

amount of popularity, especially among the youthful and ultra-socialist group of Indian nationalists—namely, Soviet Russia. It was really surprising how everything about Soviet Russia was extolled to the skies in one or two nationalist newspapers, and how she was represented as the champion of workers and peasants in a world exploited by imperialists and capitalists. Certain extremist Indian politicians made no secret of their intentions to model the future political, social and economic life of a free India on the Russian example. The implacable hostility of Poland towards U.S.S.R. and at the same time her foreign policy, which was devoted towards a peaceful settlement of her differences with her German neighbour, gave rise to much misunderstanding as to her intentions and drew much hostile criticism.

It therefore came as a surprise to many that, during the diplomatic crisis of the summer of 1939 which preceded the invasion of Poland by Germany without a formal declaration of war, she should have dared to defy and say "No" to Hitler. Poland at once became front-page news. Editors and journalists found themselves hard pressed to quench the thirst of the Indian public for a fuller knowledge of the Polish nation which had decided to defy Hitler in spite of the fate of Austria and Czecho-Slovakia. Would the Western Powers stand by Poland? Would Hitler be able to carry the day with his threats as before? Some felt sure that Britain and France would back out at the last moment and leave Poland at the mercy of the Nazis. When Hitler threw the bombshell of the Russo-German Pact in the face of a puzzled and astonished world, Poland was again blamed for this coup. Had not the French and the British attempt for an understanding with Russia come to nothing on account of the stubborn hostility of Poland towards that country?

No doubt the Russo-German Pact gave a rude shock to the imaginary idealism of pro-Communist Indians. The spectacle of Russian Communism going hand in hand with her sworn enemy—German Nazism—was an example of cynicism which had no parallel in history. When Russia stabbed Poland treacherously in the back soon after the outbreak of the war, Poland's view of the U.S.S.R. began to be seen in a more realistic light. Those who had formerly criticized her for her attitude towards Russia began to understand and sympathize with her. Since then, the Soviet demands on the small independent Baltic States and her war with Finland has completed India's disillusionment as to the true nature of Russian Communism. The very name of Russia has become anathema in India, and those Indian politicians who used to praise the U.S.S.R. day in and day out are even afraid to show their faces in public for fear of ridicule.

Thus from indifference and ignorance, from misunderstanding

and hostility, Poland, her people, her history and her culture began to be known to the Indian nation by the tragic events that have followed the wanton aggression of that country by her ever-rapacious neighbours, Germany and Russia. Today it may be said without fear of contradiction that Indian public opinion, irrespective of its varying political views, has expressed its admiration of Poland and her people's stand in the war and its sympathy for the unfortunate situation in which they find themselves for the time being. No one doubted the ultimate result of her unequal combat with the mighty foe and no one expected that her other enemy would deal her such a treacherous blow in the back.

The manifestations of India's sympathy towards Poland since the beginning of the war had their foundation in the cultural and commercial relationship which had been slowly but steadily established between the two countries in recent years. Poland has always taken a deep interest in Indian philosophy and culture. Chairs of Indology, Oriental Philosophy and Sanskrit language were maintained in all the three leading universities of Poland. Warsaw in recent years had its own Oriental Institute and School of Oriental Languages. Thanks to the efforts of the Polish Orientalists, the Society of Friends of India was established in Warsaw in 1933. In recent years many Polish savants visited India, the most prominent among them being Professor S. Stasiak, Professor of Indian Philology at the University of Lwow, and Dr. Helena Willman-Grabowska of the University of Cracow. When Professor S. Das Gupta of the Sanskrit College of the Calcutta University visited Poland last year he was welcomed with great honour everywhere. With the collaboration of the Polish Government, the Polish Universities succeeded in sending Dr. Maryla Falk, the well-known Polish Oriental scholar, as lecturer on Slavonic Culture to Calcutta University. Dr. Falk's presence as Poland's delegate at the Tenth All-India Oriental Conference this year during the Easter Week aroused a great deal of interest, and her paper on an important problem of Buddhist Research was received with unanimous appreciation.

But no greater proof of intellectual India's sympathy towards Poland can be furnished than the inauguration of the Indo-Polish Association at Calcutta in October, 1939, when Poland had already gone under. The poet Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, as President of this Association, sent the following message:

“In welcoming the formation of the Indo-Polish Association in Calcutta I would stress the need of maintaining close ties between India and the great humanity of the West. It is particularly important today that civilized man should remember his common heritage and save the inner sanctuary

of culture from the fury of collective passions. To us it is a matter of deep satisfaction that the Polish people with whom we share common Aryan traditions have once more been brought to us. This Association, I hope, will make us realize our affinities and develop them through their artistic and scholarly collaboration."

At the same meeting another distinguished Indian scholar, Sir S. Radhakrishnan, said that although Poland might be overrun her soul was still alive. This gesture of sympathy by Indian intellectuals towards Poland in the hour of her trial will be treasured in the heart of every Pole.

On the eve of the war Poland presented to the Santineketan University a collection of Polish classics and paintings. On the other hand, Indian scholars have shown interest in the study of Polish culture and history. A sympathetic and masterly study of Poland's frontier difficulties has been published as a monograph of the Calcutta Geographical Society by Professor S. P. Chatterjee of Calcutta University.

When Poland fell fighting, her numerous friends in India came forward readily to do what they could to relieve the sufferings of the unfortunate war victims. The ruthlessness of the invaders and their atrocities, which did not spare even innocent women and children, aroused a wave of sympathy which found its echo in the Press and on platforms throughout the whole country. Nazi propaganda has made much of the resignation of the Congress Ministries in most of the Indian provinces as an indication of India's unwillingness to fight for the Allied cause. But even Mahatma Gandhi, the guiding spirit of the Nationalist movement in India, expressed his sympathy towards the Polish nation in no ambiguous terms:

"My whole heart is with the Poles in the unequal struggle in which they are engaged for the sake of saving their freedom. But I am painfully conscious of the fact that my word carries no power with it. I wish I had the power to stop this mad destruction that is going on in Europe. All that I can, therefore, send to the brave Poles is my heartfelt prayer for early termination of their fearful trial and for the grant of required strength to bear the suffering whose very contemplation makes one shudder. Their cause is just and their victory certain. For God is always the upholder of justice."

India's sympathy towards Poland was not confined to her intellectual and political leaders. It came from all quarters—from remote villages, from the illiterate masses, from workers and peasants, and even poor orphan school children.

On October 16, 1939, the Polish Relief Committee, India, was organized in Bombay with an influential committee representing all communities of the "Urbs Prima in Indis," including its Mayor, presided over by His Grace the Archbishop of Bombay. Soon after, as a result of a joint appeal by the poet Rabindranath Tagore, the Maharaja of Burdwan, Mr. Subash Chandra Bose, the Premier of Bengal, the Mayor of Calcutta, the President of the European Association and several others, another independent Polish Relief Committee came into existence in Calcutta under the presidency of Lord Sinha of Raipur. The examples of Bombay and Calcutta were soon followed by the formation of committees and sub-committees in cities like Delhi, Lahore, Benares, Ahmedabad, Rajkot, Lucknow, etc. The ladies organized their own auxiliary with a view to assisting the committee with their share of help. Burma and Ceylon organized their own relief funds.

Thanks to the combined efforts of the various Relief Committees more than ten thousand pounds in money and materials have been collected and sent to the Polish refugee centres, sometimes direct, but mostly through the Polish Relief Fund in London. Gifts are still pouring in. Considering the needs of other charities arising out of the war, Poland has every cause to be grateful for this great gesture of sympathy and help from her friends in India. His Excellency the Viceroy expressed the Government of India's sympathy towards Poland by a most handsome donation of Rs. 50,000 to the Polish Relief Fund from the Viceroy's War Purposes Chest. Several Indian States, although all of them had already placed the resources of their States at the service of His Majesty, remembered Poland by sending individual donations. The Catholic community in India expressed their solidarity with their Polish brethren by mass prayers and church collections. They organized what is known as "Pilgrimage for Poland" at Bandra near Bombay, the most imposing procession of its kind ever witnessed in India. The Indian industrialists and millowners responded liberally to the Ladies' Auxiliary's appeals for donations in kind. The smallest minority community in India—the Parsees—true to their tradition for catholic charities, came forward with their generous share of help. But the most touching and heartfelt of the donations came from India's poor people. For instance, the American Baptist Mission School, Kavali, in South India, sent a donation of Rs. 25, with the words, "These children are very poor themselves, but they were happy to bring their mites and put them in a tin 'bomb' which they called their 'love-bomb.'" From Peshawar came a contribution of Rs. 13.4 from a five-year-old Pathan girl. The letter stated: "This contribution is from a small orphan Pathan girl

who recently heard that in Poland the children were suffering from cold and hunger and were without homes. She immediately handed over all the money she possessed and asked me to send it to help the Polish children. She said she did not need the money and wanted to help other children who were without homes." A small donation of Rs. 7 came from a small and desperately poor Christian community in the village of Kagal in Central India. The letter stated: "They were determined to try and collect some money to help your people in distress. They therefore auctioned the vegetables with which they wanted to decorate their tiny church on the occasion of Harvest Thanksgiving. They got as far as Rs. 6.4, and in order to bring it up to Rs. 7 the last remaining nuts were auctioned each separately, one very poor old man giving as much as $2\frac{1}{2}$ annas for one nut. It is so touching that I felt you ought to hear the story in detail."

These spontaneous manifestations of India's sympathy towards Poland in the hour of her agony, the sincere desire of her intellectuals to establish ever closer cultural relationship between the two countries, a greater and sympathetic understanding of her political problems and her geographical situation, her historical rôle in the moulding and defending European civilization against hordes of barbarians from times immemorial—these are the permanent values which Poland's sacrifice in the present war has earned for her and which neither guns nor the slanderous propaganda of her enemies can ever destroy. These will outlive the present crisis in Poland's fate, and for that there is no better proof than Poland's own history.

HISTORICAL RESEARCH IN INDIA

BY SIR WILLIAM BARTON, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

IN the early days of Indian civilization, before the first glimmerings of the dawn of history, and long afterwards, literature was a monopoly of the Brahmins; they alone were versed in Sanscrit, the sacred language in which it was enshrined. The acute intellect of the Brahmins concentrated its efforts on philosophy or religious mysticism; it found little attraction in the study of mankind and political happenings. This attitude of mind of the religious leaders of the sub-continent explains the absence of any effort on the part of Hindu writers, down to modern times, to attempt a reasoned history of their country. It is a tragedy that Brahmin India in the thirteen centuries before the Muslim invasions of India produced no Herodotus, no Thucydides, no Plutarch, to give succeeding generations a vision of those far-off ages. How little we should know of ancient India but for Greek visitors such as Megasthenes, who describes social life and polity in the reign of Chandragupta in the fourth century B.C., immediately after Alexander's invasion. There was a brilliant exception to Brahmin apathy in the Arthasastra of Kautilya, the Brahmin minister of Chandragupta, which contains not only a thesis on the art of government, but gives interesting sidelights on the life of the times. A pity there was no Kautilya ten centuries later to portray the Indian scene when Rajput rule was at its zenith. The records of Chinese pilgrims who visited India in the fifth and six centuries help to fill the gap.

The position improved with the advent of the Muslim conquerors. Muslims have always shown a propensity for recording history, and from the tenth century up to the British period Muslim historians have thrown much light on the course of events in India. Foremost in the Muslim school of historians is Alberuni, a learned Muslim who early in the eleventh century followed in the train of Mahmud of Ghazni, and, after attaining proficiency in Sanscrit, made a thorough study of conditions in India, which he embodied in a thesis entitled "An Enquiry into India." He was followed by such well-known Persian historians as Ferishta in the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth; the *Ain-i-Akbari* was produced in the same period; the memoirs of Babur and Jahangir throw further light on the first century of Moghal rule. At this time many Europeans and other foreigners visited Delhi; some of them recorded their

experiences. From the beginning of the seventeenth century the records of officials of the East India Company became available; Portuguese and Dutch records go back to a still earlier period.

And now, at long last, after European scholars have for a century and a half laboured to rescue from oblivion the course of events in India through the ages, Indians themselves, and Hindus in particular, are striving to win new laurels in the field of history. The political awakening of recent years and the teaching of history on Western lines in the universities have contributed to this result. A fine example of work already done is Sir Jadunath Sarkar's history of the reign of Aurangzeb.

Of recent years an attempt has been made to unify the activities of Indian scholars in historical research. This has taken the form of an All-India History Congress. To quote Sir Shafa'at Ahmad, General Secretary to the Congress that met in October, 1938, "the study of Indian history has had a new birth."

The session was held at Allahabad under the presidency of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar. All the Indian universities, including those of the States, sent representatives; the papers read cover a wide field, from the earliest times up to what is styled the modern Indian renaissance; they include sketches from ancient history, the Rajput period, the Sultanate, phases of the history of the Moghals, the Sikhs, the Marathas, down to modern times.

The proceedings of the session are published in a bulky volume of nearly a thousand pages. Sir Shafa'at Ahmad contributes a brilliant introduction, in which he briefly reviews some of the outstanding contributors. The inaugural address was given by His Highness the Maharaja of Benares, who, after alluding to the necessity of a study of Indian history for the understanding of Indian politics today, stresses "one broad fact of Indian history, that from the days of Asoka and Chandragupta to comparatively recent times, whenever the Central Authority has broken down or weakened, chaos and anarchy have been the inevitable result." Dr. Bhandarkar, while acknowledging the debt India owes to Muslim historians, criticizes Alberuni for suggesting that Hindus lacked the historical sense; that sense, Dr. Bhandarkar asserts, has "always been germane to the Indian mind." He does not explain why, for so many centuries, it failed to give a better account of itself. If it had existed in the subconscious regions of the Hindu mind, one would have imagined that the learned President of the Congress would not have had to deplore the fact that "the Indian, unlike the educated Englishman," is ignorant of his intellectual ancestry. Whatever the truth may be, Hindu historians are now eagerly striving to make up the leeway.

It is impossible within the limits of a short article to go beyond a brief reference to the mass of historical material brought before

the Congress. The theory advanced by Dr. H. C. Seth that Poros really defeated Alexander in the battle of the Jhelum will hardly command general acceptance, based as it is on an obscure Ethiopian test. The Greeks hated the Macedonians, so it is unlikely that Greek historians should go out of their way to confer on Alexander unmerited laurels. And if defeated by Poros, would he have been able to leave large garrisons in the Indus province? One can hardly wonder that anything that suggests British imperialism should pass unchallenged, and so we find Dr. Bal Krishna contesting the theory that the British Empire in India was built up by accident; he goes on to assert that almost from the outset the officials of the East India Company had in view the possibility of territorial acquisitions. He quotes in support "the analogies of the Dutch and Portuguese empires in the East." Sir Shafa'at Ahmad does not agree; the analogies are, he thinks inappropriate. In any case, the essayist does not meet the argument that the British were compelled to intervene in Indian politics as the only means of avoiding expulsion by the French. There is an interesting paper on the purdah system by Professor A. S. Altekar, of Benares Hindu University, which supports the generally accepted view that the seclusion of women was uncommon in India until after the Muslim conquest. The support given by the Buddhists in Sindh to the Arab invaders in the eighth century, in consequence of the harsh treatment of the Brahmin rulers, is noticed in the presidential address on the medieval and Rajput section. In the address on Moghal history the lecturer reminds his hearers that "current politics without a knowledge of past history are like the top story of a house which has neither foundations or lower stories." One may doubt whether the Muslims of the Punjab would endorse the view of Sardar Ganda Singh, of the Khalsa College, that the Punjab for seven and a half centuries was a mere annexe to the Central Asian dominions of the various Muslim dynasties from the Ghaznavides to the Moghals, and that it was only when the Sikhs drove out the Durani Afghans that it really became part of India. It is scarcely authentic history that the Sikhs "protected the lives and honour of the French and Belgians in the Great War and the Ethiopians not long ago."

There is general recognition of the fact that ample scope still exists for research work—at the India Office, for example, in the records of the Dutch and Portuguese Governments, in the family papers of great Rajput houses, and big zemindar families in most parts of India. But research costs money, and sympathy will be felt for Dr. Bal Krishna, President of the Modern History Section, in his lament that foreigners alone have written histories of India, and Indians have not the means to test their veracity, despite the

fact that fifty-five crores of rupees are spent on the army. Surely private generosity might help to supply the defect.

A recent work on the Munro system in Southern India, by Mr. K. N. Venkatasubba Sastri, deserves inclusion in a sketch of recent Indian endeavour in the field of historical research. The theme is the policy of land tenure and general administration sponsored by Sir Thomas Munro in Madras in the first two decades of the nineteenth century. The Cornwallis scheme of land settlement had been a failure because Lord Cornwallis tried to build from above. Munro built from the foundations upwards. The strength of India lay in her peasantry; a sound policy required that the interests of the peasantry should be kept in the foreground. Working on this principle, Munro introduced *ryotwari*, the system of land tenure which secured the peasant in his holding—made him, in fact, proprietor. Village administration was left in the hands of the villagers through the *panchayat*, or village council; the council settled village disputes and dealt with petty crime, through the village police. There was, under such a system, no necessity for a regular police force; only civil cases of importance would come before the regular courts. The village was, in fact, a tiny republic under the protection of the larger political entity of the State. Over and above his village policy Munro advocated a policy of education designed ultimately to fit the Indian people for self-government.

His system worked well in Madras and in other parts of India. Indeed, Mr. Sastri is of opinion that its adoption in the Punjab kept the province loyal during the Mutiny. Unfortunately, a new police system and the expanding jurisdiction of the law courts gradually broke down the village organism; the *panchayat*, its nerve centre, practically ceased to function. The disintegration of village life that resulted explains much of the agrarian discontent that exists today. In some parts of India attempts are being made to revive the *panchayat*, not always with success.

Mr. Sastri discusses the Munro policy in an introduction, followed by minutes recorded by Munro, despatches of the directors of the East India Company, and maxims and opinions of the Duke of Wellington on the Government of India. The Right Honourable V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, in a foreword, pays a graceful tribute to Munro as one of the greatest of British administrators.

ADMINISTRATION IN BARODA

BY STANLEY RICE

FEBRUARY, 1939, saw the close of a long and notable career. His Highness Maharaja Sayaji Rao finished his life's work for the Baroda State in which for sixty years he had taken such pride and for which he had spent himself so freely. The Administration Report for 1938-39, which lies before me, is in a very real sense the record of his work. At his accession in 1875 the State was only emerging from the chaos in which his predecessor Mulhar Rao had left it. It is true that Sir Madhava Rao had laid the foundations of good administration; it is true that Mr. Elliot, the tutor, had instructed the young and ignorant boy in the way he ought to go. But foundations are not enough, and innumerable instances have shown that it is all too easy to forget the lessons of one's youth; it is to the Maharaja's glory and his alone that he built so well upon those foundations and that he profited by those lessons to the end of his life. He always cherished a true affection for Mr. Elliot, and whenever he came to England he made a practice of visiting his widow.

Baroda made steady progress under his wise guidance. There is hardly any branch of the administration on which he did not leave his mark. He started the railways of the State. He encouraged medicine and sanitation; he built waterworks in many places; he introduced compulsory education. That co-operative societies and electrical plant were introduced in his time was due rather to the march of events than to his personal initiative, for such things were nowhere to be found at the time of his accession, but these too have flourished as we shall see. In a word, he found Baroda almost at her nadir and he raised it to her zenith, so that for many years she was the pattern State, and even now, when others have advanced and there is a general all-round improvement, she is still in the van.

The funeral rites were impressive. There was a happy combination of Eastern ceremonies and of Western reverence for the departed, in which the English—that is to say, British Indian troops in Baroda—took part. When the pyre was ready, the Last Post was sounded and two salutes, one on behalf of the British Government and one for the State, were fired by the State artillery as British gunners were not available. This is almost certainly the first time that such honours have been paid to a ruler of

Baroda—for of course it is very many years since such a ruler has died in his capital. Nor was British India wanting. The ashes were taken to Allahabad (Prayág) where British troops fired a salute of twenty-one guns, and they were then conveyed in procession to the confluence of the Jumna and the Ganges.

Le roi est mort, vive le Roi. When the time of mourning for the illustrious departed was over, there began the festivities to celebrate the accession of Maharaja Pratap Sinh. It is pleasant to note that prayers were offered in the places of worship of all creeds, and also that Her Highness the Maharani took her seat with H.H. the Maharaja in the Durbar Hall. At the time of her marriage she was still in purdah, though not very strictly, as I can personally testify. This appearance in the Durbar Hall was a sign of the times for which the dowager Maharani had to wait many years, thought the late Maharaja did not approve of the purdah system and indeed left some rather disjointed notes on the subject. The ceremonies followed the usual course, but the Durbar itself must have been impressive—Maharaja Pratap Sinh signalized his accession by the concession of a permanent reduction of revenue which his grandfather had sanctioned temporarily as one of his last gestures to the people. He also announced a permanent trust of a crore of rupees (£750,000) as a memorial to the late Prince and other concessions to the nobles and people of the State. These princely gifts (for the large sum of money came from his private purse) were announced in a dignified message to the people.

Let us now see to what sort of inheritance the present Maharaja has succeeded. He is fortunate in having still at the helm the Diwan who has now had unexampled experience of the State and its problems. No subject, except perhaps education, was nearer to the late Maharaja's heart than social reform. He was himself readily accessible to all, even the lowest, and he was resolutely opposed to all those superficial and annoying distinctions entailed either by caste custom or by tradition. Consequently we find on the Baroda statute book acts relating to divorce, caste disabilities and tyrannies, child marriage prevention and the like. It is, as everyone knows, exceedingly difficult to change the habits of a people, more especially in the rural parts where education is backward. The legal marriageable age for boys is now eighteen and for girls fourteen, which is now enough by English standards, but is a great advance on the customary age, which might be even before either of the parties was born. The figures show slow but steady progress. The Act has been in force for thirty-five years, and that is a short time within which to eradicate a custom. We are, however, told that "public opinion against this harmful custom is steadily growing in volume and intensity." Divorce is

quite contrary to Hindu sentiment, which looks upon marriage as an inviolable sacrament, but again the number of suits by persons belonging to castes in which custom does not allow divorce is gradually on the increase.

English readers will be even more interested in the Caste Tyranny Removal Act. The title does not directly refer to the treatment of untouchables and other lowly castes by the more favoured, but to the tyranny of customs such as caste dinners which involve heavy expenses. Excommunication for travelling abroad, for breaking off betrothals and the like is penalized, and it is now apparently left to the Maharaja to decide what is a "tyrannous custom," a provision which widens the scope of the Act but may put a heavy responsibility on His Highness. The Act is not widely resorted to because of the fear of antagonizing the caste leaders, but the mere fact that the Act is there is to some extent a salutary check on such customs.

At a meeting of the Council at which the Maharaja presided the question of education was raised by His Highness and I asked what was the percentage of lapse into illiteracy. It was a surprise to learn that it was about 80, on which His Highness shrewdly remarked that at that rate "four-fifths of our effort was wasted." It is therefore satisfactory to read that attention "was concentrated on the eradication of the evils of wastage and stagnation." Baroda has now had compulsory education for many years and was indeed the first in India to introduce it. She is spending as much on education as on public works, police and perhaps medical services put together, and it is or was disappointing that there was so little to show for it. No doubt one reason is that an agricultural community has not much need for reading and writing; there are few opportunities or leisure for either and want of practice soon obliterates what is learned. Those who do not get beyond the primary stage have no incentive to cultivate a love of reading. This is an intangible obstacle which is very difficult to overcome. More obvious remedies are to improve the quality of teachers and to encourage the use of travelling libraries, both of which have been adopted by the Government. It must be some years before any appreciable progress can be noted, and it is a subject which the present Diwan has very much at heart.

But after all education cannot give health to the body, unless very indirectly. It is of little use to be able to repeat the Gita or to quote Shakespeare when you are shivering or burning in the clutches of malaria. What the ordinary Indian peasant wants most of all is good health and a sufficient diet. It is of little use to point out that the medical budget is the smallest of all the major departments, for each department must necessarily have a different scale of needs. At the same time the fact that there is now one

institution to every 22,209 persons does suggest that there is still scope for improvement. The principal diseases are malarial fever and diseases of the skin. The present writer is specially interested in the malarial problem, and one is glad to learn that a project which was first outlined in the course of a morning walk with the Diwan has resulted in an organized scientific campaign against malaria. "Its good effects," says the Report, "are already being felt."

Apart from this, good work is also being done in the matter of the supply of good water. This was one of the subjects dear to the late Maharaja's heart, and so far as the towns are concerned he has done a great deal. We are told that "many of the larger towns have now waterworks, while there are works in course of construction in six more and schemes are being investigated for fifteen in addition." But after all it is the villages that stand most in need of pure drinking water, and a scheme was started before I left Baroda to this end. It is good to hear that 459 wells were built and that the money was not grudged. For the total expenditure was nearly 5,00,000 Rs. Caste prejudices, however, are still strong in the villages, and it may be feared that the good intentions of the Government may be frustrated in the case of a large section of the population. The State is very fortunate in that it has now two Trust Funds to draw upon for the general uplift of the people. These amount to two crores of rupees (£1,500,000) and the interest amounts to 7 lakhs. Some part of the fund created by the late Maharaja, when he gave a crore of rupees on the occasion of the Diamond Jubilee, was used for conserving the water supply in villages and, what comes only second in importance, to providing drinking troughs for cattle. A further allotment is made for improving village roads.

Much too is being done to help the ryots in their agriculture. The root rot in cotton, suitable types of sugar cane, better marketing of cotton are among the activities of the department. Experimental farms have long been in existence. The cost of Veterinary Relief has more than doubled in the last ten years; there were thirty-five working dispensaries and two more have been sanctioned. These animal hospitals, apart from the alleviation of suffering to the beasts themselves, can be of inestimable value to the ryots, since much of their wealth consists of cattle, and the loss of a good bull or cow may well swallow up a whole year's earnings. Humane castration, however, does not advance much; it is very difficult to overcome prejudice in this matter, and that in spite of ocular demonstration that modern methods cause no suffering and that the usefulness of the animal is not a whit damaged. There is nothing religious in this prejudice; it seems to be due solely to the dislike of innovation.

Co-operation, which is again one of the special subjects dear to the Diwan, numbers 60,379 members. Some of the societies were of the mushroom type and these have been suppressed. It is very tempting to any administration to extend the movement as quickly as possible, but this is an activity which cannot easily be measured by mere statistics. Some ten years ago it did not seem that the idea had taken very strong root. There seemed to be a general apathy among the people, and one could not but notice the difference compared with the Punjab and even the State of Kashmir, where the staff was largely recruited from the Punjab. The Government of the day was very reluctant to increase the staff, although it was pointed out that the expenditure on co-operation consisted almost wholly of staff. The consequence was that there was nothing between the registrar and the inspectors, so that propaganda work had to be left largely to the latter, a class of officer which did not carry much weight in the villages. The object of the societies is to give the ryots access to cheap credit and to eliminate the moneylender; to the ryots in many cases it was simply an opportunity for borrowing at cheap rates without much thought of repayment. The idea of co-operation is not new to India: the hundreds of thousands of villages exist on the co-operation of the villagers in the corporate life of the village. But co-operation in the technical sense is in the nature of banking, which is new or comparatively new, as the Report points out. The growth of the movement in these circumstances depends largely on economic conditions, which in the year in question were adverse. Nevertheless improvements have undoubtedly been made and a modest amount of progress is claimed.

The Medical Relief, apart from the special schemes already discussed, consists of 110 dispensaries, which is a very fair number for a State the size of Wales. The General Hospital at Baroda, which seems to have been renamed the Sir Sayaji Rao Hospital after His late Highness, is fully equipped with the latest devices, such as X-ray apparatus, bacteriological laboratory, antirabic treatment, and a dental department with a qualified dentist in attendance. The doctors are—in the higher grades at least—men trained on European scientific lines. In addition, the State also encourages the native Indian treatment known as Ayurvedic, and about 100,000 patients were treated by these methods. At the end of 1933 an Act came into force for the registration of practitioners, the object being to obtain some control over the numerous Vaid (Hindu doctors) and Hakims (Muslim doctors), many of whom were not qualified.

The Bill was introduced in 1930 or 1931, but a certain period of grace was allowed to permit of the readjustment of livelihood, for it was felt that to introduce it at once would work hardship to many working men whose only fault was that they had no diploma

or the equivalent of it. It is satisfactory to read that 244 Vaidas were registered during the year, besides 86 others not practising Western medicine. There is, perhaps, a shade of jealousy between the two systems; European doctors pour unmitigated scorn on the indigenous systems, and are themselves accused of trying to squeeze them out of the country. There is evidence that in present conditions there is room for both, and there does not seem to be any overt friction. There is, in addition, provision for maternity cases, and over 3,000 patients were treated. The mental hospital accounted for 74 inmates. Improvements were badly needed in 1930, and doubtless these have since been effected, but the Report is silent on the point.

Sanitation is a more difficult proposition. The villagers are very hard to convince, especially when there is nothing to be seen. In one village where there was an outbreak of cholera, the doctor sent down for the purpose of dealing with it was only able to prevent the people from drinking contaminated water by pouring kerosene into it. No amount of exhortation had any effect. In fact, it needed courage to apply this drastic remedy, because he might easily have been attacked, but as it happened, there was no disturbance. It is well known that opposition is sometimes to be found against treating wells with permanganate of potash, which the villagers think or may think makes the water undrinkable. As regards ordinary conservancy the Report significantly declares that "the efficiency of the service depends on the interest evinced by the council concerned." It is perhaps remarkable that in some parts the quarters of the Dheds (pariahs) and Bhangis (sweepers)—that is, the lowest classes—are said to be the cleanest in the town or village concerned. An attempt was made some years ago to introduce cheap latrines into villages to control hookworm, but it proved impracticable. It will be a long time yet before the villagers can be persuaded to remove manure heaps from the vicinity of houses, to treat sewage water reasonably, to keep the streets clean and clear of human and other excreta, though efforts are being made in these directions.

Baroda State is composed of several fragments, some of which are intermingled with Bombay Province, and so in order to comply with the Bombay experiment in prohibition certain arrangements had to be made in those liquor shops which adjoin the frontier. These included the rationing of shops, the closing of shops within two miles of the border, restriction on the opening of new shops within ten miles of the dry area, and so on. It yet remains to be seen whether the experiment, which was so dismal a fiasco in America, can succeed in India, and Baroda has made a gesture of friendliness in thus agreeing to what must entail a certain loss of revenue.

For years past Baroda City has been lighted by electricity. The supply was increased during the year and there are now sixteen works in the State, thirteen being operated by private companies. Efforts are being made to popularize domestic lighting and also, it may be noted, heating. Considering the length of time that has elapsed since telephones came into general use and the extraordinary convenience which they are found to afford in England, it may seem surprising that there are not more than 336 subscribers. It must, however, be remembered that the average Indian is always loth to part with money for anything he can do without. The late Maharaja threatened to abolish the dentist attached to the hospital because those who could pay for his services would not. But a more cogent reason for the paucity of telephone subscribers is probably that there are not many, even in the larger towns, who require to use the telephone regularly. Some progress is no doubt being made, but it would seem that the average user has not yet acquired the habit of running to the telephone for casual conversation or even for short business calls.

Broadcasting is now on its way, and this, if judiciously used, may well prove a valuable educational instrument. It is, of course, very easy to overdo this aspect of broadcasting. The people, no more in India than in England, want to have improving talks rammed down their throats unless they are varied with entertaining features. But just as the motor-bus has proved itself a tremendous stimulant for the broadening of the village outlook, so too we may expect to see broadcasting do its share in this eminently desirable direction. It is noteworthy, too, that the Government have arranged to distribute 400 receiving sets in villages. As the scheme is still in its early stages, no further details are given, but if these sets, which may or may not remain the property of the State or may perhaps be presented to the village community collectively, are preserved in some place like the village hall, they may be found very useful, particularly if the programmes are carefully chosen and adapted to village life, so that they may attract listeners at the times most convenient to the villagers.

Irrigation has never been a real success in the Raj, except in the south where sugar cane is grown. In much of the State the soil would seem to be unsuitable. However, some seven projects are now being investigated. On the other hand, the field drainages, which are of almost equal importance, were neglected for many years. The consequence was excessive flooding in the monsoon and unnecessary loss of crops; the water, unable to get away owing to the defective drains, spread over the land and, remaining stagnant, rotted the crops. One farmer complained to me that he had sown his field at least three times. In another village the water rose high in the streets up to a man's knee or higher, but it is only

fair to say that this result was largely due to the inaction of another State further down the stream. Water always gives trouble, especially when "foreign" territory is involved. It is satisfactory to learn that this problem is now in a fair way to being settled.

When the late Maharaja came into power he was very anxious to improve the roads, but here again he was met by the difficulty that owing to the nature of the soil it was not easy to obtain metal. Sir Madhava Rao, who also felt the need of good roads, was obliged to give up the idea, finding the difficulties too great. They seem, however to be largely overcome, since out of 1,000 miles of major roads only 400 are now classed as fair weather—that is, liable to be badly cut up during the rains since they are devoid of a metal surface. These improvements should stand the peasants in good stead, since the wear and tear on bullocks and carts where the roads are heavy and are too often inadequately provided with culverts and bridges must be enormous. One much-needed bridge has been built across the Tapti river, but it is to be remembered that with the limited resources of the State progress must be somewhat slow. Bridges are costly works.

Enough has now, I hope, been said to show that Baroda is a State which has kept pace with the times and may still boast of being one of the best administered States in India. In many, if not in most, respects she need not fear comparison with the British Indian Provinces which she had largely taken as her model. If I have said nothing of some of the larger and most important departments, such as Justice, Police, Forests and Railways, it is because these are conducted on long-established lines and, beyond minor variations, there are no specially new features. It goes without saying that in the administration of a large State there must occasionally be friction; complaints are often heard, and that has at least this advantage that there is no suppression of opinion. It should be added that there is complete toleration of faiths and communal tension has never been acute. Of course, it is essentially a Hindu State, containing $2\frac{1}{2}$ million Hindus against 182,500 Muslims. There is sometimes a grumble that Islam is not fairly represented in Government posts, but this is really not due to any special favours to Hindus but simply to the fact that Hindus are the better educated section of the community.

The outstanding feature of the Report is the attention which is shown to the agricultural classes, who, while they contribute the lion's share of the revenue, are individually the poorest. This is shown not only by the munificent gifts of the late and present Maharajas which are to be devoted to the betterment of the villages, but also by the activities of the Government which in large measure are intended to benefit them specifically. Thus it may

be said that primary education, co-operation, medical and sanitary work (outside Baroda City) are maintained chiefly, if not entirely, for the villagers, to which we should add agriculture, to them the most important of all. Indirectly, the people also benefit by the roads and railways, the provision for justice and so on.

Such is the record of Maharaja Sayaji Rao, certainly the greatest of the Maharajas of Baroda, since the time of the Maratha ascendancy when the house of Gaekwar came into possession. Maharaja Pratap Sinh has yet to win his spurs. He has begun well; he has shown what he means to do by the gift from his private purse, and if he carries out the promise of his Proclamation all will be well. We may end with a hope that he may be long preserved to the State.

OUR DEBT TO CHINA

BY ARTHUR WALEY

MUCH has been written about things (pleasant and otherwise) that, in the material order, we are supposed to have got from China. Fortunately (seeing that gunpowder is one of the items) these accounts are to some extent imaginary. At intervals for the last twenty years a patient expert has been writing to the Press to contradict the assertion that the European art of printing was derived from China; other experts periodically prove that the Chinese did not invent the magnetic compass.

Far less has been written about our intellectual debt to China; though here, in passing from the concrete to the abstract, we arrive oddly enough on much surer ground. In particular, nothing at all has been written about the influence of China upon the intellectual life of our own times. This occurred to me recently while re-reading an article on Chinese poetry that Lytton Strachey wrote in 1908, long before the publication of *Eminent Victorians* or any of the other works that made him famous. "One would be tempted," he writes, "to say that the poetry in it" (Giles's *Chinese Poetry in English Verse*) "is the best that this generation has known, save that it has been written for the last ten centuries." For one who was rootedly distrustful of the exotic, whose culture was indeed severely Anglo-French and whose chosen method was understatement, this pæon comes most unexpectedly. Partly, no doubt, it was due to the form (reminiscent of Locker Lampson's "society verses," and hence indirectly of Matthew Praed and the eighteenth-century tradition) in which Giles presented the Chinese poets. "Reading this book," he says, "we might be in the alleys of Versailles." But there was another factor. A great turning-point in our relations with China had come. Hitherto all the English who visited that country had done so for political reasons, either as missionaries, soldiers, sailors, merchants or officials. About this time quite another class of visitor began to arrive—men of leisure merely anxious to know more of the world; poets, professors, thinkers. Most of them were Lytton Strachey's friends.

On the other hand, contact with such men as Lowes Dickinson, Bertrand Russell, Robert Trevelyan, who had come not to convert, trade, rule or fight, but simply to make friends and learn, gave the Chinese a completely new view of us. Great Englishmen had lived in China before, but they failed to make

any impression on the Chinese intelligentsia. Gordon, in so far as anyone had heard of him, was regarded merely as a foreign technician, hired to supervise the artillery of an alien dynasty; James Legge (the most solid pioneer in the realm of sinology) seems never to have been in contact with a single native scholar above the standing of a village schoolmaster. But Lo Su (Bertrand Russell) at once became a *tzu*, an accredited sage; and in Chinese books today one sees "Russell said" almost on a par with "Confucius said."

Already for many years past Chinese students had been coming to England for technical education. Those at Cambridge came chiefly from Singapore, and many of them could not speak, still less read, Chinese. Soon after the war there arrived at Cambridge a Chinese poet who, having already made some reputation in China, jumped as it were straight from the main stream of Chinese cultivated life into the company of poets, artists and thinkers in Europe. This was Hsü Chih-mo.

Lytton Strachey had imagined China past and present as one long eighteenth century. He must have found it hard to fit in Hsü. Never has anyone belonged more wholly and more sincerely to the Romantic Period. Byron was his model and hero. He loved to think of himself as the Chinese Childe Harold, though nature had scarcely fitted him for the part. There was nothing Byronic about his long thin face, with the stubborn mouth that seemed to express, above all, the determination to lead his own life in his own way; and he had not a particle of Byronic cynicism.

"The clue to all the turns and deviations of my life," he writes, "has always been an emotional one, and this applies no less to my scholastic career than to other phases of my existence." He had a passionate desire to sit at the feet of Bertrand Russell; but when Russell was in China Hsü was in America. Suddenly the American newspapers announced that Russell was dead. Hsü burst into tears and wrote an elegy. However, the news turned out to be untrue, and eventually Hsü set out for Europe, expecting to find Russell teaching philosophy at Cambridge. Not only had Cambridge dismissed Russell, but the philosopher, now settled in London, was working busily as a journalist and writer of popular educational books. He had no time for pupils.

Cambridge no longer held any attraction, and Hsü spent six lonely and miserable months at the London School of Economics. At a political meeting he met Lowes Dickinson. He had read *The Letters of John Chinaman* and *A Modern Symposium*, and admired them. But Lowes Dickinson in person (he was indeed the embodiment of gentle wisdom) made on Hsü a far deeper impression than his books. Again he had found a Teacher, and

soon afterwards, on Dickinson's recommendation, he was accepted as an advanced student at King's College, Cambridge.

But the Teacher vanished. Dickinson seemed always to be either with his sisters in London or else on the Continent. In any case, Hsü seldom saw him at Cambridge. This was the end of his search for a Teacher in the Oriental sense. His admirations and pilgrimages became increasingly literary. He visited Conrad, Wells, Hardy, Bridges, and out of these visits created a literary form that was new in China, an "interview" that had nothing journalist about it—that was fraught with the tense excitement of discovery.

The best of these studies, perhaps Hsü's best piece of writing, describes with extreme vividness and sincerity the drama of his visit to Katherine Mansfield. He had a passionate admiration for her work, and had been trying for months to secure an interview. At last came an invitation to call at Pont Street after dinner. In a state of wild excitement he entered the house, only to be told (after his hopes had been raised to the highest pitch by the entry into the room of a beautiful girl who turned out not to be Miss Mansfield) that Katherine was too ill to see him.

After a time he heard strange elephantine sounds on the stairs. The small Hampstead house rocked, and Hsü was startled into asking what was happening. "That is S.W.," his host said (mentioning a very bulky diplomatist); "he has been talking to Katherine." It is, of course, for an invalid one thing to chat with an old friend, and quite another to receive a complete stranger from a foreign land. This did indeed occur to Hsü, but he felt that he had been excluded because he belonged to an alien race.

"It was a great disappointment to me," he said at the door, "that Miss Mansfield could not come down. I was very anxious to see her." "Of course, if you don't mind the trouble of going up . . ." A moment later he was in Katherine Mansfield's room. The interview lasted for only twenty minutes, but it became his most treasured memory.

In an essay called *Thoughts on Flight* he wrote in 1925: "To soar into space and at last have unimpeded view—this is the thrill, the power, the inheritance proper to the state of Man. Does this carcase, this bags of bones hold you down? Then cast it from you, burst the doors of your cage and fly away!" After a few years of very agitated and passionate existence in Peking and Shanghai the writer of this pæon on flight was by a strange irony killed in an aeroplane accident in 1931.

I have spoken of Hsü as a Chinese influence on our intellectual life in the post-war period. As a matter of fact, we already knew a good deal about Chinese art and literature, and even something about the part they played in the life of the ancient Chinese.

But very little was known here about the part such things played in the lives of cultivated modern Chinese. That was what we learned from Hsü Chih-mo.

What he taught the Chinese about us was, above all, that England does not consist solely of over-populated commercial centres. He was the first Chinese to write—and with passionate feeling—about English landscape and architecture. Byron's Pool, King's Chapel, the Cornish coast. He also did a good deal of rather promiscuous translating: Walt Whitman, Tagore, James Stephens, and Wordsworth in the original metres—stress, accent and all (so he assured me, though he had, I think, a rather personal notion of what Wordsworth sounded like in English).

I started this essay, of which Hsü Chih-mo is the main theme, with a reference to Lytton Strachey's startlingly emphatic praise of Chinese poetry, printed at the dawn of his literary career. In his published works I do not think that he ever alluded to the subject again; he did, however, write some amusing but quite unprintable parodies of my translations of Chinese poetry—translations in which the "Versailles" element was, to his disappointment, entirely lacking. Backhouse and Bland's book aroused in him a great interest in the Dowager Empress, resulting in his tragedy *The Son of Heaven*, eventually performed at the Phoenix Theatre in 1921. The costumes (very lovely ones) were by Duncan Grant, and the music by William Walton. Perhaps the failure of this play damped Lytton's interest in China. He also had the feeling that the subject was remote and unmanageable. His handling of the Chinese episode in his *Gordon* (one of the studies in *Eminent Victorians*) had been a good deal criticized, and was indeed rather flimsily documented.

I have written of things that happened years ago. More recently, while little Plato Chang was dashing off his sketches and *Lady Precious Stream* was playing to packed houses, there happened almost unnoticed the most important event that has ever occurred in the history of Chinese-European relations. Ch'en Yin-k'o was appointed Professor of Chinese at Oxford. Never before has a Chinese held a professorial Chair in Europe. The mere fact that the appointment was made (circumstances have prevented him from taking up his duties at present) shows that we are willing at last to give concrete form to our long-established veneration for the scholarship of China.

APPROACH TO CHINESE ART AND POETRY*

BY LAURENCE BINYON, C.H.

WHEN as a boy I first made the thrilling discovery of Coleridge's poem "Kubla Khan," it never occurred to me that Kublai was the name of a real personage, still less a great ruler and formidable conqueror. I imagined him to be a fairy prince in a magical world of gardens and fountains. Long afterwards, but still at a time when Chinese painting was almost unknown in Europe, I happened to unroll a Chinese landscape brought to the British Museum and suddenly that poem seemed to have taken visible shape before my eyes:

And there were gardens bright with sinuous rills,
Where blossomed many an incense-bearing tree;
And here were forests ancient as the hills
Enfolding sunny spots of greenery.

And then later I became acquainted with other pictures, and was again reminded of "Kubla Khan" and the damsel with a dulcimer and the adept

Who on honeydew hath fed
And drunk the milk of Paradise.

For how akin these seemed to Hsi Wang Mu and the Eight Immortals and the Western Paradise of the Taoists. Coleridge, I feel sure, had never seen a Chinese picture. Had he been carried in his trance, as Blake claimed to have been, into the kingdoms and patriarchates of Asia? Or is it just a chance resemblance? Yet this is not the only instance of affinities of imagination. Several writers have been struck by the parallel between some of Wordsworth's poems and Chinese ways of thought. For example:

One impulse from a vernal wood
May teach you more of man,
Of moral evil and of good,
Than all the sages can.

Commonsense cries out against such a paradox: This is absurd. What have spring woods to do with man and morals? But it is just the kind of thing that a Chinese mystic might have said, only he would have expressed it differently, more lightly and allusively, with a kind of gaiety which was not in Wordsworth's nature.

* Lecture delivered at the China Institute on December 19, 1939.

All the same, Wordsworth's attitude to Nature seems to me very similar to that of many Chinese sages. Then, again, you could find in Walt Whitman, who used to prepare himself for writing a poem by practising the kind of meditation used by Eastern mystics—"a trance, yet with all the senses alert"—you could find in him that peculiar feeling for the wonderfulness of common things and ordinary occupations which we find in the Zen teachers. Here, of course, the form is totally different. Whitman is loose and lounging, so to speak; he does not deal in the compact suggestiveness of the Chinese.

Now and then, however, in English poetry we find brief poems that even in form as well as conception have affinity with Chinese poems. I will cite three small lyrics. The first is Shelley:

A widow bird sate mourning for her love
Upon a wintry bough;
The frozen wind crept on above,
The freezing stream below.

There was no leaf upon the forest bare,
No flower upon the ground,
And little motion in the air
Except the mill-wheel's sound.

The next is Tennyson. "The Eagle":

He clasps the crag with crooked hands
Close to the sun in lonely lands,
Ringed with the azure world he stands.
The wrinkled sea beneath him crawls,
He watches from his mountain walls
And like a thunderbolt he falls.

Tennyson called this a fragment. But it is surely a complete whole. What more does one want? I suppose he felt that the poem would be more in our tradition if there were some reflection added to the picture evoked. The itch to moralize an impression has often afflicted our poets and made them say too much.

The third is R. W. Dixon:

The feathers of the willow
Are half of them grown yellow
Above the swelling stream.
And ragged are the bushes
And rusty now the rushes
And wild the clouded gleam.

The thistle now is older,
His stalk begins to moulder,
His head is white as snow.
The branches all are barer,
The linnet's song is rarer,
The robin pipeth now.

This last, perhaps, is nearest to the Chinese in its conception of a lyric—the evocation by delicate sure touches of a picture, and thereby the creation of a mood of feeling; content with that and nothing more. You notice that in all these three poems it is the life of birds—birds and trees in two of them—that has prompted the poet. How like the Chinese, with their extreme love of and sympathy with the life of birds and flowers.

This is no case of borrowing ideas or forms from a foreign literature. I am glad to think that these English poems (others could be quoted if there were time) have a quite independent inspiration. For especially in this time of trouble is not any testimony to the solidarity of mankind reassuring: anything which unites us not by a common degradation but by a common love of beauty and affection for lives outside our own?

In recent years there has been, I think, a certain influence on our contemporary verse of Chinese poetry, of course through translations. It shows itself, I should say, less in the form than in the substance; especially in a desire to seek for the subject-matter of poetry not in far-away things nor in exalted emotions poured into exalted language, but in everyday experience and the things around one; the things that happen to oneself. To what extent this influence has been exercised I do not know, but I am sure it exists. In any case, the revelation of Chinese poetry in our time through the numerous and able translations that have been made has been a real and exhilarating event. It has opened a door on a new, delightful world.

It is rather presumptuous of me, who am no Chinese scholar, to say anything of Chinese poetry. I am more familiar with the painting. But in passing from the one art to the other there is no change of atmosphere. The same conceptions prevail.

With us at the present day criticism of art tends to look askance on any association of pictorial art with poetry. It is held to be a muddling of two arts that ought to be kept distinct. I won't go into that question now, but I must say that I often wish that European painters had gone to work as a poet goes to work; I mean that, having found his motive, he should concentrate on the communication of the strong impress of that motive in his mind and feeling, and refrain from laboriously rendering everything else that was there in nature out of a notion of making his picture complete, and doing that, too, when the warmth had gone out of his mind and the freshness faded. Of course, this applies only to a certain kind of painting, the kind which corresponds to the lyric in poetry. But this is the kind of painting of which the Chinese have been most fond. With the grandest achievements of European painting, the imaginative creation, the powerful structure of the frescoes of the great Italians, for instance, the Chinese hardly

compete, though possibly if the art of the T'ang dynasty could be restored to us there might be a different tale to tell. Chinese poetry is, I believe, almost entirely lyrical, and there is nothing corresponding to the massive epics and tragic masterpieces of the West. The parallel with the pictorial art is a close one.

WATERFALL

This painting of a waterfall is an instance of what I said about concentrated singleness of impression; the recording and communicating of a strong impress on the mind and the spontaneous elimination of all that does not help to enforce that one thing. I imagine the artist to have seen and contemplated the plunging mass of water, fascinated by the spell of its force and continuance, to have gone away and brooded over the image in his mind, till at the propitious moment his charged memory overflowed and the memory-heightened image was thrown on to the silk; just what had moved him and nothing beside, the weight and rush of ever-falling water. This painting is attributed to Wang Wei, the poet-painter of the eighth century. It is now thought to be considerably later, but it is the type of painting which that artist is known to have painted.

INK-PAINTING

This, of course, is an ink-painting. Chinese ink is a marvellous substance capable of an infinite range of tone. All Chinese paintings are in ink, for ink supplies the foundation, whether light or rich colour be added to it or not. I suppose the majority are in ink alone. This preference for monochrome goes with the determination of the artists not to be distracted by the rendering of surface appearance and texture. The inner qualities are sought rather than the outer. But another reason is the close affinity between the art of painting and the art of writing. The true approach to Chinese painting is through Chinese writing. It is difficult for us, perhaps impossible, to appreciate all the subtleties that lurk in the beautiful formation of the Chinese characters. Yet it is a fascinating study, and I can only refer you to Mr. Chiang Yu's illuminating book on Chinese calligraphy. In appreciating a specimen of this art, which permeates Chinese life, "the first desideratum," he says, "is that the thing should be living, the next to discover where the life lies." The beauty of fine writing is the beauty of plastic movement, not of designed and motionless shape. It is an adventure in movement very similar to good dancing. Life, movement, here is the clue to the Chinese artist's aim, whether in writing or in painting.

DEMON GRAPPLING WITH A SWORD-FISH

This drawing, for instance, a creation of riotous fancy, a demon grappling with a sword-fish in a welter of waves, the impression of rhythmical movement is so strong that the lines seem actually to be in motion as you look at them. Mr. Chiang Yee's exposition of all the thought and intention that underlies a piece of good writing makes one marvel and almost despair of acquiring senses fine enough to distinguish nice degrees of quality in this art. Yet even for the uninitiated there is a sensuous satisfaction in the communication of life and movement in the brush, bold sometimes as the sword-like thrust of iris-blades from the soil, or swirling like water past a rock, or trailing like the passage of a cloud, and we may go on to appreciate the stance and equilibrium of each character. Though a certain number of the characters originated in a rudimentary picture, and retain a suggestion of that, as a rule the characters present no image to the eye, only to the mind. Thus a piece of writing may be viewed as a kind of abstract painting. Abstract painting in the West represents an effort to make something pictorial which shall be completely independent of forms in nature. It is driven therefore to geometry, and grows therefore in a strange soil. It is of necessity a meagre kind of art. Chinese writing does not depend upon, but does not reject, association with natural form, though it be only by way of hint. And it has the immense advantage of the Chinese instrument, the ink-charged brush, so flexible and capable of such infinite variety, moving on absorbent silk or paper.

The bamboo, a favourite motive, gives opportunity for a kind of painting which almost merges into writing. Association here plays its part. The bamboo is symbolic of the nature which bends under adversity but does not break. But such symbolism is latent, not explicit; it is there in the mind like the memory attaching to a perfume.

PLUM BRANCH

The plum-tree again is a cherished theme, and some painters, like the author of this picture, have given their whole lives just to painting plum-branches, as if the secret of the beauty of the blossoms, appearing even while the snow and the hard cold still prevail, could never wholly or finally be captured, perhaps also because this putting forth of flowers in an untoward atmosphere conveys a hint to human behaviour. For to the Chinese all living things are related. But it is something intuitively perceived and accepted, not emphasized with the heaviness of a lesson or deduction.

WHITE HERON

This white heron on a wintry bough is seen in isolation, just as it might be in an illustration to a European naturalist's book on birds. But there is a subtle difference. There is exquisite observation, as there is in some of our books on birds, but there is not only observation from without. The artist has identified himself with the object of contemplation; and if isolated to the eye it is not isolated to the mind, rather do we feel it somehow related both to ourselves and to the world about it. By reason of the happy equilibrium of the design we feel that the heron is at home within the picture. This kind of painting passes easily over into mere naturalism, as we find in hundreds of later pictures, Chinese and Japanese. But what an artist is in himself passes into his art, and it is by this we are affected; we are conscious of the difference of temper and outlook even when we cannot put it into words.

LOTUSES

This picture of lotuses is attributed to the same master, a painter of the twelfth century. No painting in the world is so happy as the Chinese in uniting the monumental and the exquisite in a single design. With us it is only, I think, in figure compositions that we find designs of such simple grandeur. But to the Sung artists the life of flowers was as serious and important a theme as the human form. The glory of a flower was just as intense an object of study as the naked glory of the human form has ever been to Europeans. Flowers were not mere accessories to fill a corner with pleasant form and colour. They were contemplated as living things; the force they have in springing up through the soil and, erect upon a slender stem, poising in the air and trembling to the breeze; their sensitiveness, the mystery of their slow or swift expansion from secret bud to splendid blossom: it was this rather than their colour and texture, their own inner life rather than their use to mankind, which has made them a chief motive in Chinese painting.

I have just been reading a new book by Sir Frederick Keeble called *Science Lends a Hand in the Garden*, and it has made me realize that each plant is, so to speak, a person; sensitive in all its fibres; sometimes fastidious about its neighbours and capricious in its likes and dislikes; sometimes affable, tolerant and easy-going; sometimes shy or coquettish, sometimes prodigal and magnificent. Through science we learn these things and apprehend all the invisible chemic events going on all the while under the soil as well as in the air. To the Chinese these things seem to have come through intuition; they have been seen from the inside. This

feeling of respect for the flower, as for something which leads a life of greater felicity and dignity than most of us human beings and is a symbol of the beauty that cannot be destroyed, ordains that the painter should enhance its beauty by studying its natural poise and relating it to the empty space in his design.

And here we touch on an element in Chinese design which is peculiarly characteristic: I mean the use of space as a positive not a negative factor. No other art has used the virtue of emptiness to such purpose.

LISTENING TO MUSIC IN A GARDEN

Look, for instance, at this version of an eighth-century picture, "Listening to Music in a Garden." The spaces here are like the silence round a singer. It is the kind of motive which inspired Giorgione and his school—the famous "Concert" in the Louvre, for instance—the choice of a golden moment, when a strain of music seems to collect the floating threads of memory and carry them on a full and sparkling stream. Here the musician, the listeners, the flowering tree, the attendant page, are transformed by a subtle refinement in the relations between them. The intervals brim over with a silence that listens.

LADIES PREPARING NEWLY WOVEN SILK

The same instinct for spacing is seen in this portion of a short roll in the Boston Museum, "Ladies Preparing Newly Woven Silk." It is attributed to the Emperor Hui Tsung, but whoever the painter was, it seems in the massive character of the figures to betray a T'ang design. Again the intervals become eloquent and somehow significant. And we are reminded of Lao-Tzü's sayings which dwell on the uses of emptiness; as, for instance, in a clay vessel, which is only of use because of its hollow interior; and the same with a house. The existence of things may be good, it is the non-existent in them which makes them serviceable.

THE LANDSCAPE ART

This discovery of the positive value of empty spaces as a factor in design is further developed in the art of the Sung dynasty. It is not something left over, as we often see in Western art, where it is filled with superfluous detail just for the sake of filling it. In this thirteenth-century picture by Ma Yüan of a Zen priest and his disciple the forms and the empty space support each other. There is no symmetry, but there is balance. A small mass of strong tones balances a large space of emptiness. A tree is not symmetrical but is perfect in its poise. And symmetry, a principle of decora-

tion which derives, I suppose, from the symmetry of the human body, the dominant theme of European art, is disliked by the Chinese. It is the unsymmetrical, the incomplete, the imperfect, that is dwelt on. Completion means the end of growth, and therefore death; and Chinese art seeks what is spontaneous and alive. Mr. Chiang Yee in his book on calligraphy tells us that a favourite study of writers and painters is the starry sky, where the arrangement of the stars is quite irregular and yet we have a sense of order and equilibrium in the whole.

So we come to the landscape art, which is the most characteristic type of Chinese painting, developed as an independent art long before it arose in Europe. It had already been long developed when Kuo Hsi, in the eleventh century, wrote his essay on the subject. What are the things he insists on? First, he explains the love of landscape as something innate in man. To get away from the dust and noises of the world to the companionship of woods and springs is to realize one's true self. The finest landscapes are those in which one can wander, the perfect landscapes those in which one can live. Trees, clouds, water, rocks—each must have its own life: to render this, there must be a corresponding life in the brush; and for this there needs the utmost concentration of mind.

Moreover, the Chinese have always tended to regard landscape art as superior to figure-design. Why? Because men and the doings of men are included in the vastness of nature. The whole is greater than the part. Only in landscape, we are told, can we enjoy depth and distance, as in such a picture as this by Hsia Kuei. The Chinese word for landscape means mountain and water picture, and suggests at once the fundamental elements of which this landscape consists. It is concerned with that which is solid and that which is fluid. The mountains are thought of as the flesh and the streams as the blood of a living organism. It is not the life of Nature conceived as something separate from the life of man, but the whole created universe through which one spirit streams.

Here is something very different from what we call a transcript from Nature. The Western spirit accepts the reality of the material world; the Western man sees in it something to be used, forces to be harnessed, pleasures to be enjoyed. The art of the West is full of a vivid sense of the glory of the visible world. But beyond the beauty of streams and meadows and shadowy trees and blue hills lies something from which it is apt to recoil: space, the all-enveloping, infinite, unexplored space. Even from those regions of earth where we are most conscious of powers and grandeurs outside humanity—the barren wastes, the solitary mountains—it has recoiled, as from something it cannot use or deal

with. The first traveller to see Niagara described it as a hideous spectacle.

Let us note first that there is in the typical Chinese landscape no colour, or when there is colour it is very reticent and approaches a monochrome. A Chinese critic says: Colouring in a true pictorial sense does not mean a mere application of variegated pigments. The natural aspect of an object can be beautifully conveyed by ink-colour if one knows how to produce the required shades.

To artists unprovided through the accumulated experience of many generations with convenient means of representation landscape presents material very difficult to cope with. How to relate and unify all these lavish, complex, intricate forms? How to relate the earth and the sky, the foreground and the distance?

The suppression of local colour is to begin with a gain. But also we have to keep in mind the invaluable training of the hand necessary in writing and in forming the Chinese character. Then, too, the various ways of representing natural forms have been codified and handed down, so that the artist had ready to his hand all the elements of a pictorial language. And it is amazing how these painters, working in ink or ink and water-colour, succeed in expressing the conformation of the earth as well as the effects of atmosphere and distance, with a persuasion of reality not less than Western artists achieve in the more solid medium of oils. Their inherited technical tradition sets them free to put their whole force into the emotion they wished to communicate.

This is a masterpiece by Ma Yüan, reminding one in its design of Rembrandt's famous "Mill." In each case a dark mass projects from the left, but where Rembrandt has set the old mill Ma Yüan sets storm-frayed pines and towering above them the rock-pinnacles of a river gorge. Rembrandt, by the way, especially in his landscape drawings, has a real affinity with the Chinese painters.

THE RIVER OF TEN THOUSAND LI

Here is a detail showing the brushwork more distinctly. It is an opening section of a long roll by Hsia Kuei, "The River of Ten Thousand Li." As it is unrolled we pass down the great stream, now flowing full and smooth, now fretted into rapids and swirling in eddies; it foams past rocks, it glides under willows, and we have the feeling that the river has a living personality of its own. An admirable theme for the long horizontal scroll, that peculiarly Chinese invention in painting. Here again one finds a close affinity with poetry, for one unfolds the picture as one reads a book.

IMPRESSIONISM

In many of these pictures, however, we find something which we should call impressionism. The doctrine of impressionism in Europe is based on something physical; the inability of the eye to see all the parts of a given scene in nature with equal distinctness. It is the impression on the eye which the painter is to paint. With the Chinese it is rather the impression on the mind. Impressionism with us has been found to be a disintegrating force. In China, at least in the Sung period, the discipline of close observation of natural form and the study of the means of representing it had in earlier periods laid a firm foundation. In the earlier part of the Sung period, the eleventh century, great stress was laid on close observation, though also on nobility of line. This eleventh-century painting, "Mountains after a Summer Shower," is in the style of Mi Fei, who already used a more impressionistic method, using tone rather than line.

A TRAVELLER IN A MOUNTAINOUS LANDSCAPE

A mature art of landscape is not an easy achievement for any race. To be interested in the forms and movements of men and women is instinctive in all mankind. In very early times the forms and movements of animals, on whom the lives of hunters depend, are equally an interest and a passion. Later, the gay colour of flowers, the shade of trees, the delight of gardens come to have a wide appeal. But the remoter things—the barren shapes of mountains; stony ravines, towering crags; the raving torrents that in flood sweep away the careful handiwork of men; the mists that blot out the traveller's path; wild winds and tempests—what account is to be made of these? How are they to be related to the human spirit? It may be accounted a rare achievement of the Chinese genius that, without the prompting of scientific curiosity, it could arrive at, and express in painting, so comprehensive a view of all nature, and become companionable with what to us is adverse and unfriendly. There is delight, exhilaration in this painting of barren ridges towering up into the sky above the lonely valley, and the traveller on the path below would not be overpowered or oppressed. He is at home in what to Europeans of far later date would have seemed a repulsive desolation.

SOUTHERN SUNG LANDSCAPE

This landscape of Southern Sung has been called Romantic, and has been referred to the feeling of depression caused by the loss of the northern provinces to the invading Tartars and a consequent resort to the solitudes of nature as an escape and consolation.

tion; to what, in fact, is now called escapism. But long before the national tragedy happened painters had been choosing just these themes; and Kuo Hsi in his essay had said that it is only among the woods and hills and streams that man realizes his true nature.

In any case, there is nothing here of the unreality which we find in all the more pronounced poems of romantic art and literature in the West; nothing of the magnified romantic ego, despising all the world but itself; nor even of that sort of inverted egoism which finds pleasure in dwelling on the littleness of man. No, there is only the quiet persuasion that we are none of us so important as we are apt to think; that Nature is not subservient merely to man's needs and desires, but that to every living thing is due the respect we owe to each other. Hence, the effect of this art is serene and exhilarating. Here is a little picture by Ma Yüan. It is the first day of spring among the mountains; the willows have begun to put forth their green tassels, rain has fallen, the sky is clear. The painter's brush tracing the boughs of the willow is so sensitive that he persuades us that the boughs and young leaves are sentient things.

Is it not a remarkable thing that not only 700 years in time and half the width of the world in space but a total difference of race, training, modes of thought, fail to separate our minds from the mind which made these pictures?

SCENE IN THE FAMILY LIFE OF AN EMPEROR

I imagine that in estimating the contribution of China to the world's art the judgment of the Western mind is adversely affected by the comparative absence of masterpieces of figure-design, such as we give the highest place to in Europe. But let us recognize that in their landscape themes, with that underlying conception of an eternal energy behind appearances streaming through all existences, including the life of man, the Chinese have anticipated what the modern science of the West tells us about the universe. Their art is not a supplement to the art of Europe; it is its complement. Much of our art is inspired by a glorification of action. But action does not seem to be much glorified by the Chinese. I am often haunted by the saying of Lao-tzü: "Production without possession, action without self-assertion, development without domination." This, he says, is the way in which the creative spirit of the universe works. If mankind could have taken that saying to its heart, how different would be its history! But action for most men has meant some sort of domination over other people. It was before Attila and his hordes had swept over Europe that this picture (or its original, if it be a copy) was painted. This is

part of the famous Ku K'ai-chih roll; a scene in the family life of an emperor. In its civilized atmosphere, its absence of parade, its intimacy, it seems to me typical of the tendencies I spoke of in Chinese poetry, to seek its themes not in external splendours but in daily experience. "Think not to hide your thoughts; the heavenly mirror reflects not only what is visible." So runs the inscription.

ANIMAL LIFE

In the period of Mongol domination, especially, hunting scenes were often painted. The Mongols were great hunters. But more truly Chinese in spirit are pictures in which horses are depicted gambolling in freedom, or deer in the recesses of the woods. In this picture the rich pattern of autumn foliage, with its contrasted tones of smouldering red and dull silver, recall the effect of European tapestries. Almost certainly this would, in Europe, have been a hunting scene; but here the shy deer, halting perhaps at some sudden sound in this silent retreat, are portrayed for their own sake with a singular sympathy for their sensitive life. This lovely picture, which we admired so much in the Chinese Exhibition at Burlington House, is attributed, I think rightly, to the tenth century, between the two great eras of T'ang and Sung.

A TUN-HUANG PAINTING

In the domain of figure composition the most elaborate works are those inspired by Buddhism. But here again there is less of action than of contemplation. The way in which the Chinese genius gradually absorbed the Indian religion and assimilated the forms of Indian art to its own idiom is a most interesting chapter in human history. There are in the Buddha legend plenty of motives of human and dramatic interest, which would assuredly have been seized on and made the most of by European artists if they had been called on to interpret the stories of Buddha's life on earth and in his previous incarnations. But these were never the central themes. Among the frescoes at Tun-huang there is one depicting the fight for Buddha's relics, a work of the fifth century, in which we see the Chinese artist already developing a feeling for space and recession.

SILK PAINTINGS FROM THE STEIN COLLECTION

But the chief subjects, both in the frescoes and in the silk paintings brought back by Sir Aurel Stein, are of Buddhas and beatified beings; themes of a contemplative character. This is a portion of one of the silk paintings; a paradise presided over by a Buddha. Pavilions rise from a lotus-lake; on a platform in the centre is a celestial nymph dancing to music, and around are beings in

bliss. This large picture is an elaborate composition. There is none of the gesticulation, the rhetoric of movement, which we are used to in so many Italian pictures of saints in glory. The painter eschews shadow and modelling. But there is extraordinary skill in harmoniously relating the forms to one another, helped by the glowing colour. The Chinese gift of fluid line and rhythmic movement is peculiarly adapted to the evocation of ethereal presences.

SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF THE BUDDHA

It is true that there are a number of designs portraying episodes of the Buddha legend; these are on a small scale, on small banners, or else in compartments around a central composition of Paradise, like the predella of an Italian altar-piece. The curious thing is that while the contemplative subjects, the Paradises or the single figures of Bodhisattvas, retain the formulas of Indian iconography, these little scenes are presented in purely Chinese style with Chinese costume. This is one of these scenes, the troop of horsemen sent out from the palace to seek for Buddha in the wilderness.

The destruction of the masterpieces of T'ang painting, especially the frescoes of Wu Tao-tzü, is one of the great losses that the art of the world has suffered. From the description of that great master at work, and of the effect his paintings produced, we seem to divine a creative genius possibly comparable with that of a Michelangelo or a Rubens. Since all these works have perished we can form no adequate judgment of the Chinese achievement in figure-design.

But there is another phase of Buddhist art in China which is more truly characteristic. That is the painting associated with the Zen sect of Buddhists, who claimed to go back, behind all the immense accumulation of texts and doctrines, to the experience of Buddha when he received enlightenment; to get away from abstractions to life itself. Ritual, images, worship, reading of scriptures—these were of no avail without the experience of enlightenment. So here we see a Zen priest tearing a sacred scripture to pieces. The light, brusque strokes of the brush are typical of Zen spirit. This is the companion picture: a monk lopping the twigs from a bamboo. The Zen teachers relied on wordless teaching. And in the painting inspired by Zen the accepted themes of Buddhist traditional art are exchanged for quite other motives; any casual sight or incident serves if it communicate the mood required. Again we find that choice of the homely and the usual which I have spoken of before.

Just as in painting Christian themes Western painters, ever haunted by the supreme symbol of the human form, were apt to

choose scenes from the Gospel or the lives of saints which gave scope for treating the human form in action, so the Chinese painters, ever haunted by their favourite landscape themes and the life of things outside humanity, would swiftly evoke some image—mist dispersing among the mountains, a flowering spray, a bird alighting—to strike a chord in harmony with the ever-changing movement of life.

PAINTINGS IN A TRIPTYCH

Chinese paintings are often composed in a group of three, after the fashion of a triptych. Each is independent, but related. This crane is the left-hand picture of such a group; in the centre is Kuanyin, the Bodhisattva of Compassion; on the right, monkeys on a bough. That is characteristic of the way in which the Chinese would adapt Buddhist ideals to their own bent in art.

A BUDDHIST MYSTIC

Here is a Buddhist mystic, a woman who lived in the T'ang period. Sung landscapes are often without figures, or the figures in them have a quite subordinate place. This little picture is rather unusual. The figure of the woman fills the eye, though the landscape is no mere background, but seems almost as if it were a projection from her mind as she wanders out on the wintry shore beyond the snow-covered trees. And in some subtle way we are made to feel that she is tasting the solitude with a kind of ecstasy; as if the intensity of the solitude and stillness enabled her to feel more poignantly the unreality of all but thought. In all times and in all places the mystic is the same. His longing is the flight of the Alone to the Alone.

WHITE HERONS HAUNTING A WILLOW

My last illustration is another Sung painting—white herons haunting a snowy willow. It is a happy picture. Do we not seem to share in the life of these birds as they fly into and out of the picture, and share in their felicity of movement? We feel that here is a symbol that has always preoccupied the Chinese—the art of living in the world. A rhythm has been found for the design which exemplifies the universal rhythm of life.

The art of China has, from our Western point of view, severe limitations. But why dwell on these, when it gives us so much that is fresh and exhilarating? It is a kind of art, the expression of a kind of spirit, which in these dark days, when mankind seems to have sunk so low, and misery prevails over so large a part of the world, we may find it good to contemplate when we can.

What are the things that our art may learn from the Chinese? I would be inclined to say the insistence on mental concentration, the intensive training of the memory. This it is which gives life to the brush; and life, what has been called rhythmic vitality, is what the Chinese put first among the painter's requisite qualities. Next, there is the use of space, the realization of the value of reserves and silences. And that goes with the use of suggestion, of evocation, rather than complete realization.

For some centuries now Chinese design in various forms has, of course, largely influenced the decorative and useful arts of Europe, especially in floral design; but it is only in the last fifty years that we have become acquainted with the creations of the Chinese masters. And now we are beginning to have books written in English by Chinese artists and critics like Mr. Chiang Yee, for whose help in enabling us to see the Chinese point of view we are deeply grateful. I hope that these Chinese interpreters will forgive those who, like myself, starting from complete ignorance, at a time when Chinese pictures were very rare in the West and not a single book in a European language existed on the subject, have tried by degrees to understand and explain to others the fascinations and the inner qualities of this art; I hope that whatever faults of ignorance or misunderstanding we have committed may be forgiven because of a good intention. I can only say that the realization of Chinese art and poetry, very imperfect though it be, has been for me a perennial fountain of joy and refreshment, a debt I can never repay.

HOW CHINESE ARTISTS PAINT

BY CHIANG YEE

BEFORE I enter upon my subject I want to express my deep gratitude to those who take an interest in our art and have devoted themselves to studying it and explaining it, such as Mr. Laurence Binyon and many others. Their service in interpreting our art to you is greater than that we ourselves can render, because they can explain and indicate how it is to be appreciated, bearing in mind your traditional point of view. Were it not for the work done by them, I should have a longer way to come to my subject, because it would be difficult to talk of how we paint if you did not have some idea about our art and its principles in general. I shall sum these up in a few words.

We love Nature and we desire to identify our minds with Nature and to enjoy Nature as she is. In other words, "to live with Nature" or to enjoy the "life of Nature." Unfortunately human life has become more and more complicated, and we human beings seem gradually to have been confined to a smaller and smaller space, so that we cannot enjoy Nature at will. What compensation have we? Artists have produced records of their own vision of Nature, both for their own pleasure and for the satisfaction of their own longing and to give pleasure to all of those who have not sufficient opportunities to enjoy Nature themselves.

Our philosophers tell us that we human beings are only one of the million types of creatures in the universe. As humans we have always lived together and so we must know ourselves sufficiently. Therefore our artists prefer to paint all the other types of things in Nature, such as birds, animals, insects, fish, flowers, trees, mountains, rocks, and so on. Now that science has made great progress it might be suggested that we could enjoy Nature through photographs which reproduce everything exactly as it is. But I think there is a difference between the enjoyment afforded by a photograph and by a painting, and here I am thinking of your painting as well as ours. Two skilful photographers would probably produce the same result if they photographed the same subject from the same angle at the same moment, but two artists, one Chinese and one English, could not possibly produce the same painting of that same object; our method of painting is so different. You all know how you paint. I will tell you what we do and leave you to make the comparison.

In any good Chinese painting there are six essential points which build up the painting as a part of Nature. These are (1) life, (2) rhythm, (3) thought or idea or feeling, (4) scenery, (5) strokes, and (6) colour of ink. These are not the traditional six canons of our painting, as Hsieh Ho stated, but they are the six points which we have to bear in mind when working out a painting. As you all know, our paintings are water-colours and are chiefly built up by lines with the help of the colour of the ink and sometimes by the gradation of various pigments. The word "line" in our painting is something more than a mere straight or curved line. Perhaps I had better say "stroke." Every stroke in our paintings must have life. Through our early training in calligraphy we are taught to achieve beautiful strokes. I am sorry I have no time to dwell on this point, but I think you will understand what I mean when I use the term "live stroke" or "dead stroke." In my book *Chinese Calligraphy* I said: "Our appreciation of calligraphic strokes is in proportion to our feeling for Nature. Just as in the process of writing we install this sensuous perception within the framework of the characters, so afterwards in contemplation we experience an emotional pleasure akin to that of direct contact with natural beauty." Every stroke, every dot, suggests a form of Nature. If not it would simply be a dead stroke which we do not want in our painting. The colour of the ink, too, helps to make the stroke alive. An even thickness and colour of ink easily lead to a dead stroke. So our artists must be careful. All these living lines join together in harmony or in rhythm to form a scene which expresses a definite idea or feeling or thought: then the picture is good.

We estimate our painting according to whether it has "rhythmic vitality" or "life movement" as a whole. To train ourselves to paint in order to achieve this goal we must create in ourselves the ability *to simplify, to memorize, and to use space*. We who live today owe a great debt to our forefathers who had already worked out simplified forms of natural objects. Yet we must practise them and give life to them, and also create new simplifications of our changed environment. You, for instance, cut down trees when they grow to a certain height, and for these English trees I should have to produce a new simplification. Our ancient scripts have provided us with the simple forms of natural objects. The simplifications must not only indicate the form, but must preserve the life or spirit of the object. The choice and construction of the simplified form requires, of course, good taste, and good taste has to be cultivated. This is done by continually observing the beautiful forms in Nature and studying them in the existing arts.

The simplification of trees can be seen in the works of our

great masters. Economy of strokes is an important element; detail and exact likeness are neglected so that the artist can concentrate on catching the spirit of the object. In these you can see the mist and the rain, and how the wind blows, while in the distance only the tops of trees are drawn. Birds are drawn with the fewest possible strokes to show the life movement of the bird.

The great poet and painter, Su Tung-P'o, of the Sung dynasty, once said, "To discuss painting from the point of view of its exact likeness to the object is what a child might do." This sentence has carried great weight with our artists. But I myself think it is misleading, because a child would not be able to compare the likeness of the painting to the object. A child can simplify a thing without exactly showing its likeness. We may say that a child possesses an instinctive power of simplifying his vision of an object, but, having no training or knowledge of the life in Nature, he draws his simplified vision with dead lines. Our method of painting is to return to the state of a child's simplified vision, but through long training we must first practise the simplification of objects in a most experienced way. I would alter Su Tung P'o's words and say, "To discuss painting from the point of view of its actual likeness is what the average grown-up might do!" Only those who care for detail can estimate the likeness, and they usually neglect the essential soul. I dare say a beautiful and an ugly face look much the same under a microscope. My father specialized in portrait painting, besides birds and flowers, but he disliked intensely painting portraits. He once told me that the beauty of a woman's face or of a man's can only be caught by a quick and mysterious glance, and that when he came to paint a face, working out the likeness in minute detail, the beauty of it did not exist any more. This is, perhaps, our excuse for not having many good portrait paintings in the history of our art. Our mentality is so taken up with the spirit of the subject that the dignified personality of a lady, or of Confucius, can be shown, even although the forms may not be in any way like the originals. Something can speak to us from the figures: we say that painting expresses the human heart, and when we look at it our heart responds.

After acquiring the power of simplification our artists must memorize the object in its simplified forms. This is the second stage. When we begin to paint a bird we remember its egg-shaped body from which all movements can be developed. For a fine painting we remember how the feathers should go. I suppose it is rather difficult to remember things because we have so many things to remember nowadays, but I think we can memorize if we try, especially if we simplify forms and actions in our mind.

Then they are ready for use when the mood comes. We do not paint direct from the object because we do not want to be its slave, but rather to transmit its spirit.

The third stage in our method of painting is to create the power of *using space*. *Space* plays a great part in our painting and follows the same principle as simplification. We emphasize the important parts and omit the less important ones which may prove a nuisance. When we begin to paint we must have a subject in mind. We look at the blank sheet of paper or silk and regard it as a great empty space. I think it is better still to think of it as a huge shroud of white fog in London or in the country at this time of the year. As we gaze at it a few trees come into our vision, then perhaps a house or a hill-top or something else. We neglect the things that do not show up in the fog. Then a well-constructed painting begins to emerge. I should point out that our landscapes cover a field which is wider in extent than that of a photograph or even of our own vision.

There are many rules for our students of painting. They are very rigid and all our great masters have used them as their basis. Wang Wei of the T'ang dynasty wrote: "When painting landscapes use more your instinct than your brush. . . . No eyes are necessary for distant figures, no branches for distant trees and no rocks for distant mountains, which resemble indistinct eyebrows, and no waves for distant waters which are as high as the clouds. Clouds cover the middle of mountains, waterfalls cover part of the rocks, trees cover towers and pavilions, and figures cover the roads—these are the methods of painting. When there is only wind but no rain, attention should be paid to the branches of the trees; and when there is only rain but no wind, the tree-tops are bent down. . . . A morning scene is represented by a thousand mountains brightening up the dawn with light mists, and an evening is revealed by showing the setting sun behind the mountains." (Quoted from *The Chinese Eye*.)

Before I finish my subject I must tell you that there are six faults which our artists have to avoid: (1) a painting must not have a trace or smell or suggestion of vulgarity—must not, as it were, be like a young village girl trying to paint her face for the first time (I think of Chinese villages where the girl cannot have magazines such as *Vogue* to look at!); (2) no suggestion of artisans who can only show minute skilfulness, but no indication of the spirit of the object; (3) no trace of temper which will make the work lack peace and quietness; (4) no suggestion of a shy young girl who, for all her charming qualities, might suggest weakness; (5) no trace of humbug which claims to be a good painting, but in reality is a fake; (6) no smell of a market or trace of copper, which means that the painting is very easy to sell. I

suppose you would change this last item into the smell of bank-notes!

Again, our great masters have always told us that the highest standard of greatness in good painting can only be achieved after thirty years of hard study. I expect that you will agree with me and say that by that time we artists may have died of starvation! And how many good artists have been killed by the lure of money!

CHINA SOCIETY LUNCHEON

ON May 1, 1940, a luncheon was held at Young's Chinese Restaurant, Wardour Street, to celebrate the inauguration of Professor W. Perceval Yetts as Chairman of the Society. The Chinese Ambassador, H.E. Quo Tai Chi, presided. Among those present, who numbered over eighty, were the following: Mr. A. C. S. Adams, Mr. Chiang Yee, Capt. Hon. V. Cochrane-Baillie, Miss E. L. Beckingsale, Mr. and Mrs. C. A. V. Bowra, Mr. A. D. Brankston, Major K. Cantlie, Mrs. F. M. G. Cardew, Dr. H. Chatley, Dr. and Mrs. W. C. Chên, Mr. and Mrs. Alfred Clark, Dr. F. T. D. Clindening, Lord Davies, Mrs. M. Davis, Dr. F. M. Edwards, Mrs. A. Ellert, Dr. D. Embleton, Miss Alethea Garstin, Dr. Lionel Giles, Mr. and Mrs. O. M. Green, Dr. C. L. Hsia, Mr. W. P. Ker, Dr. and Mrs. P. W. Kuo, Mr. T. Y. Lee, Mr. A. G. Morkill, Sir John Pratt, Mr. F. Richter, Mr. and Mrs. Archibald Rose, Mrs. Walter Sedgwick, Mr. and Mrs. W. Sefton, Mr. P. S. Tan, Dr. C. C. Wang and Mrs. W. Perceval Yetts.

The CHINESE AMBASSADOR said that they were gathered to mark the inauguration of their new Chairman, Professor Yetts, who was well known to all and required no word of introduction. He was one of the oldest members of the Society—he did not mean in age, but in length of membership. Dr. Lionel Giles was, he understood, the only other member to compete with him in seniority in that sense. His Excellency alluded briefly to Professor Yetts's earlier career in the Navy, Army and Civil Service, which seemed somewhat remote from sinological studies. Throughout his long association with the China Society, he had always shown a keen interest in its aims and the promotion of its welfare. They were fortunate in having him as their new Chairman.

The Ambassador said that he was happy to announce that they had with them Mr. Hsiao Ch'ien, a lecturer at the School of Oriental Studies and formerly contributor to the *Ta Kung Pao*, which had been described as the "Manchester Guardian of China." Mr. Hsiao was one of the most promising of the young writers in China who represented the resolve of their generation to fight for Chinese independence and freedom. About two weeks earlier Mr. Hsiao had made an excellent speech before the P.E.N. Club. Presently he would talk to them about the road from Yün-nan to Burma.

Referring to the news of Lady Ross's death, the Ambassador said that members would wish to express their deep sympathy with Sir Denison Ross, their former Chairman. They would sadly miss Lady Ross from the Society's meetings.

Last year they had a successful annual dinner at Claridge's, and it was thought at the time quite proper and seemly to mark the Society's progress and increasing importance in its work of promoting better understanding and cultural relations between the two countries. The decision had been made to forgo the annual dinner this year, and quite rightly so because both Great Britain and China were in the midst of war. It was a situation in which the aims of the Society had a deeper significance, with civilization in peril. International goodwill and understanding through cultural relations were particularly essential between peoples like the British and the Chinese. We should not relax our efforts, but proceed with increased vigour if mankind was to be spared from the recurring horrors of war, if the world was to be restored to sanity and if our future was to be organized on the basis of what President Roosevelt called "moral peace."

Professor YETTS said that he could at least claim the merit of having belonged to the China Society for thirty years, and having served as a member of Council during most of that time. When looking through the minute book of the Society recently he had extracted certain information relating to the history of the Society which he thought might be of interest. About its foundation only two lines were recorded in the minutes of the first meeting of Council on November 23, 1906. They read: "Mr. Brenan explained the preliminary work undertaken by himself and Mr. Hall." Though details are lacking, one concluded that they must have done a great deal of work. Both Byron Brenan and J. Carey Hall were retired from the consular service, the former having served in China, the latter in Japan. Hall was a noted Positivist (or disciple of Auguste Comte), and he used to lecture on Confucius. These two enthusiasts would always be remembered with gratitude as the prime founders. There were others who helped, notably Dr. Lionel Giles, today the sole surviving member of the first Council. That meeting in November, 1906, included other well-known persons. For instance, Dr. Bushell, formerly medical officer to the British Legation in Peking, who was a pioneer among Western students of Chinese art and archaeology. Sir Walter Hillier, too, was famous, as much for his textbooks on the Chinese language as for his consular and diplomatic career.

In the chair at that first meeting was H.E. Wang Ta-hsieh. Thereafter the Society always enjoyed the distinction of having

as Honorary President the diplomatic representative of the Chinese Government at the Court of St. James's.

The first Chairman of Council was George Jamieson, the retired Consul-General. After him came Sir Walter Hillier in 1911, and then Byron Brenan during the year 1913. A. M. Townsend was Chairman for six years until 1920, when Sir Denison Ross took office and remained in it, until his departure for Turkey last December, with only one break, the year 1934, in which the late Sir James Lockhart occupied the chair.

Sir Denison's record for long service was matched by that of Dr. Lionel Giles, who took over the duties of Secretary from Alexander Harvey in 1911 and carried on until 1928. Chiefly to Dr. Giles's zeal and enterprise the Society owed its prosperity during those seventeen years, as Professor Yetts was able to testify from his own recollections. Miss (now Professor) E. D. Edwards was Secretary for one year, and was followed by Mr. H. T. Silcock during four years and by Mr. S. I. Hsiung during two. Mrs. Davis was appointed in 1935.

As defined in the original Statutes, the object of the Society was "the encouragement of the study of the Chinese Language, Literature, History and Folklore, of Chinese Art, Science and Industries, of the Social Life and Economic Conditions of the Chinese People, past and present, and of all Sociological Chinese matters." This was indeed an ambitious and comprehensive aim. In fulfilment of it, more than 165 papers had been read by a succession of lecturers, including almost everyone of note in the sinological world. Several instances were given by Professor Yetts in order to demonstrate the worth and wide scope of these lectures. In 1908 Dr. Aurel Stein was in the chair when Professor H. A. Giles gave a talk about "Chinese Taxi-Cabs," and demonstrated it with a working model made in Cambridge from a specification found in a Chinese book of the eleventh century. The invention, which dated back at least four centuries before that, had two wooden figures of men, one to strike a drum every mile and one to strike a bell every ten miles. The purpose was not, however, to check fares, but apparently to provide a pleasing adjunct to ceremonial carriages. Dr. J. Cantlie, friend and adviser of Sun Yat-sen, had lectured on "China in its Medical Aspects," Mr. H. Ballou Morse on "Canton Factory Days," Mr. Lionel Hopkins on "The Development of Chinese Writing," Mrs. Archibald Little on "Anti-footbinding," Professor Paul Pelliot on "European Art in China in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," and Dr. Lionel Giles on "First-fruits from Tun-huang," the last having been a pioneer announcement concerning the famous manuscripts. Several Chinese celebrities appeared among the list of lecturers: Mr. Ivan Chên, H.E. Li Ching-fang, Mr. Wu

Chao-chu, H.E. Liang Chi-chao, Dr. Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei and Dr. Hu Shih, the last appropriately having discussed "The New Literary Movement in China."

One of the original intentions of the founders was to form a reference library of works relating to China. Though never realized, the project once caused some embarrassment to the Society, because it brought a copy of the encyclopædia *T'u shu chi ch'êng*, comprising more than 5,000 volumes, which arrived in 1908 as a gift from the Emperor of China, made on the recommendation of the Society's first President, H.E. Wang Ta-hsieh. The problem of housing it had to be solved, and at length a home was found in the Architectural Museum of King's College, the Society having insured it for £2,000. When the teaching of Chinese was transferred to the new School of Oriental Studies at the beginning of 1917, the Council decided to offer the vast encyclopædia as a gift to the School "with the proviso that all members of the China Society should have reasonable access to it." Professor Yetts emphasized the fact that this privilege was one of the advantages of membership.

Another side of the Society's activities was manifested in 1920 by an addition to the Statutes about "social meetings and intercourse." Three years later, on amalgamation of the China Society with the Anglo-Chinese Friendship Society, the clause defining these aims was altered again. The addition then read: ". . . also, affording intercourse between British and Chinese Members. A further object of the Society is to assist Chinese Students resident in Great Britain." At the same time a Standing Committee was formed, composed of five British and five Chinese members, to further the interests of Chinese students in this country. In 1931, with the establishment of the Universities' China Committee, to administer part of the China Indemnity Fund, responsibilities relating to Chinese students were assumed by that body. Thereafter, ten representatives, corresponding to the former Standing Committee, were nominated by the China Society for membership of the Universities' China Committee.

Apart from the congenial function of welcoming Chinese visitors to this country, there had been numerous "social gatherings" in the history of the Society—dances, dinners, receptions and conversazioni, including a tea and entertainment to wounded soldiers in the Pillar Hall, Victoria Station, on February 1, 1917. In the records of these events, many times Lady Ross's help was mentioned in arranging musical programmes, and often she had played the piano herself. All members of the Society mourned her recent death.

Perhaps the publications issued by the Society might be looked upon as the most solid and lasting of their efforts to foster an

understanding of Chinese civilization. Transactions at regular periods, though often discussed and advocated, had never been found feasible. Instead, the practice had been to distribute to members the printed and often illustrated reports of lectures delivered before the Society. These pamphlets had also been on sale to the public, and numbers had been bought. It was in this direction, Professor Yetts believed, that the influence of the Society should be increased and extended; for by means of publications persons living too far from London to attend the meetings might be reached. Professor Yetts appealed to all members to exercise their powers of persuasion to recruit new members.

For eight years the Society had profited through the benign and stimulating guidance of His Excellency Quo Tai-chi, and all hoped that he might continue as their Honorary President during many more years. Professor Yetts said that his own task to fill the place left by Sir Denison Ross, whose eloquence and ready wit were well known, would not be easy; but he would try his best. He expressed his thanks and high appreciation of the honour done him by his election to the chairmanship.

Mr. HSIAO CH' IEN talked on the subject "From Yün-nan to Burma" as follows:

It certainly gives me immense pleasure to have the honour of sitting here this afternoon with the friends of and authorities on my own country. About Yün-nan and Burma, I presume you know a great deal more than I. Generally one luxury a journalist cannot afford is scholarship, and one temptation he finds difficult to resist—namely, sensationalism. I wish to make it clear in the very outset of this talk that when I visited that part of the world last year, before I came to England, I was a journalist, and unfortunately a very normal one in that sense. So I do not wish in the least to pretend to be academic before you. I shall avoid as much as I can the historical and technical side of the issue which incidentally is not a very pertinent virtue for an after-lunch talk like this.

I started from K'un-ming, the provincial capital of Yün-nan, last year in the middle of May and travelled along the motor road which was just finished a short time ago. Crossing the Burmese border, after a 200-mile journey, I reached Lashio, the junction of railway and motor road in East Burma.

Yün-nan and Burma are close neighbours as France and Italy. Yet one would be quite surprised to find how little contact they have had with each other in the past. Nowadays, countries only get known by invading or being invaded by another. Peaceful neighbours become less aware of each other. England, too, has a great deal to do with Yün-nan. In fact, the idea of building a

railway from Burma to Yün-nan, hoping eventually to complete through traffic from Shanghai to Calcutta, was envisaged by Captain H. Davis, an Englishman of the British Yün-nan Company, in 1898. The present railway line is entirely based on his plan.

In the city of Pao-shan, in West Yün-nan, I met a foreman in a weaving factory. In explaining to me the growing shortage of cotton yarn imported from Burma, he kept on mentioning Lancashire. It amazed me how very frequently and familiarly he used that word. But when I asked him where this Lancashire was, he blinked his dreamy eyes and answered vaguely that it must be an island somewhere in the Indian Ocean.

I often hear people say that it is a great pity to be visiting a country when it is at war, as everything is bound to be somehow upset. But I think it is a grand opportunity. Of course one would have to miss the museum collections and can only see the Tower of London from a distance. But what can compare with a war-time country, when life is more lively, when the hidden soul of a people is upturned and revealed and when you find a country which may be ancient but by no means decrepit?

We Chinese, as a people, have not been exceedingly quick in getting things done in the past. This probably accounts to some extent for the fact that we have to face the present ordeal. But a sharp change was brought about in the face of an alien invasion, as far as the sin of slowness is concerned. The most noteworthy instance you can find is in the construction of the motor road from Yün-nan to Burma. For it was an exceedingly strenuous piece of work, and was achieved at a time when both money and labour were scarce and was undertaken by peasants, including women and children, of a province which is least known for efficiency even in China. The total length of the whole road on the Chinese side is 973 km., which is approximately 650 miles. The first half was completed before the war. But it was the second half, from Hsia-kuan (near Ta-li Fu) to the border, about 500 km., that was most difficult, where the road meets mountains normally 5,000 feet high and has to cross the Mekong and the Salween Rivers. But the whole work, which began in January, 1938, was practically finished within three months and without the help of a single machine.

Then came the problem of recruiting drivers to handle the lorries. It was in December, 1938, that an appeal was sent to the oversea Chinese, chiefly in British Malay and Dutch Indies, asking to remedy the deficiency of drivers. By February the next year a school was already formed in K'un-ming with 1,500 drivers under training. It was with the first graduating class of this school, numbering about 200, that I travelled.

I could tell you scores of touching stories about these heroic companions I had. Many were sons of big business men or prominent educators. One boy of 17 told me that he tried but could not get the consent of his parents to join the work. They entrusted him to his uncle in Singapore, and it was there that he slipped away. There was also an Indian volunteer, Mr. Dara Singh, who joined the hard work because he had a Chinese sworn brother. As sworn brothers, they were to share between them the common fate. So he insisted on doing his part. Despite the two accidents we had—once half of the lorry slipped off the edge of a rather ugly cliff—I assure you it was the most impressive journey I have had.

Now the railway is still under construction. Since most young men have been sent to the front, women, children and men above 60 play even a greater part in the much more difficult task. Today, whoever travels on this road cannot possibly miss the striking symbolism of an extremely vivid picture. The soil of Yün-nan is vermilion, thickly covered with woods of pines and cypress. Up on the slopes of the mountains you see the heroic builders working for the future railway, while underneath is the old footpath with tiny human figures moving slowly, carrying on their backs huge pieces of salt and boxes of tea leaves. The picture above you is the new China marching into the age of machine, while down below is the old China still making lavish use of human labour in her primitive forms of transportation. The motor road in between is symbolic of the present transitional stage.

There are three main routes of communication between Yün-nan and Burma. To the north is the route from T'êng-yüeh crossing the Irrawaddy to Myitkyina. This for centuries had been the main channel for Sino-Burmese trade. Another Burmese city leading to the same route is Bahmo, from where I understand Marco Polo entered China. The middle route turns south-west from Ta-li Fu toward Yung-p'ing, Pao-shan, Lung-ling, and Mang-shih and Chê-fang, the two chief towns of the Shans and the Kachins. Thus the road crossing the Burmese border leads to Lashio. This is the present motor road which I travelled through. The south route is along the valley of Nan-t'ing River to Kun-nu, leading also to Lashio. It is the route discovered by Captain Davis, and is now adopted for the future railway line.

One of the shortcomings of this new motor road is its inability to stand rainy seasons. I had a very narrow escape myself. Shortly after I reached K'un-ming I was told an English journalist travelled from Rangoon to Yün-nan in his private car. When he reached T'ai-p'ing Pu, heavy rain had caused the loose

earth of a mountain to fall down and block completely the road. While he was embarrassed in this awkward situation, as the road was too narrow for the car to turn back, a farmer came by and told him that another foreigner was frowning in his car on the other end of the block. He immediately ran across and found an American traveller in the same misfortune. They shook hands with a bitter smile and suggested an exchange of cars to complete their respective journeys. This I understand they did.

Time will not allow me to describe all the places I passed. On the whole, Ta-li Fu, in addition to its famous lake, is still the chief city of historical interest. Hsia-kuan, 15 miles to the south of Ta-li, is a large godown where most Tibetan and Burmese trade is done. In prospect, Hsiang-yün seems the most promising town, being at the junction of the railway and the motor road. Ch'u-hsiung is the centre for the newly developed silk industry.

Of course, the nearer I got to the border the more colourful the towns became. On a market day in Mang-shih, it is a usual sight to see representatives of half a dozen tribes at one glimpse: the Shans, the Lisos, the Kachins, all wearing costumes of different designs and speaking queer languages, forming such a glorious display of humankind. As cattle, vegetables, fruits, drapery and silverware were all sold at one spot, and there was added the odour of the betel nut, which they constantly chew, you can well imagine the strange mixture of smells. When such a little buzzing world is decorated by the golden pagodas and parasols of the Burmese temples, against the azure blue skies, to say it is "beautiful" merely betrays how few words I know of the English language.

Speaking of the motor road, I will not hesitate a moment to call it a "Great Wall" of Modern China, on account of the vast toil in its achievement as well as the human tragedies it involved. I failed to make an exact estimate of the men killed; thousands and thousands were from cities which the motor road did not run through. Many had to walk 12 days on foot to reach the specified spot for mobilization. There are mainly three causes of death. The first is a rather mysterious disease known as *chang ch'i*, "pestilential vapour." The natives for generations took it as a kind of plague that inflicted people through breathing, while ex-provincials thought it was just malaria. My observation is that if it is malaria, it must be quite a peculiar kind. One of my companions died overnight. Now there is a medical mission sent by the Government under the direction of Dr. Yao, aiming to extirpate it thoroughly. I am sure passengers today and in the future will be quite free from the menace. But this was not the case when the road was being built. Then a number of workers

were drowned in laying foundations for the bridges. The construction of bridges along this road amounts to a fairy tale. As the desirable timber happened to be chestnut, and chestnut trees happened to be scarce and distant, hundreds of men were sent to hunt for them in the ancient forests never trodden by any human being. And think of the fact that the tumultuous water in the rapids of rivers was actually drained by the tiny water-wheels originally used for irrigating the ricefields. But the worst kind of death was to be blown to pieces by explosion in dynamiting the rocks. Let me tell you one of the many sad stories I gathered.

In order to dynamite a rock, a worker was fastened with a leather belt around his waist and then dropped down from the cliff. Often at the bottom of the cliff flowed a river. The man's job was to dig holes on the rock with a hammer, then to place dynamite powder into the hole. In order to leave sufficient time for him to climb back to the top of the cliff, some sand should be covered over the powder.

An assistant engineer in Chin-t'ang told me that there was a nice couple working his district, a very usual thing. The man earned 40 cents and the woman 30 for making 6 explosions a day. Generally the woman assisted her husband by carrying the box that contained the dynamite powder. But one day, when he finished the sixth one, the sun was not set yet. The man, out of his love for his country, wanted to do an extra hole. This he did in such a hurry that he forgot to cover it with sand. Explosion took place immediately and the man was blown to pieces. Still more tragic—sparks caught the box carried by the woman. The woman was much hurt; the condition of the man was found hopeless; but the woman still breathed faintly. When she was carried to the engineers' office she whispered, pointing to her belly: "Don't save me; save my little one inside." Such was the last word of this pregnant woman.

And it was the work of these unknown heroes and heroines that enabled the commencement of a bus service running between K'un-ming and the border since last June. This road is not built for military expediences only. Already many changes have taken place. A number of mining and manufacturing industries have been started in many parts of Yün-nan.

One of the most noteworthy events to take place since the completion of the motor road was the arrival last December of a Burmese Good Will Commission which was formed by eight prominent Burmese. During their eighteen days' visit they were heartily welcomed throughout the country. The visit culminated in the formation of a Sino-Burmese Cultural Association. This road not only increases the economic relations between England, Burma, and China, it has paved the way for better understanding.

And this is the road whose door Japan hopes to have shut by England.

Today, as I am speaking here, thousands of men, women and children are working for this new railway. Many hundreds more are ready to die for this new route of communication. But the most pathetic, in fact the most tragic thing, is that they work and work, without the faintest idea whence the tracks and locomotives are to come. I enquired of the assistant engineers, the workers, no one seems to have any notion. Yet they work—work with the naïve confidence that this world would never kill a self-reliant peace-loving nation, a noble idea, a beneficent work.

The proceedings ended with a vote of thanks, proposed by Dr. Lionel Giles, to the Chinese Minister for presiding at the luncheon.

THE MECCA PILGRIMAGE AND ITS IMPORTANCE TO THE NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES

BY D. VAN DER MEULEN

(Based on the author's recent lecture at the Indisch Genootschap in
The Hague)

EARLY HISTORY

SANCTUARIES in the district of Mecca which attracted a great number of worshippers every year existed already in pre-Islamic times.

It appears from poems and legends of that period of history, which have been preserved for later generations through the agency of the new religion, that one of the most important Arabic centres of civilization had been there.* Even such sanctuaries are known in the Arabian peninsula, and they have always preserved a certain significance. The national sanctuary of Hadramaut, situated in the south, is a place of pilgrimage—Qabr Nabi Allah Hood—which has been visited by von Wissmann and myself, and a description of which appears in our book.† These sanctuaries, together with the annual pilgrimage to those places, occupied an important position in the social, economic, and political life, and this applies to many districts even in these days.

The days of the pilgrimage and the weeks of travelling to and from the holy spot formed the annual period of truce of God in these territories from permanent wars, and so this was the obvious moment for the annual fair, festivities, and mutual traffic. This state of affairs still prevails in South Arabia, although the old heathen cult has been dressed in an Islamic garment.

Muhammad dealt with the sanctuaries in Mecca in the same way after having removed the images. In his struggle with Jews and Christians he had found a solution in the figure of Abraham—viz., the ancestor in the holy line where Jews, Christians, and the descendants of Ishmael were not yet at variance. By showing a direct relationship between this patriarch and the Mecca sanctuaries he succeeded in embracing them all in his religious system. When Islam developed from a Revelation for Arabs only into a religion also for other peoples, Mecca grew in importance as a place of pilgrimage. By incorporating the pilgrimage to Mecca in the system of Islam, Muhammad aimed at inducing the population of Mecca to adopt his religion more readily. He was success-

* *Het Mekkaansche Feest*, by C. Snouck Hurgronje.

† *Hadramauth: Some of its Mysteries Unveiled* (Leyden: Brill), 1932.

ful in that, and at the same time a much wider prospect was opened up. By introducing the pilgrimage, which was to be one of the five pillars of his religion, he gave his disciples a unifying bond at the start which subsequently became a centre from which the orthodox Arabic and original Islamic atmosphere penetrated the newly conquered territories. He gave them a solid centre and made it obligatory to keep in contact with that centre.

In this way his creed obtained a strong grip on its adherents. It made them conscious of belonging to a world-wide community, inspired them with a particular and unshakable religious pride, and made them tenacious in regard to their religion. This has little to do with thorough knowledge of the creed or with faithfully living up to the commandments thereof.

This is confirmed by all who have been in personal touch with the followers of the Prophet, but as a rule people cannot explain why this should be so. Professor Kraemer has dealt with this problem in his new booklet *Islam as a Religious and Missionary Problem*. In this publication he presents a popular synopsis with a solid background of the conundrum of Islam, and also explains other sides of the question. In my opinion, the institution of the obligatory pilgrimage to Mecca has largely contributed to the general penetration and standardization of the essential features of Islam as described above. This influence is still there and affects all Muslims alike, no matter whether they come from the Far East or the west of North Africa.

I have asked many Muslims who were about to go on the pilgrimage to give me a full description of their experiences upon their return, and to inform me frankly whether their great expectations had been fulfilled. But only very few of them, when they came back, were able to answer my questions satisfactorily.

Most of them had lived as in a dream, had just let things take their course without realizing much of what was happening, and had returned from the Holy Land without knowing exactly what they had experienced. Yet they were satisfied, grateful, and proud of the fact that they now really belonged to the world fellowship and were entitled to share its rights and privileges to the full extent. They felt themselves to be on the only right road leading to unquestionable salvation. The better educated ones, who felt inclined to try to realize their religious experiences, spoke of the great emotion to serve Allah in His own place of worship together with the faithful crowds of tens of thousands who had gathered there from distant lands. The feature of mass psychology is inherent in this international reunion. The pamphlet of the Regent of Bandoeng, various Hadji descriptions by prominent Egyptians, as well as the book by the Dutch author P. H. van der Hoog, etc., must seem disappointing to those who inquire into the

purely religious value of the pilgrimage. These publications only tend to show a strengthening of the religious conviction by the agency of mass psychology, a strengthening of religious pride and of the wish to belong to the great community of chosen peoples by the method of having complied with the formal conditions to obtain salvation. The Hadj also provided the pupils for the many theologians who did their teaching in the shade of the colonnades around the inner court of the Masdjid al Haram, which became a centre of propagation of the orthodox doctrine amongst the peoples who, either under compulsion or by persuasion, had been converted, however superficially, to Islam.

The importance of the Hadj rose and fell in the history of Islam. This depended to a great extent on the internal political situation in the countries of the Islamic East and on the prevailing conditions of order and safety in the Holy Land. We shall not go into this matter further, as we now must deal with the modern history of the pilgrimage and the growing interest of it to the Dutch East Indies.

THE OLD TURKISH RÉGIME

Until the world war the Turkish Government ruled over the Hedjaz and most of the other Arabic lands. With a view to maintaining his dwindling position amongst the Western Great Powers, Sultan Abdul Hamid brilliantly exploited the current misconceptions regarding Islam in order to pursue a Pan-Islamic policy. (He tried, for instance, to strengthen the false notion that the Kaliphate was identical with the Papal dignity.)

In those days the contact of our subjects with Mecca was often harmful, and thorough knowledge and a careful watch on what was going on there was necessary. The subsequent reign of the astute King Hossein bin Ali of the Hasjimitic dynasty called for similar vigilance in the centres of Islam, and even necessitated repeated strong action.

SINCE THE 1914-18 WAR

As a result of the activities of the great general and statesman Bin Sa'oud, the next period saw the rise of the second Wahhabi dynasty, which proved to be of the utmost importance to the history of Arabia. In 1925 Mecca and the rest of the Holy Land fell into his hands, and the Wahhabi régime has survived up to the present day. This régime has proved to be the most favourable to our prestige in the Dutch East Indies. We now have to deal with the Hadj as a factor in those Islamic territories. There was little understanding of the importance of Mecca and the

Hadjj for the Dutch East Indies amongst the colonial authorities until Dr. Snouck Hurgronje made his unequalled and extremely fruitful journey to the Holy Land, which he carried out brilliantly after having devoted all his expert knowledge to the most careful preparations for his venture.

I presume that, once having gone, he never expected to get into such close contact with the spiritual world of our Islamic subjects and to gather such complete information about it as actually proved to be the case. He has been a pioneer in many respects. He has paved the way to an understanding of Mecca for our observers of Islam in a scientific and practical sense, and he has shown that this is the initial step to a thorough understanding of the many religious and political problems of the Dutch East Indies. Dr. Snouck Hurgronje discovered the significance of the Dutch Djawa colony at Mecca (the word "Djawa" is used in a Hedjazi sense here and includes the whole archipelago of the Dutch East Indies. All Muslims from Djawa are called Djawi). He perceived that the difficulties in Atjeh could fully be understood and dealt with in this centre, he saw the quiet atmosphere which enabled people to look at the Islamic opposition to Western authority in a detached way, and appreciated the possibility of an open-minded exchange of views on the matter for both sides.

Such were the facts that made him write the last chapter of his book *Mecca* on the subject of the Djawa colony. In Mecca the foundations were laid for the authoritative part Dr. Snouck Hurgronje was to play in Dutch colonial policy later on. He also removed the many false notions which were current all over the Dutch East Indies with regard to Islam, the fatal influence of Mecca, and the dangerous presence of the Hadjis who had been there. Understanding and knowledge led to improved relations and eventually to mutual esteem and confidence; but the matter must always be watched. Accordingly, after the discovery of Mecca's importance to our colonies, it was recommended to have Dutch agents at Jeddah. These agents had to keep careful watch, and, apart from supplying information, they were also expected to take such action as was necessary to improve Dutch prestige in the centre of Islam.

So the Dutch representation at Jeddah was reorganized on those lines and was intensified later on under the personal supervision of Dr. Snouck Hurgronje. Mr. Ch. O. van der Plas, the Consul there at the time, improved things considerably when he succeeded in establishing a Vice-Consulate at Mecca. This was the first representation of its kind to be admitted there after the King of the Hedjaz had reluctantly granted his permission. A few figures, of which some are only an estimate, are given here to illustrate our share in the pilgrimage.

				<i>Number of Pilgrims from Overseas.</i>	<i>Number of Pilgrims from the Dutch East Indies.</i>
1921	...	...	...	—	—
1923	...	...	...	68,786	29,957
1924	..	...	...	—	36,488
1925-26	..	...	..	57,057	3,474
1926-27	...	...	...	123,052	52,410
1927-28	...	..	...	98,735	42,937
1928-29	...	...	..	86,016	31,360
1929-30	..	...	..	84,810	33,000
1930-31	...	...	...	—	16,917
1931-32	.	..	...	—	4,245
1933-34	...	.	..	22,717	2,854
1934-35	...	.	.	30,387	3,671
1935-36	...	...	...	33,730	4,012
1936-37	...	...	.	49,864	5,403

A study of this pilgrimage, according to the existing data, would reveal a very interesting piece of cultural history. We should see certain nations participating in ever-increasing numbers, only to vanish from the holy scene almost completely later on. They were replaced by other nations. There is an apparent wave-like increase and decrease in the number of participants. In the history of the Holy Land short periods of peace and order are followed by days of terrorism and despair. The historian of the Mecca pilgrimage would have to describe more suffering, disease, death, and injustice than peace, order, and blessing. He could also make an interesting contribution to the science of contagious diseases which went all over the world and which often started their long journey at Mecca. He could add another chapter to the history of the problem of quarantine and show us the efforts to confine the contagious diseases which broke out during the pilgrimage to the Holy Land. The international service of control which was instituted to achieve this would appear—apart from being an attempt at self-preservation—to be used largely for the purpose of fostering political influence and power.

The participation in the pilgrimage of Dutch subjects has been irregular after the Turkish dynasty. During the period of Turkish rule, which came to an end in the world war and in the reign of the Hasjimitic House, the pilgrimage was not encouraged. Participation from Dutch territories was therefore out of proportion to the widely felt wish to go. During 1925-1926 the "pax-Wahhabica" made itself felt in the Hedjaz and a hitherto unknown public safety was established in Arabia. This necessitated rigorously Puritan measures in matters of religion, which, however, in no way proved a deterrent to the pilgrims to embark on the journey to Mecca.

Although during the season 1925-1926 the visitors consisted of

only a small number of pioneers, the next year already saw part of the influx of those who had waited for years for the restoration of order and safety in the Holy Land. The subsequent years showed the largest participation from the Dutch East Indies that ever took place. During that period nearly 50 per cent. of all overseas participants were Dutch subjects. The nickname sometimes given to Djawi pilgrims—viz., “the rice of the Hedjaz”—began to ring true in a double sense. In fact, the Djawi pilgrim is the most profitable visitor of the Holy Land. Consequently he is the most welcome, and the success of the season largely depends upon him.

THE DJAWI PILGRIM

The Djawi is generous. Apart from some natives of Sumatra, he is a bad financier, and he arrives with the intention to spend all his money in the Holy Land, and even more if need be. There is little poverty amongst our pilgrims, and professional beggars do not exist. They readily help each other and are given credit everywhere. The absence of the participation of paupers is partially due to the Pilgrims Act of 1922, which made it compulsory for our pilgrims to obtain a return ticket. The possession of a return ticket, however, does not guarantee that all our subjects will always be in a position to pay for their return voyage, because the ticket covering that part of the trip is negotiable; but the fact remains that the substantial amount in cash to cover the return fare must be available at the moment of embarkation. The price of the fare has fluctuated between 200 and 250 guilders in the last years. Furthermore, every Djawi knows that he has to pay the fixed amount for his stay in Mecca, including the cost of his transport as well as his board and lodging there. This is called the *wang djamoe*. Apart from that, he has to pay for the *Ziarah*—i.e., the visit to the tomb of Muhammad at Medina—and to cover his expenses during the period of his stay in the Holy Land. The latter also includes his offerings and his purchase of souvenirs. Thus the minimum total cost of the pilgrimage lies somewhere between 600 and 850 guilders. If during years of normal prosperity the number of pilgrims may be estimated at 40,000, it follows that it involves the withdrawal of a very considerable amount of capital from circulation in the home country. To this should be added the amount which is taken separately to have the Hadjj carried out by Arabs for those who died unexpectedly before having been able to comply with the duty of pilgrimage. Part of this money goes to the Dutch steamship lines, but it may seem doubtful whether any spiritual value to the Islamic community at home emanates from the rest of it. This point is often raised, and,

as the answer is nearly always in the negative, we shall investigate it more closely. Let it be understood, however, that it should not be considered feasible for a non-Islamic person to give a positive opinion. Value of a spiritual nature cannot be expressed in solid Dutch guilders. Moreover, a non-Muslim cannot possibly value the price that was paid to comply with a divine commandment, as he is unable to appreciate the weight of this issue. Our Government stands for freedom of religion and therefore denies itself the right to express an opinion on the value of the religious convictions of its subjects, so long as their creed is compatible with public authority and does not clash with other religious convictions.

There are several reasons why the pilgrimage, one of the five pillars of Islam, is in such high esteem with the Muslims of the Dutch East Indies.

The natives of the Dutch East Indies were converted in comparatively recent times. That conversion made them gradually give up their animistic outlook, but at the same time the new creed offered them a mystical and pantheistic Islam. This explains that the animistic ideas still remain strongly rooted in their souls and that the Hadjj rituals borrowed from pre-Islamic heathendom impress the Netherlands East Indies pilgrims most of all.

Our subjects live on the outskirts of Islamic territory. For this reason tales about a far-away land without vegetation or water, where the camel is the wonder of Allah's creation, impress them more than those who live in similar countries. Moreover, they are fully aware of their many shortcomings as regards the performance of their other religious duties. This makes them regard it as an urgent necessity to comply with the duty of pilgrimage to make up once and for all for their shortcomings.

Western authority is often held to be an oppression which hinders self-respect. Wherever that feeling prevails an urgent desire makes itself felt amongst the natives to get away for a while from the continuous interference of unbelievers and to experience the reality of the world-wide community of Allah's chosen people in the independent Holy Land of Islam.

For the Dutch East Indian subjects the Mecca pilgrimage is the best organized opportunity to go abroad. They can get on anywhere with their own language, habits, and money. In case they feel uncomfortable at home for shame of having misbehaved, or else if they feel the lure of adventure, there is always Mecca.

The esteem which the Hadjj enjoys, especially amongst the lower classes, is another powerful incentive for many to go to the Holy Land. For the theologians and also for the students of theology Mecca represents the spot where they can obtain the highest sanction for their science.

WOMEN PARTICIPANTS

There is also a good reason why women and children participate in such large numbers. This is not so in other Islamic countries, with the exception, perhaps, of some African tribes. First of all, this large number of women, which is usually half the number of men, is due to the favourable position of women as such in the Dutch East Indies. In the old Islamic countries the women do not enjoy that important position in the family as well as in social life. In our colonies the women have already for years taken their share in matters of religion, such as meetings, associations, and religious education. In Sumatra, and especially in the Minangkabau district, the associations of women and the religious classes for girls even set the fashion in native social life. Although this is not such a prominent feature in Java, the influence of the women is increasing there also, and this influence is usually of a conservative religious nature.

Secondly, a widespread popular belief encourages participation of women—viz., that it is considered a blessing to give birth to a child in the Holy Town or in the district of the Hadj (Arafat and Mina). So where pregnancy would otherwise make women renounce the journey, it actually is an incentive to participate. Lastly, there is yet another, a non-Islamic, influence which has of late unconsciously tended to encourage the pilgrimage. This influence is the Dutch colonial Government. It is for excellent reasons that King Bin Sa'oud and his Ministers are so favourably disposed to our administration.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE DUTCH GOVERNMENT

Other Governments of Islamic countries try to frustrate the pilgrimage in order to prevent the continuous flow of money to the Hedjaz (Soviet Republic, Turkey) or for political or religious considerations (Iran, Iraq). Our Government, on the other hand, has always entirely carried through the principle of religious freedom, also as regards the Mecca pilgrimage. Difficulties which used to exist in the old days have been removed and have even been replaced by the conception that our Government should be responsible for the well-being of our pilgrims so long as they are still travelling under the Dutch flag and have not yet entered the Holy Land. In this connection I would refer to the Pilgrim Act of 1922 and to the Kamaran Treaty of 1926. The medical attendance which is offered mainly free of charge by the Consulate's doctor and his staff is even a feature of the Dutch Government's assistance within the boundaries of Bin Sa'oud's realm. The same tendency appears in the careful choice of the staff of our Consulate

at Jeddah, which was promoted to the rank of a Legation a few years ago.

It may be asked whether this policy does not lose sight of the duty of strict neutrality on the part of the Government as regards the religion of a certain part of the population, and also whether a drain of money detrimental to the economic position of the native community is not being excessively encouraged. I think not. The proceedings as mentioned serve another purpose and also have a different result. The history of the pilgrimage of our subjects has taught us that it was highly necessary to protect these inexperienced travellers on the sea, in the foreign quarantine stations, and in the Holy Land. This was made necessary on grounds of prestige in the eyes of the world of Islam and also of an important and influential group of our subjects. It was also necessary to be honourably represented at the centre of Islam and to have the opportunity through our own organization to keep in touch with events and also occasionally to use our influence. It is through this intervention on our part that the pilgrim traffic overseas (although the objections and dangers are admitted) is one of the best organized and most hygienic and serves as an example to other nations.

CARE FOR THE PILGRIMS

The medical attention on board ship, in Kamaran, and particularly that provided by our Legation at Jeddah and our Vice-Consulate at Mecca, reflect great credit on our colonial administration and is an excellent medium for maintaining the loyalty of a large number of Hadjis. Nevertheless, mortality figures are high, although as a result of official action they have been reduced from more than 10 per cent. to 7 and 6 per cent. Criticism has been expressed in League of Nations circles. It is possible to explain the reason for our higher mortality figures as compared with those of other nationalities who make the pilgrimage to Mecca. In the first place, nearly all our pilgrims prefer to stay in the Holy City for the fasting period. This results in the Djawis making a pilgrimage over a longer period than the majority of other nationalities. Secondly, the percentage of women, children, and elderly persons is much higher in our case in comparison with others. Thirdly, the complete journey of our pilgrims is very much longer than the majority of others. And, finally, our control is rigid and we publish correct figures. I would like to close this short description of the Mecca pilgrimage with the conclusions I have reached after my experiences at Jeddah with our pilgrims.

On arrival in the harbour of Jeddah, the "Consul," as the Dutch representative there is still known to the pilgrims, comes aboard.

There he sees an excited crowd of people full of happy anticipation staring at the strange, beautiful land and the white city far away in the desert. This is the land of the "neighbours of Allah," their Holy Land. The well-known figure of the Dutch Civil Servant seems out of place here, as it was thought he had been left behind in the Dutch East Indies. The walk to the building on which the Dutch flag flies, where the passports are inspected and registered, is often disagreeable and disappointing. This is very apparent. But then, a few months later, the Hadjj has been completed, they are richer in experience, and have suffered many disappointments. In cases of illness assistance has been sought in the building flying the Dutch flag, and has been secured free of charge. In times of trouble, or if one became a victim of theft or extortion, help was given at the Vice-Consulate. At the different places on the pilgrimage it was necessary only to look for the large Dutch flag which indicated the tents of the Vice-Consul and the doctor, where assistance could be given to those who had lost their way or were in danger of death from thirst or hunger. The Dutch passport was a great protection, and on the return to Jeddah the Dutch Legation was stormed by the pilgrims, who knew that there advice and help could be obtained. The pilgrimage to Mecca offers no longer any trouble for our Government under the present arrangement with the King of Sa'oudijah, who is against Pan-Islamic and Communistic action, and who has openly expressed appreciation of our colonial Government. The pilgrimage would be of great propaganda value for our system of justice, order, public works, health services, and taxation if the average pilgrim were to see and realize and make comparisons, and also were it not that they were Muslims and we Christians.

THE SENTIMENTAL AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF SHAKESPEARE

BY RANJEE G. SHAHANI

“UNTIL Apollo calls him to the sacrifice, ignobly the poet is plunged in the cares of this shoddy world; silent is his lyre, cold sleeps his soul, of all the petty children of earth most petty it seems is he.” On the whole Pushkin is right. Whilst he is engaged in composition an author is a creature of some consequence; apart from this he is nothing. A poet is, on the one hand, among the elect; on the other, he is one of the most insignificant of mortals.

Not the *man*, then, but his *work* is of moment to us; for what he gives us is not so much created as communicated. This is why the Hindus have never troubled to chronicle the lives of their bards. The men are gone; their words continue to live. They were of a day; their utterances are for countless generations to come.

It is most unusual to find a man who is greater than his message. Jesus was one such. He died, as I believe, with half the music in Him. Whatever He gave us was nothing in comparison to what He was. His earthly pilgrimage was poetry lived—that is, life shaped by beauty and goodness. Now this is hardly true of Shakespeare. His creations are greater than he. Whatever we may learn of his private affairs throws no light on the splendour of his plays. It was as though some Power co-operated with him and put a song in his mouth. Probably Shakespeare was more surprised than others by what had come to him. His everyday existence was not a pattern of ever-living loveliness. On the contrary, Shakespeare was a poor, puzzled soul, doing his best to come to terms with life. That he did not succeed is almost certain. For the Romances are no answers to the grim problems of the Tragedies; they are, as Mr. Middleton Murry has well remarked, a turning away from the vexed questions of life. Very probably Shakespeare’s earthly existence was an unhappy one. He was a restless and tormented soul. He had his brief joys and long stretches of despair and gloom. His life was bathed in the hues of earthquake and eclipse. Not for him the Miltonic “calm of mind, all passion spent.” He belongs to that fraternity of writers who might be called the *damnés*. He is a spiritual elder brother to Dostoevsky and Baudelaire, Verlaine and Rimbaud.

Now we know that the life of Dostoevsky does not explain the grandeur of his novels. The man was quite commonplace. His

views on current topics were those of a *bien pensant bourgeois*. His critical writings are quite second-rate. As a prophet he was hopelessly wrong. Concerning his private life, it was far from being a pattern of beauty. Indeed, it was a series of glooms punctuated by shifting gleams. But his novels! Why, except for some things from the pen of Balzac, there is nothing quite like them in the entire literature of Europe in the nineteenth century. It is the same with Shakespeare. Often it seems providential that a kindly hand has thrown a veil over his life. If we knew more about him, very possibly we should revere him less. He was no saint or hero. He was merely a vehicle for a music not altogether his own, except in so far as he made it his own. The man was small in comparison with his work.

Shakespeare's adventure on earth, then, is best left in the shadows of the night. We should be content with his creations, some of which glow like the burning heart of an opal. To me, I confess, it does not matter at all what in private life he really was. For all I care he might have been a shoeblick.

But such is not the attitude of other students. So great is Shakespeare's fame, and such the magic of his plays, that people are ever anxious to discover the man behind his work. His life intrigues them. The creator of so many lovely things—who was he, what was he, how did he react to the pulse of life?

Some critics hold that such inquiries are fruitless. The poet was silent about his personal problems. They use the words myriad-minded, universal-spirited, Brahma-like, and become hypnotized. No, nothing can be known of Shakespeare. He was as objective as a druggist.

Now this is ignorance masquerading as erudition. Words are living things; if you cut them they bleed. As Shakespeare himself has put it:

“ . . . every word doth almost tell my name,
Showing their birth and where they did proceed.”

The fact is, there are no neutral plays or poems. There is always, whether explicit or implicit, a certain idealism in the work of a writer—that is, it awakens sympathy for the so-called good. Hamlet perishes, but we leave the theatre with the impression that a noble and gentle nature was unable to overcome brutal circumstances. Similarly, although Othello comes to an untimely end, we do not feel that what he stood for is doomed to destruction. The good or a certain idealism is shown to be in conflict, but it is all the better for the ordeal. The object of drama is twofold—to refine the brute and to show us what forces are capable of dragging us down into the abyss.

Thus an idealism or even a didacticism (let us not fight shy of words) is inherent in all drama. It does not represent merely what is around us. In other words, plays are not simple photographs of reality, but life and nature as seen through a particular temperament. The world of Shakespeare, though complex, is quite distinct from the world of Goethe. It has its own atmosphere; its own climate and soil; its own fauna and flora.

Now it is difficult to know what Shakespeare really thought on this or that subject because he was always experimenting with himself as with others. Single isolated ideas do not stand out in his work like lofty peaks; they blend with the exquisite lines of the whole. What we get are shifting panoramas. In plain language, there are always viewpoints, no fixed landmarks. This is so because Shakespeare never bathed in the same stream twice. He was always on the move. He was in a very real sense the pilgrim of Eternity.

Are we, then, in a charmed circle when speaking of Shakespeare's thought and feeling? At first this would seem to be so; but reflection brings relief and satisfaction. There are, we find, subterranean passages in the work of Shakespeare. Could we but discover these we might know something of the mind and soul of Shakespeare.

Romain Rolland made an interesting discovery. I am grateful to him for communicating it to me. He found that Shakespeare had put some of his most daring ideas into the mouths of clowns, fools, madmen, and the dying. This was a device which the circumstances of his age compelled him to adopt; for the Muse in his day was tongue-tied by authority. But the "irresponsibles" could utter anything with impunity. There was another reason for this. Shakespeare knew before Dostoevsky that the normal man is constitutionally unfitted to apprehend the hidden mystery in things; it is when the body's equilibrium is disturbed by disease or pain that a curtain is lifted and a new world is revealed to man. Health is merely a condition of animal physique; sorrow is a kind of re-birth.

Now can we know something of Shakespeare's inner nature? I believe we can. Let us look at him obliquely. This is a method well known to astronomers.

Shakespeare seems to say that it is absurd to try to play always a principal rôle. It is a folly to fight one's destiny.

Sometimes a larger, environing Presence is so evident, so terrible, so imperceptibly active, that it excludes man from his own life. This awareness may last an instant, an hour, or a day; but whatever may be its duration it produces a transfiguration. And then one is not the same; one is free—and judged!

Here begins the real tragedy of man. Sudden visions come in

the midst of violent action. Then follow terrible awakenings of conscience. Macbeth knows this state. When his purpose is shaken by the horror of the deed he resorts to contemplation; Lady Macbeth tells him that the sleeping and the dead are but as pictures (an almost Indian sophism); and to our minds nothing is more strange than the tone in which Macbeth, hemmed in by his foes and hopelessly at bay, falls suddenly to musing upon to-morrow and yesterday, and reflects that life is after all full of sound and fury signifying nothing. These touches of mystery, these half-veiled hints, these trial sketches of a larger life burst in upon the vision of his heroes in the hour of crisis and shake them to their foundations. "Vanity of vanities, all is vanity." Such seems to be Shakespeare's secret thought. Of course, it is only with a light touch that he produces these chords after the silences that follow the full volume of sound of violent action. But these chords do convey to us, if we have ears to hear, the quality of his music.

But let us descend to earth from the heights of mystic theory. Shakespeare puts some values above others—for example, disinterested action. (Let us refer only to Brutus and Coriolanus. Here it is not personal ambition, but the rights of a class.) But if Shakespeare had a partiality for disinterested heroism and no sympathy whatsoever for mere ambition, he had no illusions about the end of it. It is, he thought, the man of compromise, a Cassius, who survives; not the idealist.

In "Antony and Cleopatra" Shakespeare contrasts the prosaic Roman with the mysterious, glimmering Oriental queen, half-witch, half-angel. Love, he thought, can make a heroine out of a harlot.

In Æschylus, a doctrinaire poet, the idea of a divine design running through all things is expressed. Not so in Shakespeare. He is more in tune with Sophocles—that is, he is sceptical.

Shakespeare did not believe in immortality; neither did he, like Lucretius, affirm utter annihilation. His attitude is best given in the line—

"Death being dead, there is no more dying then."

Here we have an idea of a certain kind of immortality. Of what kind? We are told that there is something that remains.

We are at once reminded of Spinoza's "eternity of the mind." And we may go further and relate this to Euripides' thought (as elaborated in "Helena"):

"The mind of the dead lives not,
But falling into the immortal ether, retains
An immortal thought."

This is the conclusion to which Euripides seems to have reached after much meditation. It has a personal ring about it.

Now is this parallelism between Shakespeare and the Greek poet due to copying? I do not think so. These great spirits brooded over the problem of immortality, and, as the late Thomas Whittaker said to me, "decided as to what they could accept as the minimum!"

To turn to another topic. Montaigne thought that man was illusory, while Nature alone was permanent. Shakespeare, on the contrary, seems to have believed that Nature was a fiction and that man was the only reality. Here he was at one with Spenser. According to Havelock Ellis (and I have the words from his own mouth), Shakespeare's attitude was that of a philosophic aristocrat.

But let us make no mistake. Shakespeare did not belong to any of the orders of nobility, though many claims have been made for him. Most of these are just frivolous. Objection: a peer would have found it difficult, if not impossible, to describe and portray his social class with utter detachment. The author of the plays does not appear to be fond of Elizabeth. Except for a perfunctory compliment here and there he hardly mentions her. This is understandable in a nobleman.

We might pursue this and kindred topics to a great length, but what has been said does give us some insight into the deeper impulses of Shakespeare's spirit. He was not so silent as has been commonly supposed. What he has said on great problems is worth repeating even today; for he saw men and things *sub specie æternitatis*. I shall pass over Shakespeare's likes and dislikes in ordinary matters, though these are very revealing. Here is what he thought on subjects that agitate us at this very moment. Violence, disorder, rebellion, revolution disgusted him. War seemed to him a social malady. He did not care for abrupt changes, because he believed with the ancient philosophers that good and evil would always remain in the world. Yet he did not despair. Things would be transformed in their own good time, for he had seen them transformed. Mere decorum was folly. Cloistered virtue made no appeal to him. Religious brawls were to him the delirium of silliness. He toyed with Communism, but found it an utter failure.

And so we might go on; but it is time to stop. What we have gathered is by no means negligible. Now if the plays can reveal so much, what of the sonnets?

Here we have the sentimental autobiography of Shakespeare in his own words. The picture, as we should have anticipated, is not a pretty one. The poet appears in a sorry light. But here we have a portrait painted *au naturel*, and hence priceless.

Now the sonnets have evoked reams of printed comment. Many and conflicting are the views that have been expressed about them. But some of the questions raised call for scrutiny. First, are the sonnets exercises in Platonic passion or lyrical outbursts? Secondly, who were Shakespeare's Fair Youth, and Dark Lady, and Rival Poet? And was the Youth immortalized by his devotion and verse the same as "the Onlie Begetter of these insuing sonnets, Mr. W. H.," immortalized by the publisher's dedication? Finally, are the sonnets in their right order or have they been mixed up, and, if so, by whom?

All these are intriguing questions, but the last is of primary importance. Before we begin to speculate we must have the correct text at hand. What, then, is the true order of the sonnets?

Sir Denys Bray has taken up this question for special study in his *Shakespeare's Sonnet-Sequence*.^{*} As he modestly puts it: "With the external problems (who were the Fair Youth, the Dark Lady, and the Rival Poet?) this book is not concerned. Light may conceivably come in upon them from its conclusion. No light has been borrowed from them in reaching it. On the contrary. The solitary problem with which it deals has been isolated, and to prevent distortion all outside lights have been excluded during its examination. The problem is a purely literary one. Have the sonnets come down to us in their true order? If not, is it possible to reconstruct it? It is a problem of human as well as academic interest. For if we are not in possession of the true order, would not its reconstruction mean the restoration of a lost Shakespearian whole—possibly of a lost Shakespearian art-form?"

This is very true. Sir Denys' approach is a very sound one.

Now it has been admitted by most critics of acumen that the sonnets are not in their right order. But no one before Sir Denys has been able to reconstruct them in an impersonal manner. By "impersonal" I mean in an objective way—by tests in which the critic's likes and dislikes play no part. Sentimental reconstructions are not wanting; the most successful of these is that by François Hugo.

But what is Sir Denys' method? By careful examination and patient inquiry he has discovered that there are rhyme-and-sense links in the sonnets. Put together by these means they fall into a flowing and coherent sequence. Take, for instance, the following two sonnets:

(33)

"Full many a glorious morning have I seen
Flatter the mountain-tops with sovereign eye,
Kissing with golden face the meadows green,
Gilding pale streams with heavenly alchemy;

^{*} (Martin Secker), 12s. 6d. net.

Anon permit the basest clouds to ride
 With ugly rack on his celestial *face*
 And from the forlorn world his visage hide,
 Stealing unseen to west with his *disgrace*.
 Even so my sun one early morn did shine
 With all triumphant splendour on my brow;
 But, out, alack! he was but one hour mine,
 The region cloud hath mask'd him from me now.
 Yet him for this my love no whit disdaineth;
 Suns of the world may stain when heaven's sun staineth.

(34)

Why didst thou promise such a beauteous day,
 And make me travel forth without my cloak,
 To let base clouds o'ertake me in my way,
 Hiding thy bravery in their rotten smoke?
 'Tis not enough that through the cloud thou break
 To dry the rain on my storm-beaten *face*;
 For no man well of such a salve can speak
 That heals the wound and cures not the *disgrace*.
 Nor can thy shame give physic to my grief;
 The offender's sorrow lends but weak relief
 To him that bears the strong offence's cross.
 Ah, but those tears are pearl which thy love sheds,
 And they are rich and ransom all ill deeds."

Here we see that the first sonnet is connected with the second by the rhyme-link "*face-disgrace*." And so throughout the whole series there are appropriate rhyme-and-sense links.

Now, it may be objected that this is a mechanical and wearisome device, which a poet of Shakespeare's restless genius would not have bothered to adopt. But this is a gratuitous assumption, born of insufficient knowledge. Shakespeare was a hard worker and played the sedulous ape to many masters. As he himself admits:

"How can I then return in happy plight,
 That am debarr'd the benefit of rest?
 When day's oppression is not eas'd by night,
 By day by night, and night by day, oppress'd?
 And each, though enemies to either's reign,
 Do in consent shake hands to torture me;
 The one by toil, the other to complain
 How far I toil, still farther off from thee. . . ."

These lines clearly indicate that Shakespeare was the very opposite of what Ben Jonson thought him to be; often he may have written in fine frenzy, but more often he ached to achieve the supreme orchestration of supreme correspondences. Further, we learn that the Fair Youth surpassed his admirer in some ways—perhaps in his knowledge of foreign languages and literatures. Very likely Shakespeare gathered much information from the Youth for his plays with an Italian background.

But let that pass. Sir Denys has clearly demonstrated Shake-

Shakespeare's capacity for drudgery, if drudgery it can be called, by examining the work of other Elizabethan writers of sonnets. Almost every poet or poetaster uses rhyme-and-sense links in his sonnet-sequence. It was simply a current literary fashion.

Shakespeare, as usual, was in the fashion. Indeed, one characteristic of his genius was his flair for being in every movement, yet somehow managing to go beyond it.

Is, then, Sir Denys' discovery unassailable? It certainly is objective. No personal predilections can be read into it. It seems that he has arrived at it by some happy accident. But to say this is not to diminish in any way the importance of his work. Immense labour, tremendous patience, wide scholarship, and an acute critical sense have gone into the rearrangement of the sonnets in their true order. Sir Denys has certainly added to Shakespearean scholarship, and I, for one, have found nothing seriously the matter with his reconstruction. What troubles me is the brusque change from "thou" into "you" in sonnets that follow one another in some cases. It has been said that Shakespeare's feelings had changed towards the Youth, or that he was adopting a more respectful tone. This seems very odd, for the poet could not have been aloof and affectionate, as it were, in the same breath. If, say, he addresses the Youth as "you" in Sonnet 13, why as "thou" in Sonnet 14? There are other pairs in which this interchange of pronouns is to be found. If Sir Denys' rearrangement gives us the true order of the sonnets, then it is puzzling why Shakespeare waxed hot and cold alternately. Perhaps there were differences of meaning and emphasis in the use of these two pronouns which were known to the Elizabethans and not to us of today. Or is it simply a case of involuntary confusion?

* * * * *

But putting the sonnets in their true order is not all that Sir Denys has attempted. He has answered some other interesting questions. Of course, here there can be no scientific accuracy. All that one can supply is guesses and surmises and internal evidence.

First, how did the sonnets come into being? "Shakespeare wrote sonnets," says Sir Denys, "because nearly everybody was writing sonnets; he wrote them in sequence form because nearly everybody was writing sequences; he used a rhyme-link because nearly everybody was using rhyme-links. Like many others, he wrote in sense-linked clusters, and, as he turned them out, he presumably sent the Youth a copy of most of them, possibly—but when one thinks of some of the Dark Lady sonnets, one feels bound to add, improbably—of all. He let the sequence take

gradual shape with the shaping of his life, weaving his devotion, the torment of absence, the intrusion of rivals, his forebodings of desertion, the betrayal of the woman he loved and loathed, the reconciliation and the rest from a mingled yarn of *Wahrheit und Dichtung*, into an artistic whole. . . . Publication may have been in his mind when he started it; it became impossible with the development of the theme. Indeed, though his friends saw many of the sonnets, there is nothing to show that they saw all, and the most revealing of them may not have passed beyond himself. For the sonnets lay unpublished. And when at last a publisher got hold of them, what he found (though he may not have guessed it) was not Shakespeare's sequence, but a confused collection of the individual parts that had gone to the making of it."

This, according to Sir Denys, is the conjectural history of the sonnets. I find myself in sympathetic agreement, for it is not only eminently reasonable but psychologically true. Of course, one might offer a totally different explanation. In literary matters, as we know, there never is any finality.

But how did Thorpe get hold of the sonnets? Sir Denys says that here we have "one of the enigmas of literature." I beg to make a suggestion here. I think the answer is so simple that it has been overlooked by most critics. But before I proceed further, let us see what Sir Denys has to tell us on this subject. He believes that the dedication supplies us with a clue. Why should a piratical publisher, he asks, pay tribute to the inspirer of sonnets written a dozen years before, especially when delicacy or policy compelled him to sterilize the dedication of all publicity value in the obscurity of initials? "It is, I am afraid," writes Sir Denys, "much more likely that Mr. W. H. was simply the procurer of surreptitious copy." This is an ingenious theory, even though, as Sir Denys admits, it involves some twisting of King James's English. But, to my mind, it does not meet the needs of the case. We have a plausible solution in Sonnet 91 (Sir Denys' order). Consider the lines:

"Thy gift, thy tables, are within my brain
Full character'd with lasting memory,
Which shall above idle rank remain
Beyond all date, even to eternity:
Or, at the least, so long as brain and heart
Have faculty by nature to subsist;
Till each to raz'd oblivion yield his part
Of thee, thy record never can be miss'd.
That poor retention could not so much hold,
Nor need I tallies thy dear love to score;
Therefore to give them from me was I bold,
To trust those tables that receive thee more.
To keep an adjunct to remember thee
Were to impart forgetfulness in me."

Here we are told by the poet himself that he has given away the sonnets, having no need of auxiliaries to recall to him what was indelibly imprinted on his mind. He voluntarily separated himself from his manuscript, and it is in this simple manner that the sonnets fell into the hands of Thorpe.

Now, who disarranged the sonnets? Sir Denys thinks that it was Shakespeare himself. Why did he do this? We are told that "he broke the chain and disarranged the flowing whole, either in artistic dissatisfaction with it, or, more probably, to ensure that whatever the future had in store, the heart that he had unlocked in his own inner chamber should not be exposed for daws to peck at." This is possible, but it does not seem quite convincing. For even when in a confused medley the sonnets do reveal the mind and heart of Shakespeare. If he wished to hide his secret thoughts from us, the best thing to do would have been to destroy the sonnets.

It may be said that the sonnets were too lovely to deserve this fate. Well, then, Shakespeare was not dissatisfied with them. If he had any artistic scruples of the kind Sir Denys imputes to him, he might well have suppressed some of the poorer sonnets, of which there are quite a number in the collection. No, the explanation seems to lie elsewhere. Either the sonnets were collected in separate clusters from the poet's friends, with the author's permission, and put together by the bookbinder's art, or Thorpe, afraid of the Youth, deliberately disarranged them. By so doing he was not hurting himself in any way because Shakespeare at the period of publication was at the height of his fame and anything from his pen would have found a ready market.

There is a possibility that Shakespeare, worried by a troublesome publisher or his agent, flung the sonnets pell-mell at his head. The leaves may have torn loose and the whole order become disarranged. This last conjecture seems to me in keeping with Shakespeare's spirit. I cannot see artistic scruples or the desire to cloak his intimate thoughts and feelings. The Elizabethans had no such tender feelings as vex our modern souls. Indecent respectability was unknown to them. They not only spoke loudly, but they also thought loudly. Reticence was not their forte. Shakespeare's spiritual master, Marlowe, wrote an outrageous poem about Jesus and got away with it! If a man could do such a thing then—when being sent to the stake was an easy matter—Shakespeare's unlocking of his heart was a small thing.

But all the answers given by Sir Denys are worth meditating. One may or may not agree with him on this or that point, but one cannot help admiring the fertility of his speculation, his wide knowledge of the period, his fairness in presenting both sides of

the case. He suppresses no evidence that is awkward to his case; and what is really fine in his work is the union of modesty and fearlessness. Although he has made an important discovery—important at least to students of Shakespeare—he speaks of it shyly, almost in a whisper, as though afraid of the noise of fame.

These are splendid qualities in a critic. *Shakespeare's Sonnet-Sequence* is a book that no lover of Shakespeare can afford to neglect.

* * * * *

It is bad criticism to ask of an author what he has not chosen to give us. But it would have been interesting to know what Sir Denys had to say about the Youth and the Dark Lady. Who were they?

About the Rival Poet there is little doubt. He was Chapman. The lines in Sonnet 52 give us the clue :

“Was it the proud full sail of his great verse,
Bound for the prize of all too precious you,
That did my ripe thoughts in my brain inhearse,
Making their tomb the womb wherein they grew?
Was it his spirit, by spirits taught to write
Above a mortal pitch, that struck me dead.”

Who was the Youth? Some have thought that he was the Earl of Pembroke. But this is fantastic, as the Earl in question was only eleven years of age when the sonnets were begun. Who was he? I think it was Southampton. The initials have merely been transposed. They might very well be H. W.

Now about the Dark Lady. I should say that she was the wife of John Davenant, the rich proprietor of the Golden Cross at Oxford. Shakespeare, the actor-playwright, had occasion to stop at this friendly tavern when going from London to Stratford. Contemporary scandal has it that Davenant's son was in reality Shakespeare's. I have no books here to cite authorities, but I believe there is documentary evidence to support this contention. It was undoubtedly in this tavern that Shakespeare experienced the sad romance of passion and jealousy that inspired his sonnets.

Let us now examine the contents of the sonnets. What are they about? They are a passionate tale of friendship and love in three parts. One series expresses the affection of the poet for a young nobleman, who is rich, handsome, learned, a protector of the arts and the theatre. Shakespeare's devotion for him is without bounds. He dedicates his life and work to him. This Youth is the only one he cares to please in all he does. The second series is more complicated. A young and beautiful woman, who is already married, comes to disturb this friendship. The series of sonnets addressed to this cursed angel is a cry of anguish, of

jealousy and bitterness. What troubles the poet above all is not only her betrayal, but that she has had a bad influence over the Youth. Forgetting his own sufferings, he desires only to save his beloved friend from the clutches of this terrible siren. A silence of two or three years intervenes. There are misunderstandings between Shakespeare and the Noble Youth. Political upheavals come about. The young man's life is in danger. At last there is a reconciliation between the "dearest rivals."

This is the simple subject-matter of the sonnets.

Shakespeare does not appear in a good light. On the contrary, he is shaken by love and grief like any ordinary mortal. He is plunged in the "cares of this shoddy world." He, the creator of so many glorious dramas, has made a bad drama of his own life.

Precisely here, to my mind, lies his charm. He was no impassive god, frozen into a semblance of manhood, but one of us, yet how much more!

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FURTHER INDIA AND THE FAR EAST

SIXTH REPORT ON PROGRESS IN MANCHURIA TO 1939. Issued by the South Manchuria Railway Co. Pp. 236. With five maps and a Graph of Exports and Imports. Printed in Tokyo.

(*Reviewed by* SIR HAROLD PARLETT, C.M.G.)

Whatever criticisms may be levelled against Japan's methods in Manchuria, it cannot be denied that she has brought ordered government to that region and that her presence there has been accompanied by a very substantial development of the natural resources of the country.

The present report, an interesting and commendably well arranged and well written piece of work, is divided into eight sections, dealing respectively with Political Development, Judicial Reorganization, Extraterritoriality, Industry, Finance, Foreign Trade, Construction Work, and Immigration, and to these are added substantial appendices containing statistics of various kinds with a mass of miscellaneous documentary material.

Manchukuo, as all the world knows, is an absolute monarchy, the State being completely centralized in the Throne; the people are, however, guaranteed "the freedom and rights of their life and property," and we are told that "the basic philosophy of the Empire is the *Wangtao*, or 'the Way of Benevolent Ruler.' " There are three independent branches of Administration—the State Council, the Legislative Council, and the Courts of Justice—and six Departments—Public Peace, People's Welfare, Industry and Commerce, Communications, and Justice—but Foreign and Home Affairs are dealt with by Offices under the direct supervision of the Prime Minister. It may here be mentioned in parenthesis that the Commander of the Japanese Army in the Kwantung is also Ambassador at the Manchurian Court.

The report devotes considerable space to the subject of extraterritoriality, describing at length how, after protracted negotiations, a treaty was finally concluded in November, 1937, whereby Japan renounced her extraterritorial rights in Manchuria as well as the administrative privileges enjoyed up till then by the South Manchuria Railway. Certain conditions were, however, attached. In no circumstances were Japanese subjects to receive less favourable treatment than those of Manchukuo; Japan might build and maintain shrines in the country under her own laws; she was to be allowed temporarily to continue in the enjoyment of the right

to establish and keep up educational institutions for the benefit of her nationals; and her own administrative measures dealing with the enlistment of Japanese subjects and with other military matters relating to the latter were to remain in force.

Brigands, a few years ago very much in the news, would appear to have been either almost completely exterminated or converted into law-abiding citizens. Their numbers, it is asserted, have been reduced during the last nine years from two hundred thousand to five thousand, and of this remnant the majority are collected in the province of Sankiang in the remote north-easterly borders of the country.

Ever since Japan secured a foothold in Manchuria in 1905 she has striven to encourage the emigration of her nationals thither; but for various reasons, among them on the one hand a not unnatural reluctance of the average Japanese to exchange the amenities of his own land for the hardships of life in Manchuria, and on the other the strenuous opposition offered by the former Manchurian régime itself, little progress was made. In 1933, however, the new State of Manchukuo agreed to remove the obstacles put in the way of immigration by its predecessors, and in anticipation of this step the Japanese Government drew up in 1932 a scheme for settling 100,000 farming households in the country within a period of ten years. This was followed in 1936 by another, very much more ambitious, for bringing in 1,000,000 such households in twenty years. By 1938—that is, about five years after the initiation of the first scheme—2,795 households, comprising altogether 6,892 men, women, and children, with 17,429 young men, enlisted under the Youth Volunteer movement started by Colonel Tomiya in 1934—had entered Manchukuo, thus bringing the full total to 24,321. This is hardly an impressive result, and it would seem that if the 1936 project is to be carried through in the time specified the *tempo* of immigration will need to be considerably accelerated. On the other hand, it would be rash to assume from these figures that the project will not be successful, for, as we know, the Japanese possess the quality of pertinacity. All that can be said is that the beginning is not very promising.

The national policy of the new State is one of “controlled economics.” Salt, matches, alcohol, opium, and narcotics are all monopolies, and without official sanction no one may engage in any of the following industries: the manufacture of (1) arms, (2) aircraft, (3) motor-cars, (4) liquid fuel, (5) woollen textiles, (6) cotton textiles, (7) tobacco and cigarettes, (8) soda, (9) fertilizers, and (10) cement, or in (11) coal mining, (12) cotton spinning, (13) hemp spinning and weaving, (14) flour milling, (15) beer brewing, (16) sugar refining, (17) oil milling, and (18) iron, steel, aluminium, magnesium, lead, zinc, gold, and

copper refining—a list so comprehensive that little seems left for free private enterprise. The ultimate aim of this policy, it is explained, is “to stabilize the economic life of the nation by further consolidating on the one hand the foundations of the so-called Japan-Manchukuo economic bloc and, on the other, by perfecting national defence.”

On this policy was based what was called the first Five-Year Plan of Industrial Expansion. This ended in 1937, but it was immediately succeeded by a second programme for a similar period entailing an expenditure of two and a half billion Manchurian *yuan*, five hundred million of which were to be raised in Manchukuo and the balance in Japan. This money is to be spent (1) on the establishment or the acceleration of important industries, such as coal, iron, steel, the liquefaction of coal, light metals, electricity, and pulp, and (2) on the promotion of agriculture, the backbone of the national economy. A further expansion of the railway system is also expected during this second period, as well as an extension of State highways by some 13,000 kilometres.

The value of the import and export trade for the years 1932 and 1938 were in round figures as follows:

			<i>Imports.</i>	<i>Exports.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
			(In millions. Manchurian <i>yuan</i> .)		
1932	...	...	338	618	956
1938	...	...	1,275	725	2,000

Soya beans remain the chief article of export, and in imports there has been during the last two or three years a very heavy increase in machinery and in iron and steel products. Apart from Japan and China proper the most important participants in the country's foreign trade are the United States and Germany. Great Britain's share, which in 1936 amounted to about 35 million *yuan*, had by 1938 decreased to 13 million, while during the same period that of Italy, which was a little over 2 million *yuan* in 1936, had almost trebled.

In connection with the opium monopoly it may be mentioned in closing that the Government of Manchukuo proposes to exterminate the opium and narcotic habits by 1948; but the report does not say whether the department of the Monopoly Office charged with the manufacture, importation, and distribution of these drugs will simultaneously cease to exist.

BURMESE BUDDHIST LAW. By O. H. Mootham. (*Oxford University Press.*)

(*Reviewed by* SIR JOHN BAGULEY.)

This is a useful treatise on Burmese Buddhist Law, based on the decisions of the Courts of Burma and not professing to deal to any extent with the original sources. In Appendix II. a list of the dhammathats, the sources of the law appertaining to lay matters, is given, while the source of the law relating to ecclesiastical affairs, the Vinaya, is mentioned in the text. It is the first treatise that has been produced which is based solely on the rulings of the courts.

A work produced on these lines might very easily have degenerated into little more than a digest, mere scissors and paste work, like so many of the works on Indian law which cumber the shelves of law libraries; but this book is a refreshing exception. The author has set out the actual principles of the law and supported his text by references to the cases that lay down those principles, instead of, as has so often been done, quoting the headnote of a case and leaving the reader to make his own deductions from it with little or no help from the author.

In the first chapter of the book it is pointed out that the customs of the people are to a great extent the basis of the law, and that the dhammathats themselves form one of the most important sources of information about the body of customs observed by Burmans. A reference is also made to a passage from a judgment by the late Chief Justice emphasizing the fact that present customs are sometimes a safer guide than semi-obsolete dhammathats. This being the case, Appendix II. might well have had added to it the comparatively modern work, the *Attasankhapa*, compiled about the date of the annexation of Upper Burma, by U. Gaung, C.S.I., the last Burmese jurist whose legal upbringing was based entirely on Burmese law. It is a most valuable guide to the Burmese customs as they existed at the time that it was compiled.

The only criticism of the text that appears called for is with regard to the statement on page 25 that a Burmese Buddhist wife can obtain an order for maintenance against her husband and that he cannot evade his liability by becoming a Buddhist monk. If he becomes a Buddhist monk permanently the marriage is dissolved, and as the woman is no longer his wife the order for maintenance lapses. The case cited in support of the proposition was one which dealt with an order for the maintenance of a child.

The author was most unfortunate in bringing his case law down to May, 1939, for in June, 1939, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council passed orders in a case (*Tan Ma Shwe Zin v. Koo Soo Chong*) which overruled the decision which forms the basis of the first paragraph of Chapter I. of this work, which will, in consequence, have to be rewritten to a great extent in the next edition.

The general get-up of the book is excellent, as one would expect in the case of a book emanating from this Press, and, in comparison with most of the textbooks on Indian law, it is a pleasure to handle.

THE FASHIONING OF LEVIATHAN. By J. S. Furnivall. (*Burma Research Society.*) Rs. 2.8.

(Reviewed by F. BURTON LEACH, C.I.E.)

Mr. Furnivall tells from the original records the little-known story of the first twenty years of the administration of Tenasserim after the first Burmese war in 1825. It was a simple form of Government; the first officer in charge, Mr. Maingy, and his successor, Mr. Blundell, both came from Malaya, and there was an idea of putting the new province under Penang. It was decided, however, after some hesitation, to put it under the East India Company in Bengal, whose supervision of a province separated by nearly 1,000 miles of sea, at a time when steamers were only just coming into use, was at first hardly more than nominal.

Mr. Maingy was a liberal-minded man with little respect for red-tape, and took full advantage of this lack of supervision to adapt the administration to the needs and character of the people. In course of time, however, the Bengal Government came to exercise a closer control, and the system was forced into more conventional lines, not always suitable to a country completely different to India. Mr. Blundell was not so fortunate as his predecessor in his relations either with Government or with the merchants at Moulmein, and was eventually compelled to retire.

It is an interesting story and shows that both the officers were sympathetic to the people and did their best with the very limited means at their disposal to introduce the elements of education, public health and other services. One of the most interesting experiments was to raise a local levy; the officer sent from India to command it was Ensign A. P. Phayre, who remained in the country for over thirty years, and became Sir Arthur Phayre, the first Chief Commissioner of British Burma.

Mr. Furnivall shows the drawbacks of applying a bureaucratic system to a primitive country, particularly to one so different and so far away from the seat of Government. Even in those days were sown the seeds of the demand for the separation of Burma, which took place a century later.

THE JOURNAL OF A SCOTCH ARMY DOCTOR'S TRAVELS IN INDO-CHINA IN THE EARLY PART OF THE LAST CENTURY.

(Reviewed by SIR WILLIAM FOSTER.)

In 1821 the Governor-General of Bengal (the Marquess of Hastings) despatched a mission to Siam and Cochin-China, under the leadership of Dr. John Crawford, for the purpose of establishing friendly relations with those kingdoms. The mission returned in the following year, having in reality effected nothing. Its members had been received in both countries with civility, tempered with a certain amount of suspicion—an attitude due partly to conservatism and partly, perhaps, to the recent occupation of Singapore. In Cochin-China particularly, Crawford and his companions were made to feel that their mission was futile, for closer relations with India were not desired. They were told that the ports of the kingdom were

open to the ships of all nations, and that British and Indian vessels might therefore use them freely; more than this there was evidently no intention of granting. Crawford pressed for an interview with the King, but this was refused; he was told that, had he come directly from the King of England, such an honour might have been accorded, but as he had been sent merely from an underling it was out of the question. In the same spirit the King declined to receive either the letter from the Governor-General or the presents which accompanied it. He deigned, however, to direct that a letter and presents should be sent to Calcutta; and it probably gave Crawford some satisfaction to refuse the latter in his turn, whereupon the royal letter was likewise withheld. After that there was nothing to be done but to return to the ship and depart.

Dr. Crawford wrote an account of the mission, and this was published in 1828. It had, however, been anticipated by a volume based upon a journal kept by George Finlayson, a young army doctor who had been attached to the mission as surgeon and naturalist. He had died on his way back to England, but his journal fell into the hands of Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, who published it in 1826, with a memoir of the author. The work is fairly available in England, but probably few copies are to be found in France, and fewer still in Indo-China. This has induced M. Henri Berland to translate those portions which relate to Indo-China, and his translation has now been printed in the latest issue (N.S., tome xiv., Nos. 1, 2) of the *Bulletin de la Société des Études Indochinoises*.*

Finlayson's narrative is lively and full of interest. Apart from his description of the negotiations, he has much to say about the country itself, its inhabitants, its natural products, and its system of government. Full accounts are given of Saigon, Huê, and other places visited, and the subject of the religion of the country does not escape attention. The Society is to be congratulated upon its enterprise in publishing so useful an article.

The *Bulletin* also contains an essay by Dr. Baraday on "Sras Banh Dang et sa légende," and a description of the exhumation of the remains of Marshal Nguyen van Hoc (who died a century ago). A number of coloured illustrations to the former article are a special feature of the number.

CHIN PING MEI. English translation by Bernard Miall, with an introduction by Arthur Waley. (*John Lane*.) 25s. net.

(Reviewed by CHANG SU LEE.)

Years ago I used to read Dickens' *David Copperfield* in a Chinese translation, and I feel about *Chin Ping Mei* in English the same as I felt about *David Copperfield* in Chinese. However good the translation, something is definitely missing. It is art and literature when one can plunge and bathe in the language in which the genius of the author has expressed itself, but

* Indo-China: Saigon.

it becomes only a story when it is rendered into another tongue, especially when the languages are so different as English and Chinese.

But even as a story *Chin Ping Mei* is most intriguing and captivating. Once begun, readers surely want to go on and see what the next stage of the drama will be. Invariably it turns out to be the same old rogue repeating the same old pranks. But the fact that you cannot leave it unfinished testifies to the fact that *Chin Ping Mei* is a masterpiece of story-telling. The author, whoever he was, and Mr. Waley has important things to say on this point, had an incomparable insight into human nature and a tremendous power of characterization.

But though the origin of its authorship is uncertain and perhaps unverifiable, that does not matter much. The story has a brisk and exciting beginning. It grips you from the start. Gold Lotus was a glamour girl and a raging beauty. Like a flower misplaced on a dunghill, she was married to a deformed pedlar—the “three-inch manikin.” She was bored and unsatisfied. Ching Hsi-men, the villain or hero of the piece, as the reader may decide, was heir to a big fortune. He was pleasure-loving, restless, and sensual, always hunting for fresh game. Through a rascally clever and understanding old procuress he set his design to work. Secret rendezvous are surreptitiously arranged, and when things became desperate all round, Gold Lotus’s crippled husband is disposed of by murder and the voluptuous beauty is taken in bridal chair to Hsi-men’s house, where he already had five wives. The story goes on to narrate the relations between Hsi-men and his married wives and maids, the intricacies, petty jealousies, irregularities, dishonesties and treacheries of a huge traditional Chinese household and its entourage of servants. But in this spider’s web of intertwined and confused family intrigues and quarrels, and truces, absolutely incomprehensible to modern Westerners, can be seen the ingenious way of the Chinese in moulding a social system peculiar to themselves through their long history and adjusting endless troubles by persistent efforts to maintain harmony by compromises. Hsi-men, roguish and unscrupulous in all his ways, was always loyal to his family as a unit. Moon Lady, the first wife, and therefore occupying an honoured position, set an example of virtue and motherhood. Her quiet authority and wisdom kept the peace in the household, and she also held the family treasury under her thumb. The various other wives, realizing their inferior positions, behaved accordingly. Gold Lotus, as one would expect, always remained the favourite wife, always intriguing but never becoming obstreperous. She held her husband’s affection by her beauty, craftiness, talents in drink and songs, and not the least by her amorous arts. Even her infidelities were committed with such an air of injured innocence that her husband forgave her.

But Hsi-men was a prey to his own desires. He had loved too many women and died from an overdose of an aphrodisiac! Gradually Moon Lady dispatched off the other women by re-marriage or expulsion. But she kept on the Chin’s family name with respect, and died at a comfortable and serene old age, though her fifteen-year-old boy disappeared mysteriously with a monk to atone for the sins of his dissolute father. Gold Lotus met her just fate by death at the hands of her murdered husband’s brother, who

was one of those who moved silently and talked with his fists, but was extremely loyal and devoted to ideas of decency and honour. Society has always been in confusion. Man must be prudent in matters of wealth and women or he must perish by them. Just retribution awaits those who sin in the dark. The story ends with a sermon on this text.

A SHORT HISTORY OF ANGLO-JAPANESE RELATIONS. By Dr. C. Muto.
(Tokyo: *Hokuseido Press.*)

(Reviewed by O. M. GREEN.)

Few stories are more fascinating than those that deal with the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century pioneers in the Far East. They launched out into the utterly unknown in what seem to us now the absurdest cock-boats; they were rough and lusty, prone to hit first and talk afterwards; but at least they fought fair man to man, not with the long-range beastliness of civilization, and there was often much kindness and even friendship with the peoples they visited.

These are the men with whom Dr. Muto's dainty little essay is mostly concerned. Here one may read of that extraordinary English seaman, Will Adams, who, being wrecked on Japan in the year 1600, rose high in the esteem of the great Shogun Iyeyasu, built him two ships and "learned him some points of jeometry and understanding of the art of mathemackes." Also of Captain Saris, who arrived in the good ship *Clove* in 1613 at Hirando, "where the Kinge of the place received us very Kyndlie," and opened the first factory for the East India Company, which unfortunately failed and was shut up. It is curious to recall now that the main cause of the violent exclusion policy adopted by the Japanese after Iyeyasu's death was dread of the Portuguese; so that when, fifty years later, the East India Company tried to open another factory in Japan, the fact that Charles II.'s Queen was Portuguese was sufficient reason for the Japanese to refuse.

Dr. Muto's story stops short at the dissolution of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. He carefully abstains from comment likely to ruffle Anglo-Japanese relations, and particularly emphasizes that "the most cordial relations have always existed between the Royal Houses of England and Japan." Whatever may have estranged their peoples in recent years is, one feels sure, but transient.

The book is illustrated with numerous reproductions of most attractive old prints.

THE SPIRIT OF THE BRUSH. By Shio Sakanishi, Ph.D. (*John Murray.*)
3s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by O. M. GREEN.)

No one who wishes to gain some insight into the lofty ideals with which the best Chinese painters were inspired should miss this charming little

book, in which Dr. Sakanishi has collected, not only short biographies of the most famous artists from the fourth to the ninth centuries, but, what is still more interesting, extracts from their artistic criticisms. As Confucius, in editing the Odes, carefully excluded those which he considered improper, so there was distinct moral purpose in the earliest painters. Thus Tsao Chih (192-232 A.D.) wrote :

When one sees pictures of rebels and unfilial sons, one cannot but gnash the teeth. Upon seeing a picture of a noble man with high principles, one cannot but forget his meal.

In landscape painting, with which the book chiefly deals, the object to be attained was always the ennoblement of thought alike in painter and beholder. Even a carpenter, when undertaking some very special work, declared that he must spend several days in arriving at the correct state of contemplative thought before he took up his tools.

How to attain to this state of mind and the technical process by which the picture might be made to express it was elaborated through the centuries in the most complicated precepts. As with the commentators on Confucianism, the inevitable tendency was to crush down the spirit under a mountain of formulæ. Hence the revolt against "ivory tower" classicism among the modern artists, who demand something in touch with the life of the people. The war with Japan has added to their vehemence and enlarged their opportunities. But even they declare that the classical art of China must not and shall not die; and all who read Dr. Sakanishi's book will cordially agree.

WARNING LIGHTS OF ASIA. By Gerald Samson. (*Robert Hale.*) 15s. net.

Mr. Samson sees the problem of the Pacific in the light of Japan's intentions. They in turn are governed by opportunities afforded from time to time by the preoccupation of Western Powers in European crises. The possibility that the United States of America—free to take economic action by the denunciation of the Trade Treaty with Japan—may be disposed to react against disturbance of the *status quo* has to be taken into account. Solution of the problem will, however, have to wait on settlement of the next world plan for composing international difficulties. Meanwhile Mr. Samson considers that a strong China offers the best guarantee of peace in the Pacific.

How strong China is becoming despite the fact that Japanese armies sprawl across her territory and Japanese sea-power strangles her great centres of commerce he proceeds to show by recounting the remarkable resurgence in western China, where the Government under General Chiang Kai-shek's inspiring leadership is rebuilding a new nation. Chinese guerillas—split up into small armies and totalling 700,000 men—harass Japanese communications and obstruct economic projects designed to bring Japan's "new order" into being. Mass political education is an important adjunct to military operations. The Chinese guerilla is trained not only in the technique of his

primary trade, but also in political propaganda for the purpose of cementing the bond between him and the peasants around. So puppet administrations precariously function in fear of assassination. China's ability to withstand the financial strain is strengthened by the simplicity of her economic structure as compared with the complicated modernity of Japan. Japan badly wants peace, but her worst enemy Mr. Samson considers is herself. So long as "militarism" is in the saddle conditions for discussion of peace do not obtain.

Japan's fear lest a modernized China should compete fiercely in the world's markets can be allayed by the assurances of the Western Powers, who, as their contribution to peace, should guarantee to Japan access to raw materials and freedom of emigration. One result of the "undeclared war" must be the disappearance of foreign privileges in China. The openness of the "Open Door" will depend on the extent to which the outside world deserves the goodwill of the new China which will be neither semi-feudal nor communist—here Mr. Samson cites the opinion of Madame Sun Yat-sen. So to the new world order Asia in due course will decisively contribute.

Mr. Samson's book is useful because it is the product of a competent reporter's journeying over Japan and China for a period of five years. Mr. Samson is one of the few who have managed to visit the mandated territory formerly in German possession. There he saw and studied to purpose Japanese methods of colonization. His activities there and in Hokkaido—an undeveloped and underpopulated part of the Japanese Empire—attracted the attention of the authorities. With the military outbreak of February, 1936, as he was by chance in Tokyo at the time, he found this attention embarrassing. It led to his unjustifiable arrest and incarceration. He writes of this experience without heat—indeed he permits himself the luxury of a little sardonic humour—but he uses it effectively to expose the limitations of the Japanese police mind. He is not disposed to believe that Japan will give way to dictatorial methods, although a semi-totalitarianism has been adopted under the stress of crisis. Probably the exceptional position of the Emperor—however bewildering to foreigners—is actually a sure shield against the rise of anything resembling Stalinism or Hitlerism. Even the influence of the army is tempered by the access which important civilian interests have to the Imperial ear. Japan presents, in fact, a delicate problem for the rest of the world. It is not beyond the power of reason and sympathy to solve. Mr. Samson is a severe critic but a fair one, and he does not withhold hope of a solution.

His views are worth consideration, for they are fortified by vivid sketches of his personal contacts with all classes and all nationalities. He has a broad mind. It eschews a purely racial outlook. The result is a detached survey which accurately quotes opinions from different points of view, although Mr. Samson himself does not really attempt to propound his own findings except in the most diffidently modest vein of implication.

E. H.

INDIA

SPEECHES AND ADDRESSES OF SIR JOHN ANDERSON. Edited by B. Roy. (*Macmillan*). 7s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by NALINI RANJAN SARKAR.)

People are apt to judge a compilation of speeches and writings by a high critical standard. For not infrequently the immediate object or occasion of such speeches is forgotten and personal predilections are allowed to colour such criticism. But the object or occasion apart, the workings of a keen, cultured and virile mind must needs be of interest to the informed public and in this respect the *Speeches and Addresses of Sir John Anderson*, compiled by Mr. B. Roy, is a distinct addition to biographical and bibliographical literature. But it has more than a mere biographical interest. It throws light on a chapter of Bengal's history during one of her most critical periods. The signal contributions made by Sir John Anderson towards the amelioration of the province and the easing of her difficulties in various spheres can hardly be properly appraised through a collection of his speeches; nevertheless the compilation, which is very carefully made, does reveal the personality of the man and his large sympathies, and helps readers to gain a good impression of the several great qualities to which Sir John's achievements were due. The publication embraces within its short compass discussions of an exceptionally high order on varied questions of both cultural and practical interest ranging from politics to biology, from economics to fine arts. In every subject of discussion the speaker has given something of his own by a new evaluation of our problems, by broadening the perspective, or indicating a new angle of vision.

When Sir John assumed the Governorship of Bengal, he had to face a multitude of varied problems, some of which were legacies of the past and others created by dislocation in the normal flow of the economic life of the province due to indigenous or world factors. Terrorism, trade depression, unemployment, the depleted resources of the province under the Meston Award, were some of the issues that went to cause grave and urgent anxiety. On each of them the approach of Sir John bore indications of an extraordinary sagacity kindled by a genuine desire to serve the good of the people entrusted to his care. His writings and speeches reveal echoes of his constant anxiety to bring peace and security to the province and to reclaim the misguided young men who had strayed into strange alleys of experience. Much harsh criticism has been levelled at the repressive measure he initiated. Bengal, it must be admitted, felt this very bitterly. Whether the conditions prevalent in the province justified the adoption of the extraordinary measures is a question over which it would be futile at this stage to join issue. But in fairness to Sir John it must be said that in devising measures to quell subversive movements he was by no means actuated by an alarmist psychology or a spirit of vindictiveness. For these repressive ordinances were soon

followed by the organization of a number of *détenu* training camps, where the young men kept in detention were given regular training in sundry arts and crafts of their choice, with the hope that this might enable them to settle down as peaceful citizens after their release. Be it also remembered that the success or failure of this scheme is no criterion by which to judge the *bona fides* of the man who inaugurated it.

In the peculiar political circumstances prevailing in the country, it is futile to hope that a Governor nominated by a foreign authority can be wholly popular, no matter how sincere may be his solicitude for the welfare of the province in his charge. But despite the inevitable murmur in the Press at all the unpopular measures of Sir John's régime, it cannot be denied that Bengal owes a deep debt of gratitude to Sir John. Sir John was probably Bengal's first Governor not only to clearly realize that most of the ills of the province had their roots in the economic life but also to make the economic well-being and improvement of the province a matter of conscious planning and policy on the part of the Government. With him also lies the credit for the readjustment of Bengal's finances on a more justifiable basis. For not even the most patriotic Bengali could have pleaded more trumpet-tongued before Sir Otto Niemeyer to right the financial injustice done to Bengal under the Meston Award than Sir John did. He said in one of his speeches, "I have never made any secret of my view that without adequate financial provision any scheme of provincial autonomy must fail and fail disastrously." And contrary to traditions to which the province had been accustomed, Sir John took it up almost as a personal cause. The reparation, in fact, was long overdue, but it could have been achieved only by a degree of tenacity, zeal, perseverance and keen personal interest such as Sir John displayed.

The broad sympathy and the intimate interest in the welfare of the province which actuated Sir John often led him to speak and act in refreshingly untraditional ways for a Governor. Addressing the Associated European Chambers of Commerce, for instance, in 1933, he said: "And when I speak of unemployment, I am thinking not only of the unemployment which is so acute at present, as the President reminded us, in the ranks of the European and Anglo-Indian communities but of that great and pressing problem . . . the unemployment of the Indian middle classes, those whom in this part of the world we call the 'Bhadralog.'" The same liberal attitude led him to make a passionate appeal to the European business community not to keep itself "in a water-tight compartment," but to pursue a new policy of friendly co-operation with their Indian confrères.

In other spheres, too, Sir John's service to the province was that of a pioneer. For to him fell the difficult task of inaugurating a new chapter in the nation's history. He spared no pains to make the task of the first group of representative and responsible ministers in Bengal as easy as possible. The Waterways Board for improvement of waterways, the Bengal Development Act for undertaking irrigation schemes, an Act to remove the pest of water hyacinth, the Primary Education Act, the Bengal Agricultural Debtors Act to scale down and compose the debts of agriculturists to the

level of their paying capacity, are largely the efforts of Sir John Anderson to lay the foundations for a better social and economic development of the province. In the matter of retrenchment again, what was achieved in Bengal during Sir John's term, the other provinces, even under provincial autonomy, have not yet been able to equal. So fitting was the manner of his approach to the multifarious and bewildering problems crying for solution that many who came to scoff frequently remained to applaud. Maybe some of these schemes may have to be abandoned or modified in the light of future experience, but Sir John's earnestness and transparent sincerity will, in any event, remain on record. It required imagination, boldness and a power of constructive thinking of a high order to embark on experiments of such magnitude particularly in matters affecting the life and welfare of millions.

While some of his political speeches and especially some of the speeches directly concerning Bengal may necessarily have a more or less cheerless background, those on subjects of biological and sociological interest are remarkable for the unmistakable signs of an extraordinary intellect. These speeches are delightfully free from any dogmatic bias and reveal a refreshingly original and rational mind, and, what is very noteworthy, a very high and almost reverential appreciation of India's tradition and culture. On the whole, Mr. Roy has compiled an extremely readable collection of speeches and addresses. Through them one obtains glimpses into Bengal's life and history during a quinquennium which was remarkable in many ways and which saw the birth of promising and constructive endeavours in many directions. The Indian standpoint, specially in regard to the opinions expressed in the political speeches, may be different, but that does not detract from the interest of the speeches and addresses, which are clear, logical and masterly.

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN HYDERABAD.* By Sir Selwyn Fremantle.

Hyderabad is not only the largest of the Indian States, but one of the most progressive, and it is not surprising to find that the Co-operative Department dates from 1912, not many years after it had been first established in British provinces. It is now, therefore, presenting its twenty-fourth report.

Here, as elsewhere, in this quarter of a century there have been ups and downs, but the movement seems now to have settled down to a course of steady progress, not only in the growth of agricultural credit, but also in the adoption of those varied types of societies for the benefit of the people which lend themselves to organization on co-operative lines.

It is long since the idea formerly prevalent in India that co-operative societies once formed could be left to look after themselves was exploded, and Hyderabad has followed the lead of British provinces in providing an

* Annual Report on the Working of Co-operative Societies in H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions for 1346-47 Fasli (July 7, 1937, to July 6, 1938).

adequate staff both for inspection, organization and audit and in making due provision for their training.

Taking rural credit first, there are for a population of 15 million, nearly all of which is agricultural, some 2,700 societies with 56,000 members, so that it would appear that only some 2½ per cent. of the agricultural population is as yet affected by the movement. The Registrar states that there is an increased demand for societies in rural areas in spite of knowledge of the limited extent to which they can come to the assistance of the cultivator. The reference is to the policy now pursued by the central banks of restricting credit to short term or "crop" loans. Members had been allowed to take loans too freely for non-productive as well as productive purposes, and many had fallen into arrears which they could not repay. The report shows that 85 agricultural societies are in liquidation, and that 1,760 societies in all in this and previous years had to sue 10,500 of their members in the revenue courts and that some Rs. 30 lakhs are still owing by these defaulters. As regards existing members who have not been sued, the amounts outstanding against them including interest amount to R. 80 lakhs.* There is nothing in the report or in the statements accompanying it to show how much of this sum is overdue, but the proportion must be considerable. Loan collections were only Rs. 6 lakhs, and the same amount was newly lent to members, and these figures seem to show many societies are doing little or no business at the moment, because so many of their members are not repaying their loans and cannot be trusted with more money. But the position is gradually improving under the close scrutiny of the inspecting staff, with the resulting limitation of credit already mentioned. And there is the redeeming point that, if a considerable proportion of the working capital is absorbed in debts owing by the members, nearly half of this working capital (48 per cent.) is owned by the societies themselves—i.e., it has been built up by the annual contributions which members are obliged to make to their societies in share capital or deposits. Emphasis has recently been laid on this feature of the system by a change in name to "Village Thrift and Credit Societies." The Department fully realizes the danger of expansion beyond the point at which adequate supervision and control in the initial stages is available, and though the demand for new societies is insistent, their establishment is wisely limited to the number the staff can be expected to control.

Turning to non-credit societies, the statement attached to the report shows 104 "rural uplift" societies with a very numerous membership. Most of them were started during the year, though this is not mentioned in the report. They appear to correspond to the "better living" societies of the Panjab, the main object of which is to improve the financial condition of their members by a general agreement to limit the cost of family ceremonies. It would be interesting to know what the main objects of the Hyderabad societies are and what means are adopted to give effect to them.

* It is possible that this figure may include the Rs. 30 lakhs mentioned above.

Societies for the sale of members' produce have made a beginning, and a Co-operative Sales Officer has recently been appointed to assist them. But the village bania has his place in rural economy, and it is not easy to dispense with his services in the disposal of crops.

Of the non-agricultural credit societies there are a number which perform a useful function in assisting village industries to finance themselves and not be dependent on the merchant who buys their goods for funds to carry on. In such societies the difficulty usually lies in marketing the goods, and unless this can be arranged the members are not likely to benefit permanently.

There are no less than 261 salary earners societies, of which 149 are in Hyderabad City. These banks have a working capital of Rs. 33 lakhs, of which nearly the whole is provided by the members themselves in shares and deposits. It would thus appear that they provide machinery by which the better off salary earners lend money to their less prosperous colleagues. Ten per cent. is the usual dividend paid on shares. The loans given are mostly for a long term (in Hyderabad City exclusively so), and from the fact that no instalments of repayment are overdue it would appear that they are recovered from salaries before payment. These societies do not seem to be really co-operative, and there is a danger that they will encourage salary earners to borrow for unproductive purposes. It might be better to replace them by thrift societies which would as a rule allow borrowing only up to the extent of a man's savings.

Is the miraculous virtue of compound interest, especially miraculous when rates are as high as they are in India, generally recognized? A recent report points out that at 7 per cent. a sum will double itself in 10 years. Here is another example. If the tenants of a village with rent roll Rs. 2,000, paying Rs. 1,000 Land Revenue, pay 2^{as} in the rupee extra rent, and this sum each year is put into a fund, which is each year lent to the village co-operative society at 9 per cent. (the rate at which it can borrow from the Central Bank), then the fund will amount in 25 years to about Rs. 20,000, with which sum the village can be purchased and become the property of the tenants, and all by their agreeing to pay 2^{as} in the rupee extra rent.

This particular form of co-operation has not, I think, been tried, but there are numerous fields in which co-operation can in conjunction with thrift operate to the advantage of the Indian peasant and artisan and help him to attain financial stability.

The Hyderabad State, it is interesting to note, has recently taken other measures which will contribute to this end. The formation of Debt Conciliation Boards, the regulation and licensing of moneylenders, the establishment of a Land Mortgage Bank, and the enactment of a simple law of rural insolvency. All these measures will help to solve the problem of rural indebtedness and so to constitute a prosperous and self-respecting agricultural population.

ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF KINGSHIP IN INDIA. By Sardar K. M. Panikkar, Department of Education, Baroda State. Lecture Series, 1938-1939. (Baroda State Press.)

(Reviewed by JEAN PRZYLUCKI.)

This little book contains a series of lectures, which should have been given at Baroda, but which the author was prevented from giving. The subjects dealt with are the following: Origins of kingship; nature and duties of kings; kings and the state; royalty, empire, and autocracy. The writer belongs to that school of historical jurists who are striving to explain the development of political institutions in India. In his introduction Mr. Panikkar pays homage to his predecessors, especially to K. P. Jayaswal. It can hardly be said that he follows in their wake, for his daring reasoning ends in conclusions opposed to current ideas, notably to the theories of Mr. U. Ghoshal and Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar on the divine origin of royalty in India.

The main points of his thesis are the following: Indian kingship is not a religious institution, and the king is in no sense a god. He is bound by the sacred law, and it is his duty to preserve social order and to act in conformity with justice; in return his subjects owe him their obedience and a share of their incomes. When the conduct of the king is unworthy, his subjects have the right to rebel. The idea that from the beginning of his reign the king anointed according to ancient rites becomes sacrosanct is a European and Christian error. It is not an Indian belief. The word *deva*, used to indicate kings, means literally "lord," and divine honours have always been refused them. The absolute power of kings or of the State, which developed in Europe as a reaction against theocratic absolutism, is wholly foreign to ancient Indian mentality, because an organized church has never existed in India. Autocracy is a recent phenomenon, due to the fact that the theory of the omnipotence of the State, introduced into India from Europe, has given rise to a conception of kingship wholly opposed to Indian ideas.

We do not think that the thesis of Mr. K. M. Panikkar deserves our entire approval, but it leads the reader to think and to criticize hypotheses that tend to become dogmas. Under the influence of Sir James Frazer we have become wont to regard all kings as the substitutes of the ancient wizards, whose special duties are half magical, half religious. This theory explains the genesis of primitive royalty. It ceases to apply to developed societies like those of India, where we find not only magician kings, but also warrior kings.

In the Brahmanical tradition the king is to the priest what the Kshattrya is to the Brahman, or as Indra is to Brahma—an absolute division both in mythology and in society. Outside this tradition, of which the tendency is to oppose the human and profane king to the divine and holy priest, we can follow the development of a quite different conception. According to it the universal monarch is a superhuman and sacred being. Mr. Panikkar's clinging to Brahmanical ideas has no doubt prevented him from grasping the complex nature of the facts. He maintains that kings have never had superhuman powers; but he forgets that according to the Buddhist

chroniclers Asoka was lord of the Yakshas* and the Nagas.† Still, his exaggerations help to warn us against those of his opponents.

The scrutiny of one definite point enables us to see the exaggerations of both sides. According to many authorities, the person of the king is made up of particles of Indra,‡ of the wind, of Yama,§ of the sun, of fire, of Varuna,|| of the moon, and of Kubher.¶ Some hold this to be a proof of the divine character of royalty. In the view of Mr. Panikkar (p. 41) this theory explains not the superhuman character of the king, but the authority and the powers with which he is invested. Both doctrines are probably too rigid. On the one hand, it would be impossible to prove that the king is the equal of a god because he is made up of particles of Agni,** Vayu,†† etc., once it is admitted that divine elements can be found in all men. On the other hand, if it is true that man is formed of four or five elements, the fact that eight elements are found in the persons of kings shows amply that even in the Brahmanical tradition kings have up to a certain point a superhuman character.

(Translated from the French by C. A. Kincaid.)

PUBLIC HEALTH REPORT OF MYSORE (BANGALORE).

(Reviewed by COLONEL C. H. REINHOLD, I.M.S. (retd.).)

The Annual Public Health Report of the Mysore State for 1938, reviewed by the Minister in October, 1939, was released for publication early this year. It is contained in two volumes of 250 pages, with six maps, more than half of which are covered with statistics of purely local interest. Many points of interest, however, emerge from this report of one of the most enlightened States under the British Raj, and it is evident that there is no lagging behind British India in the application of modern methods.

To begin with, the registration of births and deaths (and even marriages) had been introduced as a routine in recent years, and the resultant effect on statistical accuracy is already apparent. Rural and urban uplift is in evidence from the multiplication of Welfare Centres, Maternity Centres, and the employment of engineers on purely anti-malarial measures. Up-to-date methods with cyano-gas and larvicide fish are also employed. Research work is in progress on beri-beri, hookworm and guinea worm infections. Malaria is the chief scourge of the State, and is responsible for one-third of the total mortality, and nearly one-half of the deaths not due to plague, cholera and smallpox; plague showed a slight increase and smallpox a slight

* Cherubim.

† Snake people, believed to live in the centre of the earth.

‡ Indra is the god of the sky.

§ Yama is the god of the infernal regions.

|| Varuna is the god of the sea (Neptune).

¶ Kubher is the god of wealth.

** Agni is the god of fire (Ignis).

†† Vayu is the god of the winds.

decrease in the figures of the previous year, while cholera deaths were reduced to one-quarter of those in 1937; none of these diseases, however, assumed epidemic proportions.

The birth and death figures remain much the same as in the previous year, showing a population increase of 8 per mille, while the infant mortality figures are midway between those of British India and the British Isles—viz., 106.9 per mille against 162 and 59. It is evident that the training of midwives has progressed apace since only 20 per cent. of confinements in towns were conducted by unskilled "dhais."

The expenditure on public health was six lakhs more than in the previous year—viz., Rs. 33.10.000.

A reassuring feature of this report, in these days of imminent Dominion Status, is the complete absence of any evidence of British or foreign control; nowhere is any European official, superior or subordinate, mentioned throughout the 250 pages.

MALWA IN TRANSITION, OR A CENTURY OF ANARCHY. By Raghurib Sinh.

The first phase, 1698-1765. With two maps. (Bombay: D. B. Tara-porevala.) Rs. 5.

During the last hundred years much new material has been discovered, either in the form of Maratha state papers or of Persian and other sources, so that the old brilliant work of John Malcom's *Memoir of Central India* has become antiquated. This made a new valuation of Malwa history desirable, and a scholarly author has undertaken the task to re-write this sectional history critically, with the help of his knowledge of various Indian dialects. Mr. Raghurib Sinh begins his study with a description of Malwa at the end of the seventeenth century, from which we learn how unsatisfactory its condition was, in spite of its wealth in natural products. Four chapters deal with the Mughal-Maratha struggle, at the end of which the Mughals withdrew and the Peshwa became the real master. The final chapter tells us of the social and economic condition during this period of transition. The author's contention that the Hindu chiefs of Malwa were in favour of the Marathas seems doubtful, as the Mughals gave them no cause for any religious grievance. However, Mr. Raghurib Sinh is entitled to his views, as he has taken an immense amount of trouble in his monograph. There is a very long and excellent bibliography; the index is also complete.

NEW CONSTITUTION OF INDIA. By Sudhir Kumar Lahiri and Benoyendranath Banerjea. (Calcutta: *The Politics Club*.)

The New Constitution in India has changed the whole status of the country, and therefore requires a thorough study and knowledge of the changes that will take place. The book issued by the two authors is intended to make this field familiar not only to the politician and citizen of India, but

also to the Englishman whose interest or duty is connected with that country. One finds, in looking through the 400 pages of text, that the two authors have certainly studied the subject thoroughly, and, by consulting the files of the various committees and other material, have grasped the subject in a special degree.

The volume, well printed and set up for easy reference, opens with an historical introduction, setting forth the different changes that have taken place since early times. The features of the new Constitution are set forth in six sections. The position of the Crown is made clear, and the functions of the Provincial and Federal Government are subsequently dealt with. The difficulties in grappling with the topics, which include the Judicature, Finance, Military and Civil Services, have been unusual. The two writers have succeeded in producing a textbook which is comprehensive and lucid.

DAUGHTERS OF THE DAWN. By G. Venkatachalam. (*Bombay*). Rs. 1.8.

Under this title a charmingly produced book is issued, sketches of modern women are given, women who stand out in the political and cultural world. Only a few of them are known outside India, all the more reason why English people should get familiar with some of the leading ladies distinguished in politics and arts. The booklet is well printed, and includes a number of portraits.

THE RENGMA NAGAS. By J. P. Mills. Fully illustrated. (*Macmillan*.) 25s. net.

The ethnological series issued through the Government of Assam has already produced a number of notable volumes which have created much interest amongst anthropologists and scholars, including those of philology. The new work will enhance the value of the series, as well as the reputation of the learned author. The Rengmas are a small tribe and for this very reason they were entitled to be commemorated on account of their ancient customs which before long will fall into oblivion.

Mr. Mills, following the ethnological survey of previous volumes, has again shown profound knowledge, thanks to his long residence in Assam, of which there is evidence throughout the volume. In a long introductory chapter the origin of the Rengmas and their migrations are dealt with, we become acquainted with their different clans, their appearance, and character. On the domestic life we obtain a perfect wealth of information which includes details on the house and house-building, on agriculture, amusements, and so on. The collection of folk tales comprises thirty pages and in them there are stories of rascals as main figures, of animals, love of miscellaneous subjects. It is a sign of the times that they are already unfamiliar to the young generation. An outline of the language, together with a list of words in common use, is added. The volume, which includes

a number of plates, concludes with a general index, exceedingly well prepared, and one of Rengma words which occur in the book, with their English meaning.

HINDU CIVILIZATION, FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES UP TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MAURIYA EMPIRE. By Radha Kumud Mookerji. (*Longmans.*) 15s. net.

A modern treatise on Ancient Hindu Civilization was needed, especially since the discovery of the earliest known monuments and their official report by Sir John Marshall, in his epoch-making work: *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*. After a short but brilliant introduction on the difficulties connected with the past, the method of treatment and the sources on which a prehistorian has to depend, Professor Mookerji, a scholar of great repute, sets out to review critically and at length the old Indian civilization, that is before the arrival of the Indo-Aryans in the second millennium B.C. The proper history of India begins with their appearance, and the author rightly enters into the physical aspect which it is desirable to know if one wants to understand the history of a country. The types of the population are clearly defined. There are eight of them, and these are briefly described. Of course, the number of languages is much higher. According to the census report there are 225, divided into four categories. The history of India is generally accepted as the history of the Aryans in India, and their earliest work, the Rig Veda, is the chief source of our knowledge. The whole range of this Indo-Aryan civilization is clearly laid down, with references taken from this work. The Later and the Post Vedic periods are dealt with in the same clear and methodical manner. The largest portion of the monograph is contained on pages 179 to 319, and covers the years 650 to 325 B.C. We obtain an insight into the culture of the various kingdoms and republics then existing, the religious movements, the rise of Jainism and Buddhism, the Persian invasion, and that of Alexander the Great. The author concludes this large volume with the social and economic conditions, and a chapter on Art and Architecture.

The Index comprises over 30 pages, and the 3 maps give an idea of India during the three great periods.

CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS IN EUROPEAN LANGUAGES IN THE INDIA OFFICE LIBRARY. Vol. II., Part II. Minor Collections and Miscellaneous MSS. By G. R. Kaye and E. H. Johnston. Section I., Nos. 1-538. 1937. 30s.

This stately volume of 1,167 pages has been compiled in a masterly manner by the late Mr. G. R. Kaye, who had already given proof of his ability in a previous publication on the Astronomical Observatories of Jaisingh in the *Archæological Survey of India*. Very few people, except cataloguers, will appreciate the enormous amount of work devoted to it and the extraordinary

depth of knowledge which Mr. Kaye has shown in the detailed description of these important MSS. The MSS. are numbered, their size and dates are given, they are dated, and the periods to which they refer are mentioned, and, besides other details, their publication in print, if issued, is also stated. This alone would entitle Mr. Kaye to great credit, yet it forms but a preliminary work to the chief part, consisting of the synopsis of the contents of the MSS., with extracts of interesting passages and renderings from foreign languages. Footnotes on most pages are appended. In the list we meet old friends who still live in the memory of British connections with India. We meet, for instance, Francis Fowke, Philip Francis, the brothers Wilks, W. Roxburgh, the botanist Peter Dubois, Thomas Stamford Raffles, W. H. Sykes, and numerous others. We note that of C. Hamilton's translation of the Hedaya only the second volume is in the Library.

The India Office Library has added lustre to their previous catalogues by the issue of the present volume, which will become even more useful with the publication of the next issue, as it will contain a complete index.

ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS OF THE JOHN FREDERICK LEWIS COLLECTION IN THE FREE LIBRARY OF PHILADELPHIA. A Descriptive Catalogue. By Muh. Ahmed Simsar. (*Philadelphia*.)

Mr. Lewis's library of Oriental manuscripts has been known in American circles and to a number of specialists in the rest of the world, but for the first time the valuable collection is now made known to the outside world in general through the magnificent catalogue prepared by a connoisseur, Mr. Simsar, thanks to the liberality of the Library. It should be stated at once that great scholarship pervades the whole beautiful volume; the descriptions are perfect, in harmony with its appearance. The sizes of the works are given, with the number of pages and lines, the style of writing, illuminations, the names of the scribes, where stated, and finally the state of binding. In order to render the volume useful to people who live far from the Library, Mr. Simsar has also described the contents of the collection. The chief portion consists of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish MSS., of which there are one hundred, and each of these is divided into its proper sections, such as Religion, Law, Philology, History, Sciences. The remainder is written in eleven different languages. Forty-eight fine plates embellish the volume, which are reproduced from the bindings, the writing, but chiefly from the miniatures which are to be found in the codices. Mr. Simsar terminates the book with a select bibliography, an index of titles and one of names.

OUR CAUSE. A SYMPOSIUM BY INDIAN WOMEN. Edited by Shyam Kumari Nehru. (Allahabad: *Kitabistan*.)

A courageous volume on the emancipation of women by Indian ladies is drawing our attention to the change which has come and will continue in the life of women in India. It is suggested that the position laid down

in the *Manu* and other codes should be superseded, and the new Western development suitably adopted. Whether such a change will produce the happiness which is the goal of our life is a matter of opinion. Human nature has great influence in human life, and it is not improbable that if man's duty towards woman had been watched and guided mistakes would have been avoided. It is most likely that as men have failed in their duty women have risen to make good. And this does not apply to India alone.

In the volume now issued the spheres in which the new woman has to exert herself have been treated in a number of chapters, and they comprise practically the whole range of life, each of them by several ladies. Past history, the home, health, education, the arts, industry, and so on are the fields in which woman's work has to be engaged.

FICTION

WHOM THE GODS DENY. A novel by Phra Sarasas, former Minister of Economics in Siam. (*Heath Cranton.*) 7s. 6d. net.

In this novel Mr. Sarasas sets out to write a romance of the East, colourful and authentic in detail, and thus far he has succeeded in his object; but, for the rest, he appears to have wasted his manifest literary ability on material that does him little justice. His plot savours of a flimsy fairy tale which has for its theme the adventures of a princess and her brother, who are separated in infancy from their father and from each other, and placed in the care of foster-parents, one of whom endures incredible hardships for the sake of his ward, hardships from which he is extricated by equally incredible luck. The story winds itself by devious but obvious paths to a felicitous end, when those who deserve it "live happily ever after." The author has put his characters in far too strong a light, his villains being of the most bloodthirsty, and his heroes and heroines of the most heroic, and as humans they are not convincing. It is unfortunate that every situation the author creates he kills stone dead with bathos, which amid the intensities of the high moral tone that prevails throughout the book is fatally inappropriate in effect. Mr. Sarasas, so manifestly a scholar with a perfect grasp of English, would do better to seek a more worthy sphere for his literary activities.

D. B.

GENERAL

THE MESSAGE OF ISLAM. By A. Yusuf Ali, C.B.E., M.A., LL.M. (Cantab.), F.R.S.L. (*Wisdom of the East Series.*) (*John Murray.*) 3s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed by* SIR EDWARD MACLAGAN.)

This is a recent addition to the well-known "Wisdom of the East Series" which aims at establishing good understanding by introducing the West

to the thought of the East, and there are many English readers for whom Mr. Yusuf Ali's book will fully meet the purposes of the Series for which it is written. In its secondary title the book claims to be "a résumé of the teaching of the Qur-ān, with special reference to the spiritual and moral struggles of the human soul." It does not pretend to be a translation or anything scholastic or historical; all those aspects of the Qur-ān have been adequately dealt with in Mr. Yusuf Ali's previous publications, but it does aim at giving in poetical and dignified language the spiritual substance of the Book as envisaged by the writer.

The present volume is a reprint of a portion of the volume entitled *The Holy Qu'rān*, published by the writer not long since. In that book there was a copy of the sacred text, together with a translation and notes, but it contained in addition a somewhat original device of the editor in the form of a "rhythmic commentary," and it is this commentary which is reproduced in the work under review. It is written in what may be looked on as free verse or as poetical prose, in successive lines, collected into stanzas of some five to ten lines each, each stanza representing a varying number of verses of the Qur-ān. The 44th stanza, for instance, represents the first 29 verses of the Second Sura, the 45th stanza represents verses 30-39 of the same Sura, and so on throughout the Book until we reach the final or 294th stanza which deals with the 114th Sura.

As an illustration of the character of these stanzas we may take the 44th, which is alluded to above and which represents 29 verses of the original. It runs as follows :

The Message of God is a guide that is sure to those who seek
His light.
But those who reject faith are blind : their hearts are sealed.
Woe to the hypocrites, self-deceived and deceiving others,
With mockery on their lips, and mischief in their hearts, and fear;
The clouds that bring fertilizing rain to others, to them bring but
deafening thunder-peals and lightning-flashes blinding to their eyes.

It will be seen that there is no idea of presenting in such a stanza a compressed edition of the literal purport of the original verses, nor can a perusal of these stanzas convey an authentic impression of the meaning of the Qur-ān as understood by scholars or by the bulk of the devout Muslims who through the ages of Islām have hung upon its pages. But the stanzas represent—and represent in admirable language—the religious essence of the Book as deduced from it by a sincere and cultured Muslim with a modern outlook and with a catholic respect for all forms of religious emotion. They contain nothing that can give offence and nothing controversial; they stress the more mystic and ecstatic sides of the Qur-ānic pronouncements, and they emphasize those ethical aspects of the Book which appeal most strongly to the religious conscience of today. To European readers, who wish to secure an impression of Islām from these points of view, Mr. Yusuf Ali's volume will provide an interesting guide, and to those who value all forms of devotional literature it will supply some delightful reading.

REINCARNATION FOR EVERYMAN. By Shaw Desmond. (*Andrew Dakers.*)
5s. net.

(Reviewed by DOROTHY FOOKS.)

Reincarnation for Everyman is what it claims to be, a lucid exposition of a belief long held in the East, and now rapidly gaining many adherents in the West. Mr. Shaw Desmond writes convincingly on this theory of rebirth, which he claims to be the natural law of evolution. His book covers a wide range, and includes such debatable subjects as the problem of suffering, Free Will, and the law of Karma. He deals, however, with facts rather than theories, and quotes many authenticated examples of persons who have recollected their previous lives.

TRANSPORT IN MANY LANDS. By W. Robert Foran. (*Frederick Warne.*)
7s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by DOROTHY FOOKS.)

Today, when the majority of the Western world considers transport in relation to speed, it is interesting to read of methods of travel where time is no object.

Mr. Foran has journeyed widely over a period of forty years, and sets down his experiences in this book. Among the unusual beasts he has found to be conscripted to the service of man have been llamas, reindeer, and even zebras. He gives excellent descriptions of the peoples and lands encountered during his wanderings, and his book is profusely illustrated.

BETHSABÉE. By Pierre Benoit. (Paris: *Albin Michel.*)

(Reviewed by C. A. KINCAID.)

In the days before the Great War a new play by M. Edmond Rostand was an event of almost international importance. A new novel by the brilliant author of *L'Atlantide* and *Erromango* comes into a similar category, and *Bethsabée*, the new novel before us, is in every way worthy of its predecessors. The scene is laid on the North-West Frontier, and M. Benoit must have spent a considerable time among the gallant officers, who watch the Afghan passes, to have acquired the material that he has so brilliantly used in *Bethsabée*.

The title is the French form of Bathsheba, and the motto of the book is the passage in 2 Samuel ii. that describes how King David saw from his palace roof the beautiful wife of Uriah the Hittite and sent for her to his palace. The Bathsheba of M. Benoit was a Mrs. Arabella Taylor, whose origin was somewhat obscure. Her mother had been companion to the Maharani of Vellore, but had been unable to resist the advances of some "important personage," probably the Maharaja. Before the birth of her baby he contrived to get his mistress married to a subordinate in the Government service. The baby was Arabella and she was educated

at the Ursuline convent in Madras. When twenty years old she married a certain Aurelius Gunnison, an Englishman high in the Imperial Forest Service. The marriage turned out badly. Arabella's father had invested as her dowry the sum of fifty thousand rupees, but her husband soon gambled away her money as well as his own. In Nagpur she met a Captain Somerville, who promised her marriage if she eloped with him. She agreed readily, but at the last moment Somerville, whom his colonel had overpersuaded, backed out of the arrangement. Unfortunately Arabella had already written to her husband, then on tour, that she was leaving him. She could not await his return, so she fled back to Madras. There she lived with a young officer called Coleridge until eighteen months later he was carried off by cholera. The comrade who informed her of her lover's death was George Baxter. She became his mistress and the rest of the book relates the joint lives of George and Arabella.

Baxter's regiment was the 7th Light Horse and was transferred from Madras to "Djellabad," a remote cantonment near the North-West Frontier, and he and Arabella lived together as husband and wife in a cantonment bungalow. This is the weak spot in the story. The General, Sir Herbert Wright, who was married and had his wife and daughter with him, would in real life have told Baxter that he must get rid of Arabella or quit the regiment. In M. Benoit's book he tolerates her presence; but it must be remembered that the book was written for French readers and M. Benoit probably felt that he might risk this inaccuracy. So far from objecting to Arabella's presence Sir Herbert Wright fell in love with her and then plotted to become her lover. He first sent away his wife and daughter to Amritsar on the plea of the approaching winter. Then he appointed Baxter as his A.D.C. so as to get on friendly terms with Arabella. Having made her acquaintance he transferred Baxter to a distant outpost in the hope that he, like Uriah the Hittite, might fall in battle.

As a matter of fact it was not Baxter but Arabella who died. She had never ceased to love Baxter, and when she discovered the treachery of Sir Herbert Wright, for whom she felt no sexual attraction, she mounted her horse and accompanied by an Indian officer, Hiram Sing, she tried to rejoin Baxter in his distant outpost which a body of Afghans were besieging. On the way she fell so ill of pneumonia that Hiram Sing, whose military duty it was to communicate with Baxter and inform him that a relief force was on the march, had to leave Arabella in a cave by the wayside with a single attendant. In it she died, and Baxter and his brother officers, relieved after a successful defence, found her body there some days later.

The chief interest in the book for English readers does not lie in the story, but in the vivid descriptions of Indian frontier scenery and of the lives of the English officers stationed on the Afghan border. I have not been able to find a major fault in M. Benoit's account of life in the regiment, the cantonment or the mess. He seems not only to know Englishmen well, but to like them well also. It is a book that every Englishman who has served in India should read.

L'ÉGYPTE INDÉPENDANTE : GROUPE D'ÉTUDES DE L'ISLAM. (*Centre d'Études de Politique Étrangère à Paris.*)

(Reviewed by G. L. W. MACKENZIE.)

The present age has been so fertile of highly coloured accounts of history in the making, so filled with the sound and fury of rival ideologies, that it is indeed pleasant to come across a book which eschews fervours and strives after the calm, the detached, the objective viewpoint. All the French genius for clarity, precision, and order is in this study of modern Egypt. It would certainly have delighted the heart of Matthew Arnold who, had he been living today, would surely have found it contributing a little "light" in the darkness of our post-war Philistia. It is the work of a study group who are concerned only to get at the truth. "*Nous pensons,*" they say, "*qu'il s'agit avant tout d'observer les faits avec probité et de chercher patiemment . . . les chemins parfois étroits sur lesquels peuvent se reconstruire les hommes de bon vouloir.*" And they have certainly adhered most scrupulously to the ideal they set before themselves.

L'Égypte Indépendante falls into four main sections dealing with the political and social evolution of Egypt, foreigners and the Capitulatory régime, the economic life of the country, and the Press. Much of the political history here set out has been adequately covered by British writers in the same field, and it is to the section on social development in Egypt that one turns for illumination. There is an excellent chapter on the evolution of Egyptian youth, where the writer puts his finger on that weakness of British administration in the past—the neglect of the problem of education. This, he says very truly, threw the classes seeking education and culture into the arms of France who, with her dozens of excellent schools in Egypt, offered a solution of their problem.

On the most serious of the difficulties facing Egypt today he has also some interesting remarks to make. Egypt's "educated" class is becoming too large for what is predominantly an agricultural country. There are too few posts of the kind they seek to go round, and every year increases unemployment among those trained for clerical occupations. It is generally recognized, he says, that higher and secondary education have been overdone in Egypt. Perhaps the most thought-provoking of all the remarks on this chapter, however, are those concerning the reasons of the—to Western eyes—extraordinary part played by schoolboys and university students in the politics of the country. The main reason for this, he considers, is the breaking down of the tradition of obedience in Egyptian family life. Parents no longer control their children; totally uneducated fathers and mothers defer to their semi-educated offspring, and the spirit of respect for age is rapidly vanishing. As a result, freed from the one discipline of the East, the home, the youth of the country goes its own sweet way—and that way generally leads to the political arena.

In the section dealing with the Capitulations and the position of foreigners in Egypt stress is rightly laid on the vital part played in the development of modern Egypt by capital belonging to Europeans and other foreigners, in whose hands 47 per cent. of the wealth of the country lies. The two final

sections devoted to the economic life of Egypt and to the Press respectively are full of information which has not hitherto been available, I think, in a book of this general character.

L'Égypte Indépendante is a book which can be thoroughly recommended to those who want an unbiassed account of the Egypt of today. A few errors have crept into the text; as, for instance, when on p. 91 a reference is twice made to the government of Ali Nahas Pasha, when it is obvious that the government of Ali Mahir Pasha is meant. Also the book is without an index—a *sine qua non* in a work of this nature.

L'INDE. Par Maurice Percheron et M.-R. Percheron-Teston. Illustrations en couleurs de Zenker. Ouvrage orné de 145 photographies. (*Fernand Nathan*, 18, Rue Monsieur-le-Prince, Paris.)

This is an attractively produced book. Its copious illustrations, in colour and from photographs, have been very carefully chosen, and they succeed in conveying, most impressively, the antiquity, colour, and immense variety of India, its history and monuments. As a picture-book, indeed, *L'Inde* is, for its size, as good as, if not better than, anything of the sort which has been published in this country.

The text hardly comes up to the illustrations. The authors have endeavoured, in fifteen vividly written chapters, to cover the vast story of India's development from the coming of the Aryans down to the present day. Their method is necessarily selective; they choose a representative figure—Buddha, Alexander, Asoka, Timur, Dupleix, Ranjit Singh—and sketch a picture of his age, enriched with anecdotes and legends.

Much must necessarily be omitted from the panorama.

THEORY AND ART OF MYSTICISM. By Radhakamal Mookerjee. (*Longmans.*) 15s. net.

In studying this new and excellent work of Professor Mookerjee the reader should carefully digest the preface as well as the introduction. The foreword by Professor Hocking of Harvard contains a just appreciation of the learned author's exposition; it is most welcome, although Professor Mookerjee does not require recommendation as his former works have already placed him in the front rank of original thinkers.

At the present time when the world is groping for a new outlook in life, we need guidance in our search. Philosophy (so says Professor Hocking at the very outset) in the Orient has never been a detached speculation, it has been an adjunct of a way of life. This means a blend of speculation and practice, of theory and art. Professor Mookerjee, who is familiar with life in East and West, finds in his examination that West seeks to establish a mental balance through rearrangement of the *milieu* and that it lays too much stress upon technology and organization in order to eliminate

human suffering, while in the East there is an attempt to operate on the mind itself. He is convinced that ethical consciousness can flourish only among a people interested in what is more than man, and to whom mysticism opens out a channel, more than human, to the striving after Goodness, Love, and Beauty. This is the subject which has been here expounded. The various forms of the Mysticism, as dealt with in this fine book, need thorough study in order to realize the importance of the intimate connection between mysticism and social values.

THE TEN PRINCIPAL UPANISHADS. Put into English by Shree Purshit Swami and W. B. Yeats. (*Faber and Faber.*) 7s. 6d. net.

The new rendering of these ten Upanishads is distinguished by the fine appearance given to the volume by the publishers and by the elegant style which may be attributed to Mr. Yeats. These are not the only advantages of the book. Previously, translations suffered from ancient, biblical phraseology, and as this edition was intended for a wider public the best modern literary English had to be used, rendering explanatory notes unnecessary. We may now hope that the chief Upandishads will receive wider attention than has been possible in the past. A note mentions that no modern English translation has been published. There is, however, the able translation of Professor Robert E. Hume, of which the second edition is obtainable.

THE ASIATIC REVIEW

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

SOME PROBLEMS OF INDIAN EDUCATION

BY DIWAN BAHADUR S. E. RUNGANADHAN
(Late Vice-Chancellor of the University of Madras.)

I HAVE been asked by the Honorary Secretary of the Association to speak today on some of the problems connected with Indian education. I do so with some hesitation, as I am aware that many of the members present here are men who have been connected with India for long years and have rendered distinguished service to it in various fields and must therefore be thoroughly familiar with them. However, as one who has recently arrived from India, I venture to indicate briefly the present position of education in the country and to refer to some of the problems which still await solution. The recent establishment of a full measure of provincial autonomy in India is bound to influence the future of education considerably, but so far its effects have been felt more in the fields of primary and secondary education than in that of university education.

The question of the reform and reorganization of the educational system in India has been engaging the attention both of the Central and Provincial Governments and of various expert bodies for several years now, but little progress has been made in bringing about desirable changes, partly because of the magnitude of the task and partly because of the difficulties inherent in the social and economic life of the country.

THE UNIVERSITIES

As one who was mainly connected with university education, I may be permitted to refer, first, to one or two of the most difficult problems with which it is faced.

There is, first of all, the problem of educated unemployment, which many feel that the universities should help in solving. It is indeed a tragedy that there are several thousands of young men in India with a university education who are unable to find suitable employment. This arises largely from the fact that the educational system and the occupational pattern of the country are one-sided. The system of English education, which was originally intended to train a comparatively small class to assist in the administration of the country, underwent rapid expansion, and, as the number of schools, primary and secondary, increased, larger and larger numbers availed themselves of the opportunity of securing whatever advantage might accrue from academic qualifications. Many Indian parents still continue to regard a collegiate education merely as a passport to public service. Their one anxiety is that their children should secure a degree in order to be eligible either for some clerical post or to enter the professions. As a consequence a large number of young men who have neither the taste nor the capacity for academic studies go through the educational mill, and at the end of their university career find that the area of employment in the professions and in Government service is strictly limited.

TECHNOLOGICAL TRAINING

It has therefore been suggested that the problem should be attacked on the university side by the institution of technological and other vocational courses of study. The Fourth Conference of Indian Universities, held in Bombay last year, resolved that, in addition to technological courses of the degree and post-graduate standards, universities should institute or recognize by grant of diploma or certificate technological courses of a predominantly practical character; and in order that the technological courses provided in the universities may enable those who take them successfully to find suitable openings in the economic life of the country, it is desirable that there should be carefully planned schemes of economic development, in the framing of which the universities should be intimately associated, and that the universi-

ties should establish close contacts with the industrial and commercial organizations in the country.

This sounds all right in theory, but there are very great difficulties in giving effect to the resolution. In the first place, many of the Indian universities have not adequate funds to institute departments of technology. They receive fixed annual grants from the Provincial Governments, and, in view of the prevailing financial stringency, it is impossible for these Governments to sanction large additional grants necessary for the purpose. There are difficulties, again, in securing co-ordination of effort and complete co-operation among groups of universities situated near each other. In South India, for instance, we have six universities—Madras, Andhra, Annamalai, Mysore, Hyderabad and Travancore—three in the province of Madras, and three in the neighbouring Indian States. It would be administratively very difficult to equip and manage a common technological institute for the benefit of the students of these six universities.

In the present circumstances it seems to me that the only solution is for the Central Government to give liberal financial assistance to the universities for making adequate provision for technological education. But, even more important than that, there is need for the Government to plan the development of trade and industry and to find fresh avenues of employment for the youth of the country. As industrial initiative is still weak in India, it is the duty of Government to make every effort to stimulate industries. Ever since the Industrial Commission made its recommendations over twenty years ago there has been endless talk of industrial expansion, but partly as a result of financial stringency and partly because industrial policy has been influenced by many extraneous considerations, comparatively little has been done. It is needless to point out that if a forward industrial policy had been consistently followed during the past twenty years India would not only have greatly benefited herself, but would have been in a position to give far more effective material aid to Britain in this crisis than she is able to do at present.

One danger to which the universities are open in this connection is the adoption of subjects and courses of a too narrowly utilitarian

character, having little or no cultural value, and thereby of lowering the standards of their academic awards. Technological training and research based on a broad foundation of scientific knowledge are necessary for the industrial progress of the country, and universities should undoubtedly make provision for them. But in the impatience to find a solution for unemployment there is the risk of converting the universities into mere polytechnical institutes and of losing sight of the main purposes which universities should fulfil.

THE MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION

Another problem which faces universities in India is that of the medium of instruction. The fact that English continues to be that medium in Indian universities, with the single exception of the Osmania University in Hyderabad, is largely responsible for the bitter condemnation of university education by some national leaders, notably Mr. Gandhi. All that one can say is that university authorities are giving their earnest attention to the question and are making every effort to encourage the development of Indian languages as vehicles of modern thought. There is a consensus of opinion now that at the high-school stage the medium of instruction should be the mother-tongue of the pupil, and that English should be taught as a compulsory second language. The Congress Ministries, while in office, made it obligatory on the part of secondary schools, excepting those situated in multilingual areas, to impart instruction in all non-language subjects through the medium of the vernaculars. This is a most desirable reform, and I am sure that secondary education will be all the more efficient for the change.

There are great difficulties, however, in the way of replacing English immediately by modern Indian languages at the university stage. We have to remember that the language of public administration in the country is still largely English, that there is no common Indian language which could be used not only for ordinary intercourse, but for the communication of scientific knowledge, and that in certain areas several major languages are spoken. In Madras, for instance, we have five important lan-

guages—Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Malayalam, and Urdu. Many of the Indian languages, again, are not yet quite suited to convey modern thought. At the Conference of Indian Universities, to which I have already referred, it was resolved that modern Indian languages should be recognized gradually and as far as possible alternatively with English as media of instruction, and that the universities should take steps to encourage the publication of books on modern subjects in these languages.

It was felt, however, that instruction and work in all research institutions should be through the medium of English, except in such places as Hyderabad, where it is already being done through any of the modern Indian languages for special reasons. The process of change from English to the Indian medium would be considerably accelerated, of course, if and when the Provinces are regrouped on a linguistic basis. Meanwhile there are great advantages in continuing the use of English as the medium of instruction in the higher classes. It facilitates co-operation among the universities and the maintenance of uniformity of standards in regard to academic work. Above all, it provides us with a key to the treasure-house of modern knowledge, and is still one of the most powerful unifying influences in the country.

GOVERNMENT SUPPORT

When Mr. Gandhi formulated his scheme of basic education some time ago he dropped a bomb into the educational world by stating that it was part of his scheme that university education should be left to private enterprise. Nothing more has been heard about this proposal. It is fortunate that other Indian national leaders do not seem to share his view. It must be said to the credit of the Congress Ministries in the various Provinces that during their term of office they not only continued the statutory grants to the universities, but in certain cases encouraged the expansion of collegiate institutions. The fact is that everyone realizes that, in spite of its defects, higher English education is of vital importance to the country for producing men who combine modern knowledge with their own cultural heritage and who are fitted to give an informed and decisive lead to the people.

Primary education has undoubtedly the first claim on the revenues of the State, but no Government can afford to neglect higher education. There is no country in the world where the universities are not either wholly or partially financed by the State. Even in wealthy countries like Great Britain and America, where large private benefactions are frequently given for educational purposes, the present tendency is for the State to aid the universities in increasing measure. As I have said already, universities in India are greatly handicapped in their work by the lack of adequate funds. If they are to function properly as institutions for the study and advancement of higher branches of learning and for the training of men for leadership in the country, they need even greater support from the State than they have hitherto received. It must be said to the credit of Indian universities that they are fully alive to their responsibilities as national institutions and are anxious to render every form of intellectual service which would advance the best interests of the country. In spite of financial limitations, they have done a great deal in recent years to promote post-graduate studies and research, particularly in the field of pure science. It is possible that by specialization in particular subjects at the different universities, according to regional facilities and by greater co-ordination of work among them, even better results could be achieved; but there are insuperable difficulties in working out such a policy of distribution of subjects.

From the point of view of general intellectual training and the formation of character it must be admitted that Indian universities are greatly hampered in their work by the large numbers entering their portals. In the older English universities undergraduate teaching still forms the most important feature of university work, and the method of education is by means of tutorial instruction and guidance, on the one hand, and the system of a common life on the other. Though a great deal has been done in recent years to encourage hostel life for college students and attempts have been made to introduce the tutorial system in some colleges, still, broadly speaking, there is no denying that the quality of university work suffers at present by the admission of a large number of students who are not up to university standard.

THE SECONDARY FIELD

And this brings us to the root of the educational problem in India. Secondary education, which should be the backbone of the whole educational system, is seriously defective. It is defective because it is of one particular type. It is too literary and bookish, and is largely dominated by the requirements for entrance to the university. It is under the bondage of a rigid external examination—called the matriculation examination in some Provinces and the secondary school leaving certificate examination in others. Hence it concerns itself largely with cramming the student with information, to the neglect of other vital aspects of education.

It has been suggested by various educational committees and commissions that there should be a radical readjustment of this system in such a way that a large number of pupils could be diverted at the completion of their secondary school stage or earlier, either to occupations or to separate vocational institutions. That proposal is still under consideration by the Provincial Governments, and I hope that early steps will be taken to give effect to it.

The scheme of reorganization adopted by the Congress Government in Madras was that there should be a bifurcation of the secondary school course at the end of the fourth form into a pre-university course and a vocational course. The pre-university course was to run for two years and was to lead up to the matriculation examination, which would be controlled by the university and would constitute the sole test for admission to university courses of study. The vocational courses, varying in length according to the nature of the training required, were to lead to special technical examinations, which would be under the control of the Government. That was as far as the scheme was worked out when, unfortunately, the Congress Ministry quitted office. Among questions which remained unsettled are whether the general and technical courses were to be given in the same schools or in separate institutions, whether pupils electing the vocational courses would receive some general education in addition to their technical training, and, conversely, whether students in the pre-university classes would also have one or more practical subjects of study.

SCHOOL LEAVING CERTIFICATES

Some of you may remember that what is now known as the S.S.L.C. course was originally devised in order to stop the rush for matriculation, and had included in it a large number of non-university subjects of a practical character. But what actually happened was that later, when the university accepted the S.S.L.C. examination on certain conditions as qualifying for entrance to the university, all the non-university subjects came to be completely neglected by the schools, and the S.S.L.C. virtually became the matriculation examination. The success of the new scheme depends, apart from the funds necessary for the establishment of well-equipped technical schools and a large body of trained teachers, on a sound policy of industrial expansion.

There is also need for a radical change of attitude on the part of the Indian public towards education for a craft or industry. The old superstition that practical studies were not quite respectable and that technical education was a relatively low type of education has to disappear, and people have to realize that such training provides as great an outlet for ability as university education.

BASIC EDUCATION

When we come to the field of primary education, the picture is distinctly gloomy. It has been recognized in most Western countries that elementary education, intended as the training of the masses in literacy alone, is not an adequate preparation for life in the modern world. The principle, therefore, of a common primary education, to be followed by some form of post-primary or secondary education for all, has been generally accepted, even though the problem of the suitable differentiation of types of such education has yet to be satisfactorily solved. In India, on the contrary, in view of "the waste and ineffectiveness" of the present system of elementary education, on the one hand, and the rapid growth of the population on the other, there is no near prospect of even illiteracy being completely wiped out.

Meanwhile Mr. Gandhi has put forward a scheme, which is now known as Basic Education, or the Wardha Scheme of Educa-

tion, which attempts to solve the problem of the cost of primary education by making education as self-supporting as possible. At a conference of Congress leaders at Wardha a resolution was passed that free and compulsory education should be provided for seven years, and that the medium of instruction should be the mother-tongue. It is needless to say that the resolution was widely approved in the country. But the resolution went on to state that—

“The process of education throughout this period should centre round some form of manual and productive work, and that all the abilities to be developed and the training to be given should, as far as possible, be integrally related to the central handicraft chosen with due regard to the environment of the child, and that this system of education will be gradually able to cover the remuneration of teachers.”

THE WARDHA SCHEME MODIFICATIONS

While we must recognize the need for making education more practical and bringing it into closer relation to the pupil's daily life, it is difficult to believe that training in a craft for the purpose of productive labour will give the child all the education he should receive. It may be possible with a set of super-teachers to make the scheme partially successful, but the ordinary result of the scheme would be that the child would come to be treated merely as a producer and not as a personality.

Modern educational thought recognizes the importance of hand-work as a part of mental discipline and as an instrument of education, but rightly holds that such work should be pre-vocational and that strictly vocational training should not be given until a foundation of sound general education has been laid. The self-supporting scheme would also seem to imply that the teachers should be content to carry on their work for little or no salary. No educational reform can be really effective until the teacher is induced to take a living interest in his work, and this can only be done by paying him adequately and by improving his status.

I am glad to say, however, that the Wardha Scheme is being continually modified in the light of criticisms made thereon by educational experts, and is being tried out in certain selected areas

in different parts of the country. If the self-supporting aspect is kept in due subordination to the educational requirements of the child, the scheme may facilitate the spread of education in rural areas.

MORAL AND RELIGIOUS TEACHING

Another problem which confronts educationists in India today is the spirit of lawlessness and of defiance of authority among students. It is part of the general spirit of unrest everywhere, and is partly due to the weakening of the influence of religion on the youth of the country. There are many who believe that a religious basis for education would be the most satisfactory solution of the problem. It is to be hoped that, if the Government should adopt the policy of taking over the control of education in the lower stages, adequate provision will be made for the encouragement of efficiently managed private schools which desire to impart religious instruction. Even under State control there should be scope for the existence of different types of schools, provided such schools stand for a well-defined educational ideal.

But even if there is no separate provision for religious instruction, in view of communal differences, educational institutions could render a real spiritual service to their students by promoting an atmosphere of friendliness and goodwill, of self-control and respect for authority, and by encouraging the ideal of service among them.

We have to remember, however, that the schools are only one of several agencies for the formation of the character of youth. The work that they seek to do in this direction, in order to be effective, needs the support and co-operation of not only the homes of the students, but of society at large and the leaders of public opinion. Whatever changes may take place in the Indian system of education, it is absolutely essential that the students should be adequately prepared for the duties and responsibilities of citizenship in a country which is undergoing rapid constitutional changes. There has already been a great expansion of the electorate. Unfortunately, this enlarged electorate contains a considerable proportion of illiterates. And even among the literates

only a small percentage are sufficiently versed in national affairs and politics to be able to express an independent opinion.

Education has, therefore, to be not only a discipline in tolerance and in independence of judgment, but in the lower stages should aim at giving those who receive it some clear understanding of their environment and of what is needed for national well-being. A great responsibility rests on all those who are engaged in various forms of educational work. Upon the manner in which they train the rising generation will largely depend the success and permanence of democratic institutions in the country.

RURAL IMPROVEMENT

It is an encouraging sign that various schemes for adult education and for rural reconstruction have been started both by Government and by private agencies. The Indian villager is a shrewd and intelligent person, capable of absorbing knowledge that has a practical bearing on his work and life. Adult education in India should concern itself, therefore, not so much with the removal of illiteracy as with the inculcation of knowledge which is closely related to the life and activities of the village. It should be made the instrument in the training for improved agricultural methods, in the promotion of health habits, in the removal of harmful social practices, and in the building up of citizenship. Fortunately, the resources of modern civilization have made possible a new era in education, and in broadcasting and the cinema we have valuable agencies for the spread of knowledge in rural areas. It is of the most vital importance to the country that educated young men and women should be trained to go back to the villages and improve the conditions of the rural areas, where more than 80 per cent. of the population lives.

I am glad to say that Indian universities are beginning to realize their responsibility in this direction and are encouraging their students to form social service leagues for helping their underprivileged brethren. I hope it will be possible to adopt in India the practice followed in recent years in Europe and Great Britain of holding holiday work camps for students, either as a form of community training or for the purpose of assisting in regional

reconstruction. Then, again, the problem of women's education has yet to be solved. There has been great progress in urban areas, but the education of women in the villages presents very great difficulties.

THE CALL FOR LEADERSHIP

Thus education in India is a field which offers a great number of the most difficult and complicated problems, and yet it is a field of vital importance for the process of making India fit for self-government. There is urgent need for Indian national leaders to give their earnest attention to these problems and to evolve a scheme of education which will be adapted to the changing needs and conditions of the country and effectively contribute towards its unity and progress.

Whatever English education may not have done for India, it has firmly implanted among its people a love of freedom and of British democratic institutions. In the present supreme crisis in the history of the world, when Britain and her allies are battling against the forces of evil in defence of freedom and of the very foundations of man's spiritual life, it is good to realize that, in spite of political differences, India is in wholehearted sympathy with Britain, and I am confident she will put forth her utmost efforts to aid her. I have an unshakable faith that after the final victory is won India, with her ancient civilization and culture and her love of freedom and peace, will, in equal partnership and full co-operation with Britain, make an effective contribution towards the establishment of a new world order in which the loyalty of peoples will extend beyond the political frontiers of their own country to the great Commonwealth of Nations.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Wednesday, July 3, 1940, when a paper entitled "Some Problems of Indian Education" was read by Diwan Bahadur S. E. Runganadhan. His Grace the Duke of Devonshire was in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: I am sure that everyone here today will extend a very warm welcome to Diwan Bahadur Runganadhan and will listen with great interest to the views of so very eminent an educationist on problems which he is especially well qualified to discuss with authority. Most of you, I expect, are aware of the fact that he recently took up his new duties as Adviser to the Secretary of State from the very important appointment of Vice-Chancellor of the University of Madras. You may not be equally aware that he found time as well to be commanding officer of a company of the 5th Battalion of Madras University Training Corps. I may have a word or two to say afterwards, but I will not stand between you and our honoured guest.

DIWAN BAHADUR E. S. RUNGANADHAN then read his paper.

The CHAIRMAN: We have listened to a most interesting, most valuable, and, I think, most inspiring address. I was very deeply interested in the Diwan Bahadur's observations, and in particular when he uttered a word of warning against regarding universities merely as polytechnical institutes. That probably is not confined to India, and it would interest our guest to know that by a curious coincidence I used almost exactly the same words on the occasion of my installation as Chancellor of Leeds University about a year ago. Of course, technical work is of vast importance. No one can underestimate that, but a university can and should do very much more than impart technical knowledge.

The Diwan Bahadur rightly stressed the great importance of education in the secondary field. I have no doubt that he had in mind the various reports which have from time to time appeared, and in particular the very valuable report by Messrs. Abbott and Wood. I rather hoped that one of them would be here this afternoon, but I am afraid neither of them is. It would have been very interesting to hear their views.

I was also very deeply interested in what the Diwan Bahadur had to say on the Wardha Scheme. I was very glad indeed that he stressed, in what had struck me as the most important and felicitous part of his address, that part of it which dealt with moral and religious training, and the importance, as educational aims, of the inculcation of independence of judgment and of tolerance. Those are immensely important things, and essential—there again that applied to England just as much as to India—for national well-being.

He ends his address with an appeal for leadership. That is a common need for all national activities, more especially in these very difficult times.

You probably heard with special gratitude his concluding words, in which he referred to the whole-hearted sympathy of India with Britain in these difficult times. We in the India Office know very well that is no mere empty sympathy. India is, in fact, to use his own words, putting forth her utmost efforts to do so. Her aid has been forthcoming in full and generous measure and is being extended every day. I share his conviction that, when the victory has been won, India will, in co-operation with the rest of the British Empire, make her contribution—and it will be a great and valuable one—to a new world order. (Applause.)

I have to be at a meeting at the India Office at 5.45, and I hope you will not think it discourteous of me if I have to leave before the end of the meeting.

Sir GEORGE ANDERSON, after expressing grateful appreciation of the address and stating that he would confine his remarks to secondary education, said: I am in general agreement with Mr. Runganadhan's diagnosis of the defects in secondary schools, but would go further in a number of directions. The teaching is undoubtedly predominantly literary and insufficiently practical, but the period is also unduly prolonged. The vast majority of pupils, therefore, become averse from practical occupations and from vocational training; India, therefore, is faced by a problem not so much of unemployment as of unemployables. I hope that Mr. Runganadhan's well-directed shafts at the citadel of matriculation will reach their mark, but I object also to the curse of biennial examinations. The pupils spend their time either in recuperating from the previous ordeal or in cramming for the next one; there is thus little room for training of character or for continuity of study. I wish, also, that Mr. Runganadhan had stressed the fact that even in rural areas the teaching is predominantly urban and therefore depletes the countryside of its better talent. This Association is deeply interested in the many schemes of rural reconstruction which are now in operation, but in my opinion they are unlikely to achieve permanent success. There is not at hand a peasantry suitably and adequately educated to appreciate their benefit; nor is there an indigenous agency to guide their development. What is needed is a well-devised system of rural education. The lecturer has also rightly referred to the congestion in colleges by large numbers of students unfitted to receive such instruction.

What is the remedy? I rejoice that Mr. Runganadhan has poured cold water on the proposal that universities should be converted very largely into polytechnics. Apart from the fact that such institutions do not come within the legitimate scope of universities, their learning would come too late to appeal to the literary-minded students.

I am also delighted that Mr. Runganadhan has favoured a scheme of "radical readjustment" such as was proposed more than five years ago by the Delhi Universities' Conference. That Conference realized that all schools, including even the primary schools, are but as rungs in the ladder leading to matriculation, and that all education is dominated by university

requirements. The school period should therefore be divided into separate stages, each with its own objective and untrammelled by university requirements; and at the end of each stage students should be diverted to vocational institutions as soon as they have attained a suitable measure of general education. Rural education should also be in harmony with rural conditions. The Government of India warmly supported these proposals and, as an earnest of their sympathy, engaged and paid for the services of Messrs. Wood and Abbott. It is therefore most disappointing to hear that this vital matter is "still under consideration." The real reason is that vested interests are fighting to preserve their monopoly; not merely the English schools and colleges, who depend on the fees of masses of students, but (even more) the writers of textbooks and the examiners, who desire in their own interests that the sources of their income should not be diminished.

I am more optimistic, however, on the prospects of the Wardha Scheme. The original scheme suffered from many crudities which are being removed. The expectation that the schools would be self-supporting is receding into the background. The feeling is also growing that agriculture (in its wider sense) would be far more suitable as the basic craft than spinning. The original curricula demanded omniscience from the ill-equipped teacher, but it is becoming realized that in such matters it is better to begin with the teacher and to end with the textbook. It has also been proposed that the period covered by the basic schools should be divided into two stages, thus approximating to the Delhi Scheme. In their revised form the basic schools have much in common with the middle vernacular schools, and thus the prospects are bright in those provinces in which these schools have been developed.

The inclusion of English as a second language will present a problem. I myself might be prepared to compromise and include the subject provided that it was not of the literary variety and aimed at affording a working knowledge of the language; but it would be hazardous to temporize with the Fifth Column.

I also fear the lure of matriculation. There are already signs that the basic schools, as has been the lot of the vernacular middle schools, will suffer from the stigma of inferiority and that the drift to matriculation will still continue. The administration of the schools is also important, and the impetuous transfer of primary education to the control of incompetent and often corrupt local bodies will present a grave obstacle. But here again there are signs that this danger is being realized.

LORD LAMINGTON: At the outset of the able address we have just listened to the lecturer said that much of the evil has come from the incitement and encouragement given to young Indians to take up higher education without knowing how to utilize it in their own lives. It is the cause of half the trouble in India. No doubt the difficulties in India are greater than those in other countries.

I really got up now, not to discuss questions of Indian education, but, as my first act after my re-election as President of the Association, to congratulate the Diwan Bahadur on having given us a very well-reasoned paper. We are grateful to him. Also it is very pleasant to have that concluding remark of

his that, whatever mistakes there may have been in British administration, we have taught the people of India to love freedom and democratic institutions. We are very grateful to the Diwan and also to the Duke of Devonshire in his very full life for having come here. I put this to you, not to close the meeting, but because I have to be going myself. (Applause.)

Sir FIROZKHAN NOON (High Commissioner for India): I feel that it is hardly necessary for me to say anything on the subject of education after the very learned discourse that you have listened to from the speaker of this evening, and particularly after what Sir George Anderson has said, for he knows all that is worth knowing about the educational system in India.

I feel that there are three points which are outstanding with regard to education in India. First of all, primary education; secondly, collegiate education; and, thirdly, the question of the medium of instruction.

With regard to primary instruction, I feel that the educational system in India today is top-heavy. Too much emphasis is laid on the university and college education, and too much money is spent on it as compared with the primary education of the people.

If you take the case of a province like the Punjab, the number of students who go to the university per ten thousand of the population is about the same as it is in England—*i.e.*, $12\frac{1}{2}$. For a country like ours, a poor country, enjoying only one-twentieth of the purchasing power of England, higher education in arts is over-emphasized. Sometimes one feels that there is justification for the criticism advanced by people of communistic and socialistic tendencies against the vested interests in India for spending not enough money on primary education. In my experience of sixteen years in the Punjab Legislative Council, however, there was not a year in which there was not insistent pressure for the extension of compulsory and free primary education. Now that a wide franchise has been given to the people in India, it will not be possible for any of the Provincial Governments to continue in peace without spending more and more money on primary education.

Since 80 or 90 per cent. of our people live in the villages, there is great need for a rural bias in our rural education. A great deal has been done in the training of rural teachers and giving the primary education this rural bias. We can raise the standard of living and purchasing power of the villagers. Ignorance and poverty go together, and so long as we do not remove ignorance from the villagers we cannot remove poverty. The policy for us is to lay greater and greater emphasis on rural education in schools.

The second question is of the university stage. There, I am afraid, too much attention has been given to arts colleges. The whole countryside is filled with arts colleges. What we really need are technical institutions like those of Canada and the U.S.A. A boy enters the institution and he can stay there right up to the university stage. These institutions provide a thorough grounding in technical matters, with the result that when students leave they can either find employment or continue their studies at the university. That is the system we need in India.

I am sorry I cannot agree with the lecturer in his remark that higher education should be left to private enterprise. My own experience in the

Punjab has been that private colleges engender a sectarian spirit which is not in the national interest. Ordinarily, when there is a Muslim college you will find that 98 per cent. of the students are Muslims, and when there is a Hindu college 98 per cent. of the students are Hindus. That sort of institution encourages separatist tendencies and is often responsible for the spirit of bitter communal feeling among the citizens. The need in India today is for public institutions where all can mingle together as friends and brothers. There must be many in India who would be glad to see the communal institutions abolished and turned into Government colleges or schools.

The third important question regarding our educational system is the medium of instruction, and I am sorry I cannot agree with Sir George Anderson in his suggestion that optional English classes in the middle school should be abolished. I am of the opinion that they ought to be made compulsory for everybody, because as it is, if boys who go through vernacular schools wish to pursue higher studies—and many of them do—they have to waste two years in learning English before they are able to join the ninth class. That is a great waste of time of our youth. English and a vernacular should both be compulsory. No doubt there will be a demand in the country for all teaching to be imparted in the vernacular, for our children understand their own language best; but if the university education is to be imparted in English, the teaching of English in our schools must start at a fairly early stage. If English is to be learned as a key to the door of all the knowledge which is stored in the books of the West, we should not weaken the attention that can be paid to teaching this language. English is more or less our national language, in the sense that it is our *lingua franca*. Under the new reforms each province is likely to lay more and more emphasis on its own particular dialect, and in the future it is going to be all the more necessary for us to have a common language. There could be none more suited than English to serve as our medium of conversation in all-India gatherings.

Lastly, I should like to congratulate the speaker again on his excellent address, and I am sure you enjoyed listening to him as much as I did.

At this point the Duke of Devonshire had to leave the meeting, and his place in the Chair was taken by Sir John Woodhead.

Sir PHILIP HARTOG : I should like, first of all, to congratulate the Diwan Bahadur on his appointment as an Adviser to the Secretary of State for India, and I should like to congratulate the India Office on having the privilege of his presence in that capacity. I cannot remember that any member of the Council or Adviser to the Secretary of State has represented, as Mr. Runganadhan does represent, Indian education. It is really a good augury that he should come to us at this difficult time.

He has presented to us a vast subject in a masterly way and in masterly perspective. But you will not expect from me a vast speech. I have been told to be brief. I shall be very brief. Indeed, there is less temptation for me to speak because I find myself in so much agreement with nearly everything that Mr. Runganadhan has said. But there are one or two points on which I should like to lay emphasis.

I feel very strongly in sympathy with a great deal of what Mr. Gandhi has written about the Wardha Scheme. I differ very strongly on other things, and notably on his suggestion that universities should do without grants. I would like even to say to the High Commissioner that, though I do not underestimate the importance of primary education, I think that any cutting down of grants to universities would need to be very carefully done. India could do without a great many of the inferior arts colleges; and there I am in entire agreement with the High Commissioner. But if you want to have a really first-rate university institution it is no good thinking that you can run it on the cheap. No country in the world can do it, and India needs, above all, at the present moment, leaders of the first class. It cannot afford to stint its universities.

One other point. I feel that a great weakness, not only in India, but all over the world, is the weakness of religious instruction and example. We should not be at the present crisis if in Germany religion had had the hold it ought to have had over that vast population. We should not have seen set up in the national temple the idols of power, of racial prejudice, of persecution.

No country, as the Duke of Devonshire said, is free from these dangers. But in India the religious difficulties are of a special character. When I was Chairman of the Education Committee of the Simon Commission—although it is not recorded in the Report—I did my best to find out if it would not be possible for the Hindus to agree on some form of religious teaching that could be introduced into the schools. I am afraid I was unsuccessful.

I have felt all along that a way to the real solution for India in the matter of religious teaching is what is called the system of "free access," under which, in schools which are open to children of different denominations, access would be given to religious teachers approved by the parents of the different sections of the pupils to teach for a certain number of hours in the week. I think that would settle a great many difficulties without too much controversy. With the Muhammadans the difficulties are much less than with Hindus, because they agree so much more on what should be taught to children in the schools.

I am not suggesting that the complete solution of this problem is an easy one. You do not find gold without looking for it. But what I should like to impress on my Indian friends is that they need to find a solution which will permit the introduction of religious and moral teaching in the schools and in the homes. (Applause.)

Sir HASSAN SUHRAWARDY : I would like to congratulate my colleague, Mr. Runganadhan, on the excellent way in which he has spoken on this important subject. My observations will be very limited, most of the points upon which I wanted to speak having already been so ably dealt with by Sir George Anderson and Sir Firozkhan Noon.

Apart from the top-heavy administration and expenses mentioned by the High Commissioner, I would like to say that the University of Calcutta, the senior and the largest university of India, has for its motto "The Advancement of Learning," but it must be admitted that we have advanced literacy

more than learning. We have produced such a large number of graduates that I remember the writer's cramp from which I used to suffer, when Vice-Chancellor, through signing thousands of diplomas! I must, however, remind you that it is the Calcutta University which possesses the best organized department of post-graduate teaching in arts and sciences, and has to its credit the largest amount of endowments, travelling fellowships, and other funds from private benefactions. The territorial jurisdiction of the University of Calcutta extended at first from the Punjab in the west to Burma in the east and Ceylon in the south. The universities of Lahore, Allahabad, Delhi, Agra, Lucknow, Aligarh, Benares, Nagpur, Patna, Dacca, Colombo, and Rangoon have all come from this parent. Excepting Lahore and Allahabad, the others have come into existence as a result of the recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission's Report, which was presided over by Sir Michael Sadler, then of the University of Leeds, and of which my friend Sir Philip Hartog was a prominent member. The five universities in Southern India mentioned by Mr. Runaganadhan, and, indeed, thirteen out of the eighteen universities of India, all date from after the publication of the Calcutta University Commission's Report.

I entirely agree with Sir Philip Hartog that money should be provided for university education, certainly in an adequate and effective amount to enable the universities to carry on their work satisfactorily; but in a country like India, where money is limited and the needs of the nation-building departments are very great, I would suggest that we discourage a multiplicity of universities and divert all the money we can spare to primary and secondary education, and also to provide and maintain extra-mural institutions like the Institute of Science and Technology at Bangalore.

Mr. Runganadhan has pointedly drawn attention to the fact that, with the autonomy of the provinces, more responsibilities would devolve on the Provincial Governments in charge of Ministers responsible to the people, and here is an opportunity for the elected representatives of the people to give all the importance they can to education of the kind suggested today.

Mahatma Gandhi's great plan, known as the Wardha Scheme, has taken note of three basic facts :

We have to live, and therefore education from the very primary stages should take notice of all the processes which will provide for the building of a house in which to live.

We must wear clothing, therefore the details regarding spinning, weaving, tailoring, etc., have to be taught.

We must eat, therefore cooking, raising of crops and vegetables and other connected details must be given due attention.

Combined with these must be the three Rs, and we will then have a peasantry and population which will not fall victim to the money-lender nor to the professional agitator. We want to give a vocational basis to our academic education from its basic stages. From long-standing personal connections with Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, I can emphatically say that they would like to see our young men grow up to be tolerant and self-respecting citizens of India who can hold up their heads and have minds

of their own. Therefore I would deprecate any attempt to convert education into a denominational scheme which will make our students narrow-minded communalists. We want Indian gentlemen and not bigoted Hindus or Muslims; whether they come out of the Vidhiya Mandir or the Bait-ul-Ilm does not matter.

Mr. Runganadhan has given credit to the Congress Ministry for having put in their programme the introduction of the vernacular as a medium of instruction. It is very good, but I would like to invite his attention to the fact that the University of Calcutta considered this scheme long ago, and so far back as 1932 the Senate and the Syndicate decided that the medium of instruction up to the matriculation stage should be in the vernacular of the student, which is principally Bengali or Hindustani, and English was made a compulsory subject. The credit for all this goes to Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, though I was fortunate to see this scheme through during my term of Vice-Chancellorship.

DIWAN BAHADUR E. S. RUNGANADHAN : I do not know whether there is any reply needed. I am thankful to the several speakers for the remarks they have made in regard to my address.

There was only one remark of the High Commissioner which I have to speak about. I am afraid he misunderstood me in regard to higher education. I never said that higher education at colleges should be entirely under private management. What I said was that, in regard to the lower stages of education, if the Government took over the entire control and management of primary education, it should still permit the existence of private institutions which provided for religious instruction; even if the State took no official recognition of religion in the schools, it should permit well-managed institutions.

I entirely approve of Sir Philip Hartog's suggestion that the Government should permit approved religious teachers to visit these schools and give religious instruction to such of the pupils who desire to take such instruction. That is an excellent idea, and I think it is being done in some schools in Madras.

The CHAIRMAN : Lord Lamington has already thanked Mr. Runganadhan, and it only remains for me to thank him formally, or ask you formally to thank Mr. Runganadhan for his address. (Cheers.)

THE SEVENTY-THIRD ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

FOR THE YEAR ENDING APRIL 30, 1940

TWO-THIRDS of the year to which this report relates was overshadowed by the second great European War within a quarter of a century. In the first four months, though the international situation was menacing, there were still possibilities of averting so great a calamity. The usual activities of the Association were carried on, and it continued to expand numerically. The coming of the war, however, brought some perplexing problems, such as whether the office should be removed from London, and whether it would be possible to secure adequate audiences for meetings to discuss Indian questions. Happily the Council was able to arrange for the continuance of the Association's work, with such adaptations and modifications as the war made inevitable. The wisdom of the decision was increasingly shown as time went on, and members will share the satisfaction of the Council that in various ways the Association has been able to make contributions to the Allied war effort, notably by providing an authentic interpretation of Indian events and reactions to the great conflict.

THE PRE-WAR PERIOD

The meetings of the first months of the year included a survey on May 16 of the perennial Indian Frontier problem by Lieutenant-Colonel C. E. Bruce, who inherited from his father, the right-hand man of Sir Robert Sandeman, an ardent belief in a wider application of the tribal system introduced by that great administrator in Baluchistan. The occasion was made the more helpful by the chairmanship of Field-Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode, who concurred in the opinion generally expressed that the real solution of the problem lay in the amelioration of the economic condition of the Frontier tribes. At a social meeting at the Rubens Hotel on June 28, with Sir Arnold Musto in the chair, an economic sub-

ject of great interest was expounded by Mr. J. H. D. Bedford, late Chief Engineer of the Punjab. He described the new departure in Indian irrigational construction whereby in bringing the Haveli project to completion the canal transferring the waters of the Chenab to the Ravi was lined with brick and not cement.

Two other lectures of the pre-war period threw light on the working of the legislation of 1935 both in Burma and India. Sir John Wardlaw-Milne, M.P., presided at a meeting on June 20, when Mr. F. Burton Leach, formerly Chief Secretary to Government at Rangoon, spoke on "Autonomy on Trial in Burma," and was critical of the course of events since the separation of that Province from India in April, 1937. The last pre-war lecture was a survey on July 18 by Sir William Barton, under the chairmanship of Sir Stanley Reed, M.P., of the tension in the Indian States, and of the effect of the declaration then recently made by a representative conference of Princes and Ministers that the terms offered to the States for joining the Federation were fundamentally unsound and therefore unacceptable.

SOCIAL FUNCTIONS

On the social side the activities of the Association were continued in the summer months. It participated in the observance of Empire Day by the annual banquet of the combined Empire Societies at Grosvenor House. Some 1,200 members of the several organizations and guests were present. The guests of honour were their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of Kent, and the occasion was marked by the relaying of His Majesty's broadcast Empire Day message from Winnipeg. On July 8 Sir Thomas and Lady Smith entertained the members of the Association at a most enjoyable garden party at Oatlands Park Hotel, Weybridge, to bid farewell to Sir Arthur Hope, Governor-designate of Madras, and Sir Thomas Stewart, Governor-designate of Bihar, and their ladies. Lieutenant-Colonel Sir John Herbert, Governor-designate of Bengal, was prevented from attending by military duties in Wales. Later in the month the Maharaja of Burdwan, one of the Association's senior Vice-President, being on a visit to England,

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kindly gave a reception to members to meet the then Secretary of State for India and the Marchioness of Zetland, who were accompanied by the Earl and Countess of Ronaldshay. The 360 guests included two other ex-Governors of Bengal, Sir John Anderson, M.P., and the Hon. Sir Stanley Jackson, together with the Hon. Lady Jackson, Lord and Lady Willingdon and the Nepalese Minister. In this connection reference may be made to the great value, enhanced in war-time, of the grants of £50 per annum made to the Association for hospitality purposes by Their Highnesses the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda and the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior.

AUTUMN SESSION

Plans were made for the autumn session to open with a reception at the Imperial Institute, when Mr. S. Jepson, editor of the *Indian Illustrated Weekly*, was to show films of Indian life. The cards had been printed, but not issued, when the German invasion of Poland on the last day of August brought the long-threatened war. This function and one or two lectures arranged for under peace conditions were cancelled. The Council at an emergency meeting took the situation under review. While important records were deposited in a country place for safety against air raids, it was decided to continue the office work in London and to proceed as far as possible with a programme adapted to war conditions.

RECRUITMENT OF INDIANS FOR THE FORCES

That the Association could render service in war-time was strikingly illustrated by a decision of H.M. Government announced by Lord Zetland some six weeks after hostilities began. In the summer the Council had made a strong and detailed representation to the Secretary of State for India asking for withdrawal of the anomalous requirement that men must be of "pure European descent" to be eligible for volunteering in Great Britain for the combatant services of His Majesty. The memorial pointed out that this differentiation was hurtful to the feelings of loyal Indian, Burman and Anglo-Indian residents in, or visitors to, this country;

also that it was the less called for since Indians had been training for and receiving King's commissions in the Indian Army for more than twenty years past. It was urged that the Secretary of State should press the question on H.M. Government as one calling for spontaneous action without entailing prolonged discussion and argument in the public Press.

A further representation was made on the subject soon after the outbreak of war. Lord Zetland whole-heartedly supported the claim, and on October 18 had the satisfaction of announcing in Parliament that the British Government had decided that during the present emergency Indians, Anglo-Indians and Burmans in this country were to be on the same footing as British subjects of pure European descent as regards voluntary enlistment in the armed forces—naval, military and air—and as regards eligibility to be considered for the grant of emergency commissions in those forces. In the intervening months due effect has been given to this welcome removal of a racial bar. A number of young Indians in this country have been commissioned to the R.A.F. or enrolled under the Reception Unit scheme for training for commissions in the British Army. Other Indians in substantial numbers have volunteered for rank and file service.

WAR-TIME ARRANGEMENTS

Early in the War the Council decided to arrange for occasional joint functions with other societies having connections with the East, and also to exchange hospitality in the matter of admission of members to meetings. Ready acceptance was given to an invitation to co-operate in the work of the Empire Societies War Hospitality Committee set up under the chairmanship of Field-Marshal Lord Milne, with headquarters and a rendezvous for inquiries at the rooms of the Royal Empire Society. While the organization has been of great advantage to contingents from the Dominions and Colonies, the Indian side of the work has not been overlooked, though opportunities have been relatively infrequent, owing to the Indian Forces being employed mainly in Eastern areas. Sir Thomas Smith represents the Association on the Execu-

tive and Finance Committees, and the honorary secretary serves on the General Committee. Note may also be taken of facilities given for bringing the work of the Indian Comforts Fund, under the chairmanship of the Dowager Lady Chelmsford, to the attention of members of the Association, a number of whom are giving active assistance to this effort to provide for the needs of Indian troops and Indian seamen.

The first of a series of joint meetings was held on November 1, when Mr. F. Burton Leach lectured to the Royal Central Asian Society and the Association on "Burma and her Land Communications." The meeting, over which Sir Hugh Stephenson presided, was rendered memorable by the speech of Mr. W. G. Chen, Councillor of the Chinese Embassy, who urged the importance of the completion of the Burma-Yunnan Railway from the point of view of the Chinese Government, and expressed the hope that in spite of the difficulties the British authorities would consider the proposition in a favourable light. On October 19, when the chair was taken by Mr. W. Lints Smith, late manager of *The Times*, Miss Catherine Walter gave the Association a graphic illustrated account of a tour in the Kangra and Kulu Valleys and in Kashmir. On both occasions and during the winter months meetings were held early in the afternoon to avoid travel in "black-out" hours. The change undoubtedly contributed to attendances at all the meetings being much larger than might have been expected.

INDIA AND THE WAR EFFORT

The broad general aim of the lecture programme was that of public enlightenment on the various aspects of India's relation to the War. An authoritative series of papers for the purpose was begun on November 14, with Sir Frank Noyce's exposition of the vast contribution India is in a position to make, and is making, on the supply side of the Allied effort. Both on this occasion and when on January 23 Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Frederick O'Connor described at a joint meeting with the Overseas League India's military contribution to the War, the chair was appropriately taken by Sir Firozkhan Noon, the High Commissioner for India.

Discussions on such subjects were made the more helpful by the presence and speeches of representatives of our French and Polish Allies.

The anomaly of India's whole-hearted abhorrence of Hitlerism side by side with political controversy in the country and the resignations of the Congress Ministries was handled with breadth of vision on December 8 by Sir Alfred Watson, with Sir Edward Campbell, M.P., in the chair. A particular aspect of the political situation—namely, the Muslim opposition to Congress claims—was eloquently expounded on February 6, by Mr. A. Yusuf Ali under the chairmanship of Sir Harold Wilberforce Bell. An informative paper on "World-wide Reactions to Events in India," in which opinions in many lands, and especially in the U.S.A., were deftly summarized, was read on March 5 by Professor Basil Mathews. On this occasion members were gratified to have in the Chair Mr. R. A. Butler, M.P., who gave such frequent help to the Association during his term as Under-Secretary of State for India. The then holder of that office, Sir Hugh O'Neill, presided at the last meeting of the year on April 26, when Sir Harry Haig spoke of the course of events in the United Provinces, where during five years of Governorship recently completed he guided the introduction of Provincial Autonomy, worked with an interim and then a Congress Ministry, and, in the last weeks of his term, conducted the administration without the assistance of a Cabinet. In April also at a joint meeting with the Royal Central Asian Society a survey of pre-war and present conditions in such important Empire fibres as jute and sisal was given by Mr. Alfred Wigglesworth, a foremost authority on the subject, under the chairmanship of Sir Harry Lindsay, Director of the Imperial Institute.

THE CAXTON HALL TRAGEDY

Another joint meeting with the R.C.A.S., which would have been memorable in any event, was held at the Caxton Hall on March 13, with Lord Zetland, then Secretary of State for India, in the Chair. Brigadier-General Sir Percy Sykes gave a masterly survey of recent Afghan history—the fruit of life-long acquaint-

ance with the Middle East and of his researches in the preparation of a history of Afghanistan, which will take rank with his standard *History of Persia*. In the discussion a brilliant and witty speech was made by Sir Michael O'Dwyer. At the close of a crowded and successful meeting, when all present were about to leave, one of the audience (who, with many others unable to find seats, had been standing against the wall to the left of the platform) fired at very short range six shots, killing Sir Michael and wounding Lord Zetland, Lord Lamington and Sir Louis Dane. The Secretary of State escaped death as by a miracle. Our honoured President and our former Chairman of Council were both wounded in the right arm. The alleged assailant was overpowered, being first checked as he rushed towards the door by the intrepid act of Miss Bertha Herring. The crime, the first of its kind in this country at Indian hands since the assassination of Sir Curzon Wylie at the Imperial Institute in 1909, met with the strongest condemnation in India no less than at home. The *Daily Telegraph and Morning Post* made a comment giving expression to a general feeling which has been voiced in many of the messages of sympathy received :

“ Few people could imagine that a quiet and friendly meeting of the East India Association, which centres its activities on the promotion of goodwill between Englishmen and Indians, could be made the occasion of an attack such as this. It is the very confidence of those who have served India in the kindliness of Indian sentiment that gives the assassin his opportunity.”

As a mark of sorrow and esteem the members of Council attended the requiem mass for Sir Michael O'Dwyer at Brompton Oratory. At an emergency meeting held a few days after the crime the Council considered the question of taking precautions against such dread possibilities. The policy of the Association in the matter of admission of non-members, and particularly of young Indians, to its publicly announced meetings has always been liberal, and modifications called for by an act of fanaticism are regrettable. Coloured cards of membership have

been provided, and the Council asks for the co-operation of members by the production of these cards on entry and by the giving at the door of the names of visitors they may bring, who will continue to be most welcome.

THE COUNCIL

The close of the year was further shadowed by the loss by death within a few days of each other of the Chairman and the senior Vice-Chairman of the Council. Sir Malcolm was near the completion of his second triennial term as Chairman and had decided not to accept re-appointment, on the ground of the grievous ill-health which had so limited his physical powers of late. Whenever it was possible for him to do so—and often at the cost of much pain—Sir Malcolm attended meetings and carried out with great ability every obligation of his office. From his home, which for such long periods he could not leave, he kept in close touch with the work by means of letters and of visits to him by the Honorary Secretary. In Sir James MacKenna the Council lost a businesslike and always helpful Vice-Chairman, who also had to battle against ill-health. The two vacancies have been filled by the election of Sir John Woodhead, who joined the Council on returning from his *ad interim* Governorship of Bengal, as Chairman, and of Sir Thomas Smith as a Vice-Chairman, both for a period of three years. In December the Council lost a colleague by the death of Sir Reginald Glancy, whose intimate knowledge of the Indian States was most valuable.

Sir Abdul Qadir and Sardar Bahadur Mohan Singh resigned their seats on return to India on completing their respective tenures as Advisers to the Secretary of State for India. The Council had pleasure in co-opting their successors, Sir Hassan Suhrawardy and Mr. Ragavendra Rao. The Council also co-opted Sir Harry Haig and Sir Alfred Watson, while Sir Reginald Spence retired on account of war-time activities. Leave of absence on grounds of national service was given to the Dowager Marchioness of Reading, Lady Bennett and Mr. Hugh Molson, M.P.

It is open to any member of the Association to propose a candi-

date or candidates for election at the Annual Meeting to vacancies in the Council subject to 15 days' notice being given to the Honorary Secretary. The following Members of the Council retire by rotation and are eligible for re-election: Lord Hailey, Sir Herbert Emerson, Sir Ernest Hotson, the Dowager Marchioness of Reading, Sir Thomas Smith and Sir Hopetoun Stokes.

MEMBERSHIP

In addition to the losses in our ranks already mentioned there have passed away, full of years and honour, Sir Hugh Barnes, one of our Vice-Presidents; Sir Charles Yate, who, during residence in London, served on the Council for more than two decades; and Sir George Forbes, who was nearing the position of Father of the Indian Civil Service. Other deaths during the year included H.H. the Yuvaraja of Mysore; Colonel A. J. Muirhead, late Parliamentary Under-Secretary for India; Sir Daniel Hamilton, a veteran lover of the Indian peasant; Sir Hormasjee Cowasjee Dinshaw, Sir Azizuddin Ahmad and Mrs. Alec Tweedie.

The searching test of another great European War has told on voluntary societies such as ours, and economic pressure has led to the number of resignations being substantially larger than usual. In July the membership had reached a figure never before attained, save in the flush of enthusiasm in the early days of the Association; but for the first time for some years the number of new members was less than the total loss due to resignations and revisions. The net decrease, however, constitutes a very small percentage of the total roll. Moreover, encouragement is to be derived from the accession during the year of many distinguished persons, including as they do one of the great Ruling Princes of India, the heir to the Mysore *gadi*, the Governors of three Indian provinces, and the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for India.

In the autumn the President addressed a personal letter to members recognizing the difficulties facing all under war conditions, but appealing with confidence to members both at home and overseas to continue their support. Many encouraging replies

were received. It should be remembered in this connection that members both in India and at home who can seldom if ever attend meetings have a return for their subscriptions in the regular supply, post-free, of the *Asiatic Review*. In respect to that quarterly appreciative messages are frequent. One of these, sent by a member of discriminating literary judgment in the middle of April, may be quoted :

“I want to congratulate you most warmly on the last two issues of the *Asiatic Review*. I have never known the Review to contain so much first-class matter, or to be so comprehensive in its treatment of affairs of the East. I should like you to know how much I have appreciated the last two issues and what a great value I attach to their authoritative and illuminating contents.”

FINANCE

In financial administration care is exercised to prevent avoidable expenditure and the economies of recent years will be helpful now that we are faced by additional outlay arising from the higher postal charges and other increases.

The thanks of the Council are due to Mr. de La Valette and Mr. Walter F. Westbrook for their services in auditing the Accounts.

The Council desire once again to place on record their great appreciation of the work done on behalf of the Association by the Hon. Secretary, Sir Frank Brown. The organization of the Association's activities demands constant attention and involves much hard work, and the outbreak of war at the beginning of September increased considerably the responsibilities of the Hon. Secretary.

J. A. WOODHEAD,
Chairman.

F. H. BROWN,
Hon. Secretary.

May 22, 1940.

SEVENTY-THIRD ANNUAL MEETING

THE Seventy-Third Annual General Meeting was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Wednesday, July 3, 1940.

THE PRESIDENT, the Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., was in the chair, and in opening the proceedings said: The Seventy-Third Annual Report has been sent to all members, and it is not necessary for me to speak in any detail of the work of the twelve months to which it relates. For all societies such as ours the year 1939-40 was one of anxiety, and presented new and difficult problems. We may regard ourselves as fortunate in having been able to maintain, with adjustments to war conditions, our main activities. You will have seen from the Report, especially if you have looked down the list of meetings in one of the appendices, that our programme has had direct relation to India's part in the war effort. The authorities who lectured to us on the various aspects of this effort were drawn in great preponderance from our own members, and I note with pleasure that some of them are with us today. An impressive feature of this symposia on India and the war was the weight of evidence it provided of the unity of all shades of Indian opinion in detestation of Nazi brutality and disregard of all moral considerations. Another feature brought out was that of the greatness and variety of the contribution India is making, and still more can make, to the grim task of overthrowing Hitler's purpose to enslave mankind by force and fraud.

A matter on which the Association may be congratulated is that it had some share in the widening of opportunities for combatant service for the Crown by Indians in this country or in their own land.

In furtherance of the Indian war effort we were anticipating that the Dowager Lady Chelmsford would be speaking to us at Grosvenor House a fortnight ago on the Indian Comforts Fund, over which she presides, and that we should then be able to show hospitality to Indian officers and others connected with India's war effort. But the gravity of the war situation, when news came that Marshal Pétain's Government was virtually giving up the struggle in France, led to the decision only two days beforehand to cancel the reception. Both Lord Zetland, who was to preside, and I felt that it would not be fitting at so grave a crisis for us to meet in considerable numbers for a social occasion.

My regret at the cancellation was the greater as we were to welcome back to this country at the same time Lord Erskine after his five and a half years' tenure of the Governorship of Madras. We are privileged to have Lord Erskine with us today, and we congratulate him upon being able so soon after his return to re-enter the House of Commons, which he knows and understands so well. The intensification of the war also led to the abandonment of the proposed luncheon of the Empire Societies to the Earl

of Athlone and H.R.H. Princess Alice, Countess of Athlone, prior to their departure for Canada.

Happily we have been able to maintain our lecture programme without curtailment. The attendance has been remarkably good, taking into account the effect of the war both in scattering a proportion of our London membership and in imposing heavy additional work upon so many of us. In these days of much impaired communications, with the air mail suspended and the sea mail coming round by the Cape at irregular intervals, it is most important that those of us who have a profound affection for India should meet from time to time to discuss her problems, and that the information given and the views expressed should be put on record to assist in the formation of public opinion. Sir Alfred Watson, who is a member of the Council, wrote wisely on the subject of the study of India in a recent issue of *Great Britain and the East*, the valuable paper which he edits. Of our own activities he said that they reach in the main persons who already have ties with India, and he urged that steps should be taken "to bring light to the millions of ignorant people." I am quite sure that the Council will be ready to assist in every effort in this direction.

In addition to war difficulties, the year was one of exceptional vicissitude in domestic affairs. We lost by death in quick succession Sir Malcolm Seton, Chairman of the Council, and Sir James MacKenna, the senior Vice-Chairman, both of whom had rendered most useful and zealous service. Reference is made in the Report to the tragic event on March 13, which deprived the country of a greatly honoured servant of India, Sir Michael O'Dwyer. His murder, and the attempts upon the lives of others of us who were present, would seem to be the isolated act of a fanatic, and it was universally condemned in India as in this country. A few days ago there came the announcement of the conferment by His Majesty of the M.B.E. upon Miss Bertha Herring, who was warmly congratulated by Mr. Justice Atkinson at the trial for her plucky act in stopping the assailant as he rushed towards the door. We welcome her presence with us today. It goes without saying that we join in these congratulations both on the brave deed and on its recognition by His Majesty. (Applause.)

By a remarkable coincidence, during the severe winter our old and valued servant, Mr. King, sustained a serious accident by the bursting of the boiler in his house. Like Sir Louis Dane and myself, he was deprived for some weeks of the use of an arm and hand. He returned to work the first moment the doctor gave him permission to do so, and we congratulate both him and ourselves on his recovery. (Applause.)

I wish as President to express my thanks to the Council for good attendances at the meetings held during the year. We are fortunate in having secured the services of Sir John Woodhead as Chairman, and Sir Thomas Smith as Vice-Chairman for the usual period of three years. Two members of Council, who retire by rotation, are not being put forward for re-election. Lord Hailey, in view of his many preoccupations, instead of being re-elected, has been invited to become a Vice-President in the room of the late Sir Hugh Barnes. The Dowager Marchioness of Reading is so greatly occupied in her important national service as head of the Women's Volun-

tary Organization that she is not standing for re-election, though we hope to have the benefit of her assistance when the national emergency is ended.

I will now ask Sir Frank Noyce to propose the adoption of the Report.

Sir FRANK NOYCE : I regard it as a high honour to be called upon to move the adoption of the Report. That Report, like the Reports of so many other peaceful activities today, is heavily overshadowed by the clouds of war. But I think the first thought that must have occurred to most of us, when we read it, was of the heavy personal losses our Association has suffered during the past year. That tragic March 13, of which we have such poignant memories, deprived us of the keen interest shown in the work of this Association by the greatest Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab since John Lawrence. In addition to Sir Michael O'Dwyer, we have lost, amongst others, Sir Malcolm Seton, our Chairman, Sir James MacKenna, our Senior Vice-Chairman, and Sir Hugh Barnes, one of our Vice-Presidents.

I may perhaps be allowed to pay a special tribute to the memory of Sir James MacKenna, one of my oldest and closest friends. I served with him on the Indian Cotton Committee, the Indian Sugar Committee and the Royal Commission on Agriculture. His boundless kindness of heart, his shrewd judgment of men and affairs, and his great capacity for throwing oil on troubled waters made him a most valuable member of those Committees as he was of our Council. I am sure you would wish me to welcome Sir James Woodhead and Sir Thomas Smith, in whom Sir Malcolm Seton and Sir James MacKenna have most worthy successors.

The second thought that occurred to me when reading the Report was that our Council showed great wisdom in continuing our activities in London in spite of war conditions. Indian news has been completely crowded out of the newspapers of late, and it seems to me, therefore, that this Association has performed a most valuable function in continuing to provide a forum for the discussion of Indian questions and, thereby, in directing the attention of the people of this country and of India itself to the immense part India is playing in the present struggle in men, material, and in every other possible way. I designedly said "in directing the attention of the people of India," for, as you, my Lord, told us last year the discussions of this Association are watched with close attention in India. I have had a good deal of evidence of that in letters from India in recent months.

Another point of special interest in the Report is the account of the action our Council took to ensure that membership of the forces in this country should be open to Indians, Anglo-Indians, and Burmans. That was a very important step, and it is a hopeful augury of what the Council may do in future. It is, I think, a striking feature of the Report that it shows that our activities are not confined to discussions in this hall and the publication of the *ASIATIC REVIEW*. In addition to the action to which I have just referred, there is also our liaison with the Empire Societies' War Hospitality Committee and with the Indian Comforts Fund.

I should doubt whether in the long history of this Association any more valuable papers have been read than those that have been read during the

last year, and I have no doubt that that will be even more true of the immediate future. India's future is in the melting-pot, as is that of Europe, and it will be to the increasing advantage of that country and of this to have in this Association a centre in which Indian problems can be discussed dispassionately and with authority.

A careful study of the Reports of the proceedings of our General Meetings for some years past has convinced me that it is almost impossible to discover any new way of expressing adequately our appreciation of the work our Honorary Secretary does for the Association. His devotion to its interests becomes more and more wholehearted as the years go by and, if I may speak from my own personal experience, in furthering them, he more and more displays the characteristics of the benevolent autocrat. I know full well when I get a request from him to do something for the Association that it has got to be done or he will know the reason why. I need hardly say that it is almost invariably done.

In conclusion, I should like to say what a great pleasure it is to all of us to have you, My Lord, with us this afternoon. Throughout the whole of last year, but especially since that tragic day in March, you have set us a magnificent example of what is meant by "carrying on." (Cheers.)

Mr. C. G. HANCOCK : It is with very great pleasure that I rise to second the adoption of the Report. It always seems to me that people who second Reports are like those after-dinner speakers who proceed to talk about something they do not understand to people who do not want to listen.

I would like to refer to one thing, and that is the question of new members. We could very easily double our membership of this Association, if every one of us were to try to get one new member in the coming year. Today I was speaking to someone whose *History of India* we know very well, I dare say, Sir George Dunbar. I asked if he was coming to this meeting, and he said he was not a member, but that he would like very much to join and would do so at once. All of you can think of various people who would be ready to join if you only persuade them. After all, the object of this Society is a great one. It is no less than to promote the welfare of the inhabitants of India. Why is that so important at the present moment? It is because India provides us with the sinews of war—jute for the sand-bags, tea, rice, hides, skins, manganese, cotton. Another reason is that our exports to India provide work for something like one million people in this country. Thirdly, India is important because in India we have a great reserve of man power and can provide a great striking force running into millions. For these reasons therefore I think it is very important to get people to take consistent interest in India. Let us each try and get one more member in the coming year, and thus hand on to the new generation the torch of enthusiasm and devotion to India which has been held aloft so nobly by Sir Frank Brown and the East India Association. I have much pleasure in seconding the adoption of the Report. (Applause.)

Sir GEORGE ANDERSON : I speak on behalf of the *mufassal* (country) members. We are all suffering to a greater or lesser extent from feelings

of isolation. I for one and other *mufassal* members cannot be too grateful to the Association for carrying on and enabling us to continue our interest in India, and to have the opportunity of meeting our friends and having some relief from this isolation.

Mrs. MUKERJEE : I have suggested to Sir Frank Brown that at each meeting, after the paper is read or a speech made, it should be open to general debate for at least ten or twelve minutes, and that if members wanted to put questions they could do so. I also suggested that once or twice a year a social subject should be chosen. We might discuss the social problem between Indians and Europeans, or any social question of interest to the members of the East India Association.

The adoption of the Report and Accounts was carried unanimously.

LORD ERSKINE : It is my very pleasant duty to propose that Lord Lamington should be re-elected as President of this Association. We all know the immense work that Lord Lamington has done to help the Association for many years : indeed, it is difficult for us to realize what the Association would have done without him, and I think we shall all agree that the very fact that he has considered it possible once again to serve as President shows how much at heart he has the interests of India and of this Association.

I am sure also we should all like to congratulate Lord Lamington on his recovery from the wound he sustained on March 13, and as Sir Frank Noyce said, we admire the remarkable manner in which he has carried on in spite of his injury.

Before I went to India myself I was not a member of this Association, and therefore I did not really know what it did or how it functioned ; but as soon as I got to India Sir Frank Brown very kindly sent me the *Journal* and the *ASIATIC REVIEW*, and I am bound to say that the meetings held here had for me an immense interest. I am sure that the Association is doing a tremendous amount of good, and that the more members we can get the better. At the present time, owing to the shortage of newsprint, very little is said about the Indian Empire in our great newspapers, but then, after all, in the days before the war far too little was said, anyhow. It is a great pity that the British public take so little interest in the Indian Empire, and it is one of the objects of this Association to stimulate such interest. I hope that the Association will go from strength to strength.

Meanwhile, I believe that it is essential that we should keep the flag flying, because, if we do not, it will appear that the Press hardly intend to mention the Indian Empire at all. I believe that the meetings we have here, and the discussions, carried on as they are by people who know India and who realize what they are talking about, do do an immense amount of good, for after the war I am quite sure that we shall hear a great deal more about India. The constitutional problem, as everybody knows, is by no means settled ; in fact, it might almost be said that the discussions are barely beginning, and we in this Association, who know that fascinating country, can certainly do a great deal of good in helping to steer India's barque to a happy future.

I hope, therefore, that, whatever may happen in this western world, we shall, so long as we are able to, maintain these meetings and keep the flag flying in these dark and difficult days.

Well, I did not get up to make you a speech, but to propose that Lord Lamington should be re-elected. I am sure you will re-elect him with acclamation, and that we will all say that we are only too delighted that he has once again consented to serve. (Applause.)

Sir JOHN WOODHEAD : It is a great pleasure to me to second the resolution that you should be our President for the year 1940-41.

I have little to add to what has been said by Lord Erskine and Sir Frank Noyce. We appreciate all that he has done for the Association through many years, and if proof were necessary of his great interest in the work of the Association, we have it today, because—perhaps you do not all know—Lord Lamington made a special journey from Scotland to attend. (Applause.) May I on my own behalf also endorse what has been said by Lord Erskine and Sir Frank Noyce as regards your recovery, sir. We are extremely pleased to see that you have made such a marvellous recovery.

I have great pleasure in seconding the resolution. (Applause.)

The motion, having been put to the meeting by Sir John Woodhead, was carried unanimously and with acclamation.

The CHAIRMAN : I suppose some good comes out of everything. I feel that my deafness prevents me from listening to compliments which were quite unduly paid to me. I appreciate very much indeed that Lord Erskine has come here this afternoon to propose my election, and that he should be supported by Sir John Woodhead.

I have for several years said that I know my time for demission has come, that I ought to be giving up office. I do feel it is quite true; it is not an over-statement of the case. I have had the honour of being President for a number of years, and my increasing deafness makes me less valuable than ever. However, I appreciate so highly the honour of being your President, that I really cannot resist the temptation of accepting the invitation of the resolution.

The East India Association has shown that there are distinct means of doing good and of bringing about a better understanding between this country and India. It has had a wonderful effect, I think. Our papers, I understand, are read with interest in India, and everyone who speaks can rely on having a fair run for their money. Therefore I do very highly appreciate the honour of being re-elected, and also I have the feeling that I am contributing some very small mite towards helping the good relations between India and ourselves. With these words, ladies and gentlemen, I thank you very much indeed for the great honour you have paid me in re-electing me as President of the East India Association. (Applause.)

Sir ATUL CHATTERJEE proposed the election as members of Sir Courtenay Latimer and Dr. Harbans Lall Gulati.

This was seconded by Sir ALFRED WATSON and carried.

Mr. OLIVER STEBBINGS : I have to propose the election and re-election of Members of the Council. Under a rule of the Association a proportion of the Members of Council retire each year and those who are eligible offer themselves for re-election. Those who retire this year and offer themselves for re-election are Sir Herbert Emerson, Sir Ernest Hotson, Sir Thomas Smith and Sir Hopetoun Stokes, all of whom are very well known to you, and all of whom have served the Association generously and well in the past. I accordingly propose that this meeting should re-appoint them for a further period of service.

By virtue of another rule the Council have power to co-opt Members to serve with them on the Council. A number of gentlemen have been so co-opted and their co-option now falls to be confirmed by this Annual General Meeting. All of them are gentlemen who have served India with eminence and distinction and we can count ourselves fortunate in securing their willingness to continue that service on the governing body of this Association. Their names are Sir Harry Haig, Sir Idwal Lloyd, Sir Courtenay Latimer, Sir Frank Noyce, Mr. E. Ragavendra Rao, Diwan Bahadur E. S. Runganadhan, Sir Hassan Suhrawardy, Sir John Woodhead, and Sir Alfred Watson. These are names which will be familiar to you all. They are names which form part of the pattern of recent Indian history, and it would be presumptuous on my part to add any words by way of commendation. I accordingly propose that their co-option to the Council be confirmed.

We have heard much this afternoon from previous speakers of the value of this influential and important Association. When I went to India five years ago one of the first things that was said to me by non-official Europeans was that they wished Members of the House of Commons had a better understanding of their point of view. I pointed out that that was exactly what Members of the House of Commons said about them. The distance of six thousand miles of land and water is a powerful barrier to the rapid and ready understanding of different points of view. What seems good to us here is often less attractive when it reaches India, and the same is true of the opposite journey. The East India Association helps to bridge the gap, and by bringing together here at Westminster, at the very heart of the Paramount Power, the different points of view which exist not only within India, but between India and this country, it performs a valuable and responsible service in the development and formation of sound opinion.

We meet under the shadow of war. This part of the world is in tumult. Powerful impulses are at work today shaping the destiny of Europe. Those impulses are stretching out in ever widening circles and bringing within their orbit other parts of the world. The war cannot fail to have serious and important repercussions throughout the Indian Empire, and particularly in the constitutional sphere. None can say what issues will fall to be considered between India and ourselves in the near future, or what part this Association will be called upon to play in facilitating their friendly solution. In the present conditions of political instability and uncertainty it is therefore all the more important that we should have on the Council gentlemen whose knowledge and experience embrace all parts of the Indian peninsula,

and whose wisdom in counsel is well known to us all. It is in that spirit, ladies and gentlemen, that I propose the re-election of Sir Herbert Emerson, Sir Ernest Hotson, Sir Thomas Smith, and Sir Hopetoun Stokes, and the confirmation of the co-option to the Council of the nine gentlemen whose names I have read to you.

The motion was seconded by Mr. Yusuf Ali and carried unanimously.

IN MEMORIAM

It is with the deepest regret that the Council records the death on September 16, in his eighty-first year, of Lord Lamington, who was so recently re-elected, as the foregoing Report shows, President for another year. He had taken an active part in the affairs of the Association from the time of the close of his Governorship of Bombay at the end of 1903. He followed the late Sir Lepel Griffin as Chairman of Council in 1908, and his presidentship dated from after the death of Lord Reay in 1922. He was re-elected year by year, and at each annual meeting testimony was borne to his zealous services, which sprung, as was universally recognized, from his profound affection for India. Those services and that affection were in no way quenched by the injuries he sustained on March 13, and he bore the shock with remarkable fortitude and cheerfulness. His death less than three months after his re-election gives a memorial significance to the observations upon his fidelity and courage then made by Sir Frank Noyce, Lord Erskine and Sir John Woodhead. The Association was represented at the funeral at Lamington by Sir Thomas Holland, Principal of Edinburgh University.

INDIAN NATIONALISM AND THE WAR

BY T. A. RAMAN

BEFORE an audience such as this I need not essay a general picture of the Indian political scene. "Background stuff," as we journalists term it, is superfluous to many of you who have long and intimate acquaintance with the problems of India. But we live in a period of bewildering uncertainties, of incredible inversions, and the Indian problem bristles with detail. It may therefore be desirable to recount and examine certain basic factors of the situation.

First of these is the strength of sentiment in India against Hitlerism and its variants. Could there be any doubt that Indian opinion is unanimously and wholeheartedly anti-Nazi? The long heritage of a culture which set the Brahmin and the learned man above kings and commanders; the profound influence of Hinduism, with its stress on life as a means of spiritual regeneration, of Muhammadanism, perhaps the most equalitarian of religions, and of Buddhism, with its basic tenets of *ahimsa* and truth; the deep instincts of self-preservation of a large and composite population; the very character of Indian nationalism, which, true to the genius of the country, is anti-violence and anti-race in its deepest concept—all these rise up against any possibility of doubt on the subject. Now and at any future time there is no place in India for the Nazi creed of State-worship, brute force, and racial mania. Add to these the fact that no people feel so fervently for the oppressed as those struggling for their own rights, and we get some idea of the depth of anti-Hitlerism in India.

AGAINST NAZI AGGRESSION

The roots of this sentiment are spiritual and cultural, and it is not surprising, therefore, that Dr. Goebbels finds it difficult to understand; but I do not think that some of us give it the fullest value either. This may partly be because the Indian nationalist prefers to describe himself as an "anti-imperialist," a phrase

which irritates some in Britain who genuinely believe in the spiritual quality of the British Empire. What the Congressman means by "imperialism," however, is aggression, the forcible suppression of alien liberties and the exploitation of the weak and the subject. No Congressman doubts that the Nazis and the Fascists are the most complete and the most brutal incarnations of these evils. Each time a man of the integrity of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru decries "imperialism" he must be understood to denounce the Nazis while at the same time protesting that these qualities, or the traces thereof, should be completely expunged from Indo-British relations.

What could better prove India's deep detestation of the Nazis than the way in which the nationalist Press has spurned German "sympathy" with their cause? "Spare India!" exclaimed Pandit Nehru's paper, the *National Herald*.

"Words of sympathy for our cause come with no grace or truth from the lips of Hitler and Ribbentrop, men whose hands are reeking with the blood of mutilated Poland and Czecho-Slovakia. For even when these men speak the Gospel the world will not believe them, and India's cause will suffer to that extent."

When Herr Hitler was reported in November last to have said that "he would bow to Britain if she granted independence to India," the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* inquired if the independence he had in mind was of the same sort as he had conferred on Poland and Czecho-Slovakia and was about to grant to Holland and Belgium. "We have our quarrel with Britain," the paper continued, "but we do not require the master-villain to point a moral and adorn the tale!"

Nor need Dr. Goebbels have been so angrily surprised at Pandit Jawaharlal's curt refusal to visit Germany when he was last in Europe. Signor Mussolini, too, knows how vain have been his efforts to attract eminent Indians to the shallow end of the pond. Both Germany and Italy might have avoided much waste and mortification if their régimes had taken the trouble to study the character of Indian nationalism, or merely noted the fact that, of the thousands who went to prison during the civil disobedience days, none was accused of consorting with a foreign Power. The

net result of many efforts to attract Indians to the ideal of Axial liberation is the motley crowd of waifs and strays which Dr. Goebbels has collected round him in Berlin—men, I must say, of a certain *expertise* because they sell lies to professional liars.

THE APPEASEMENT POLICY

Dr. Goebbels may also have noted that the Indian nationalist Press throughout had bitterly assailed the foreign policy of Britain before the war, on the ground that it temporized with insatiable evil, that it sacrificed principle for calculations of expediency. Abyssinia, Spain, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, and China: our hearts went out to each of these countries. We hailed as heroes the few Indians who fought for Republican Spain, and when that brave man, Dr. Madan Mohan Atal, returned from Spain at the end of the civil war the Indian public equipped him with an ambulance unit and sent him to China, where he is still doing splendid work with an all-Indian corps. Our Press raged bitterly against what it considered Britain's moral waverings. The Hoare-Laval episode, the dilly-dallyings of the Non-Intervention Committee, Munich itself, were all bitterly assailed as unworthy, or, if moderate Congress papers condoned them at all, it was on the ground that they were inescapable evils. Throughout the nationalist Press and platform supported Mr. Churchill's resolute stand against aggression and delightedly played up every rumour of his being taken into the Cabinet. Let us note, too, the singular fact that the policy they were attacking was in the hands of a man whom India still holds in deep personal respect—Lord Halifax—and the champion they were supporting led the opposition in 1935 to even the Government of India Act of that year.

RUSSIAN AGGRESSION

But the great test of the moral value of India's stand against aggression came when the Soviet invaded Finland. Indian nationalists, especially the younger ones, have always nourished an interest in that large, poor, and illiterate country, which by revolutionary methods was raising its material and military strength. India had also a profound respect for the foreign policy

which Litvinoff summed up in the ringing phrases "collective security" and "indivisible peace." When, however, proletarian bombs began raining on Helsinki the Congress Press was not slow to make up its mind about it. "This is an act of banditry worse than any committed by Germany," wrote the *Hindustan Times*, and the paper went on denouncing in scathing terms "the tyrants who have enthroned themselves in the Kremlin in the name of the world proletariat." The *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, a paper with more Leftist leanings, declared that Red Communism was at last unmasked. Pandit Nehru was evidently shocked profoundly and appealed at first that the Indian public should not rush to judgment—an appeal which the Moscow radio eagerly played up as support from the Indian leader. Then after a few days Mr. Nehru came out with a statement which many of you may have read, but which deserves to be quoted and remembered as the key to the character of Indian nationalism under men like him :

"With the invasion of Finland," he wrote, "Russia has lined herself with the aggressor nations, bartered away her moral prestige and the friendship of many nations, and played false to the traditions she herself had nourished for many years. . . . There are those who have made it their creed to defend every activity of the Soviet Government and who consider it heresy or *lèse-majesté* to criticize or condemn any such activity. That is the way of blind faith, which has nothing to do with reason. It is not on that basis that we can build freedom here or elsewhere. Integrity of mind and sincerity of purpose can be given up only at peril to ourselves and our cause. We are not tied down to decisions made elsewhere; we make our own decisions and fashion our own policy. . . . We in India extend our friendly sympathy to the Socialism of Russia, and any attempt to break it will meet with our strong disapproval, but we do not give our sympathies to the political manoeuvres and aggression of Russia's Government. In the war against Finland our sympathies are with the gallant Finnish people, who struggle to preserve their freedom. We have to remember yet again that in this revolutionary age of transition and change, when all old values are upset and we seek new standards, we must retain our integrity of mind and purpose and hold fast to means and methods which are right and which are in conformity with our ideals and objectives. Those objectives will not be achieved through violence or authoritarianism or opportunism of the moment. We must adhere to non-violence and right action and evolve through this the free India for which we labour."

I make no apology for quoting that statement at length. Events since have, to some extent, dispelled our worst forebodings about

Soviet policy. Nevertheless, this decisive verdict from a man who is, perhaps, the most sincere Socialist in the world, who has always felt a tenderness for Russia, and who, at the time he made it, was flooded with urgent special pleading from friends of Moscow, is, I think, of permanent value. Nothing so well illustrates the integrity of Indian nationalism. Nothing offers a surer guarantee of the part that Indian nationalism can play in a struggle to restore international morality.

This identity of outlook between Indian nationalism and British policy today is a rock on which the future relations between India and Britain may securely be built. I do not know of any community anywhere which will support Britain's cause today out of a deeper conviction. Indian nationalism, once its rightful place is assured, will, I feel certain, prove the most implacable and the most wholehearted opponent of Hitlerism; will stand unwaveringly by Britain, whatever be the changes and developments of this amazing war, through all that may befall, to the end that aggression is crushed and the world made secure for a just and wise replanning. To the last man and to the last rupee the millions of her people will see the struggle through in all contingencies save one, which Britain, happily, will not contemplate—an attempt at any time to compromise with Hitlerism.

IDENTITY OF INTEREST

Sentiment, however powerful and deep, cannot determine policy entirely, and we might therefore recall the second fundamental of Indo-British relationship today. Identity of outlook is matched only by identity of interest. Pandit Nehru once reminded India that, to the anthropologists of the Third Reich, Indians occupied a place in the ladder of creation somewhere between ape and man. But the prodigal promise-makers of the Nazi régime have also played a different tune. "Independence," a place as the supreme middle-Asiatic Power, and much else has been offered in whispers before the war and in loud blarings on the Nazi radio since. Madame Tabouis once showed me a document purporting to be a secret speech of Hitler's, in which he dwelt on India at length and said that he desired India to have full cultural independence.

No responsible Indian nationalist will dream of even toying with these proffers and promises. "Independence," "culture"—strange words on Nazi lips, but, even taking them at their face value, what, as Gandhi asked, would India's freedom be worth in such a world? Would not the first task of an India liberated with Nazi help be to beggar the country still further in order to hold all her vast area impregnable against attack from the benefactor and his spiritual kin? Nor would political subjection be but the smallest part of the price that India will have to pay if that universal disaster of a Nazi victory were to befall the world. The rise of Fascism and Nazism has had repercussions, immediate and direct, on every country of the world. Their complete victory would mean the destruction of moral values in India as well as in Europe. It is not a Christian or a "Western" civilization that is now at stake, but basic moral values in humanity at large. There is abundant evidence to prove that Indian nationalists are fully alive to what in moral values is now in peril.

INDIA'S ECONOMIC CONTRIBUTION

Finally, there is between the war needs and the lasting interests of India a compelling parallelism of material interest that no politician can escape. In the vital field of defence the attempt must now be made to make India self-contained as soon as possible. Indianization on a wide basis, and not merely confined to the so-called "martial races," must now be galvanized into a new tempo. Then, again, in the economic field the war needs demand that India should organize and develop production over a whole range of manufactured goods. And a healthier balance between industry and agriculture is also the crying need of the country. Indian leaders are not unaware of this identity of interest nor of the dangers to India of allowing the war needs to be exploited to the advantage of sectional interests. Wisely and patriotically handled, the whole economic stature of India may be raised under the impetus of the war, and there is no reason why the healthy socialization which is going on in Britain should not be reproduced in India, to the lasting advantage of the great mass of the people.

A COMMON PERIL

I have recalled what I consider the basic factors of Indo-British relationship today. Sentiment, identity of destiny, and parallelism of immediate interest all point in the same direction. There is no reason to believe that the most responsible leaders of Indian nationalism are unaware of these considerations or of the further political factor that a great party like the Congress cannot stultify itself with a policy of mere non-embarrassment in an hour of supreme destiny. These factors as well as internal differences are responsible for the Congress having so wisely avoided following up the recall of the Provincial Ministries by further measures of non-co-operation. Personally I deplore the fact that this identity of interest has not been more openly acknowledged in India. In the course of a statement he gave me some weeks ago Mr. Amery stressed the oneness of the peril that overhangs both India and Britain :

“There has been no lack of appreciation of these issues in India,” he said, “and in recent weeks sympathy and support have found many new expressions; but a frank recognition of this identity of interest and an outspoken determination on the part of every Indian leader to do his best to defeat the common enemy would enormously help in solving the Indian problem. If our hearts are agreed fully and unreservedly, constitutional difficulties, either as between various elements in India or between India and this country, cannot prove insurmountable.”

Too little notice seems to have been taken of this statement, but, shortly after, the Working Committee of the Congress passed a resolution which formally declared that it could not go the whole way with Mahatma Gandhi in his advocacy of non-violence even against external dangers, a resolution which strikes a decisive note of realism and paves the way for the full co-operation, provided its stipulations are acceded to. I will not go into the details of the conditions which the Congress lays down, but, however intransigent they may sound, I feel certain that the great body of nationalism in India will respond magnificently once Britain makes up her mind to come to a radical and satisfactory solution of the problem.

THE TIME FOR A SETTLEMENT

Writing to Mahatma Gandhi on May 30, I pointed out that the exact shape and form of our understanding cannot be of great account. Once Indian leaders take a place in organizing the war effort of the country, their influence will be proportionate, not to their numbers in council nor to the clauses of the constitution, but to the weight of influence that they bring to bear in the war effort. But India has, perhaps, an undue respect for political formulæ. Trained in long disputations about constitutional niceties and, if I may say so, nauseated by Parliamentary promises about "goals" and "objectives," Indian leaders are, perhaps, a little too afraid of trusting the impulsion of events. Navigational details matter little when you and I alike are being carried on irresistibly by the tide; but it will be well, and it is vital, that Britain, too, acknowledges the last basic factor in the situation.

And that is that there is no greater need today from Britain's own point of view than to come to a stable and radical agreement with nationalist sentiment in India. There are those here who ask: "What is it that the people of India can do which we are not already getting from that country?" In a recent article in the *Harijan*, Mahatma Gandhi echoes the same thought with, I am afraid, a note of sarcasm. The question reveals a tendency to think in terms of 1914-1918, terms which no longer hold good. In this war India is not merely cast for the rôle of a supplier and a limited supporter. Great as India's contribution in the last War was, and creditable as is her present war effort, the part she has to play now is profoundly greater. From her one day may have to radiate a great part of the men and the material which will reconquer Europe for civilization. She will have to remain stable herself and unshaken, whatever happens to these islands, and she will have to be the secure and the stabilizing element all over the East.

Predatory ambitions lour at her from three directions. She is also—let us never forget—a politically conscious country today; intensely so, indeed. Further, in her population lurk, alas! many elements of doubtful loyalty, many sectional and separatist ten-

dencies, and many who, despite all their fervent protestations, have owed in all their lives no higher loyalties than to themselves. Today we struggle alone in a crumbling world, seeking to restore order and honour and sanity. Who in India can you rely upon to hold the country together, to nerve it to its uttermost sacrifice, to preserve its integrity through disaster and temptation, than the men who, for all that may be said against them, strive to unite and regenerate a great nation out of India's teeming millions?

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Thursday, July 18, 1940, when a paper entitled "Indian Nationalism and the War" was read by Mr. T. A. Raman. Sir Drummond Shiels was in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: I do not propose at this stage to do any more than introduce our speaker. We have come here this afternoon to talk about India, that fascinating country with which so many of your lives have been bound up. India is of importance at the present time not only to its own people but also to the Empire and to the future of the world. The subject of our consideration today is "Indian Nationalism and the War," and I am sure you will agree that we are fortunate in having as our speaker Mr. T. A. Raman. (Applause.) I shared with many of you the pleasure of listening to his recent broadcast, which I am sure greatly impressed all who heard it. We are now going to listen to what he has to say on a topic of tremendous importance.

(Mr. RAMAN then read his paper.)

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Raman said at the beginning that he was a journalist, and he is the London correspondent of the Nationalist paper, the *Hindustan Times*, of Delhi, a paper well known to many of you; I think, however, you will agree that, as well as being a journalist, he has a statesmanlike mind and a capacity for objective exposition not always found in those who engage in political controversy.

Before I follow the usual custom and say a word of comment myself, I should like to read a letter which my friend, Lord Lamington, your President, has sent. He says: "I am very regretful not to be at the meeting of the East India Association when you listen to Mr. Raman's address, containing fresh aspects of Indian political thought, based on profound knowledge of Indian life. Pray offer him my congratulations." I am sure you are glad to have that message, and I have no doubt Sir Frank will convey to Lord Lamington our good wishes. There are few people who have shown such devotion to India and also to this Association.

Mr. Raman has rightly stressed in his interesting address the identity of interest and the common nature of the peril which faces Britain and India alike, and he has shown that even those who are regarded as extreme Nationalists have refused association in any way with Hitlerism. And yet time is going on, and because of what appear to be impassable barriers a settlement and full co-operation are still awaited.

In this country Labour leaders have set aside objectives which for generations they have worked for, and have joined with those to whom

they are fundamentally opposed on political and economic theory in meeting an immediate and urgent peril. Although this decision was taken as against one of purely narrow expediency and party interest, and implied acceptance of the possibility of a setback for the progress of political Labour, the results appear likely to have the very opposite effect, and it seems clear that we shall not go back to the social and economic conditions of pre-war days.

It is for Indians themselves to consider what is their duty and their interest, but I would suggest that concentration by all parties in India on the great and immediate task of the defence of the principles which it is now obvious they and we hold in common would not be likely to set back the movement towards national independence. Rather would it make a new basis for its early realization not merely or mainly because the relations between Britain and India would be favourably affected but because experience in the co-operation of all sections of the Indian people would make adjustment of their constitutional differences easier. Working together in a great cause would give understanding and sympathy. And I am sure that the British Government and people—in spite of the view sometimes expressed in India that they welcome divisions of Indian opinion—would rejoice in this result as making it possible to respond more completely and more quickly to the demand for the fullest realization of Indian ideals and aspirations.

We are fortunate in having with us this afternoon many who have great experience of and love for India, who share the common anxiety for matters to be so adjusted that full co-operation between Britain and India will be possible. We shall very much welcome their contribution to the discussion, which is not an academic one. Some meetings of this Association may have been held in the past where there were interesting but more or less academic discussions on constitutional or other matters. Today we face a situation which is urgent, which is important; we are dealing with practical and vital issues, and I am sure the contributions we are going to get will be appropriately and helpfully directed.

Lord Snell is unable to be present today and has written as follows to Sir Frank Brown :

“I am so sorry that it will be impossible for me to attend the meeting at the Caxton Hall on Thursday to hear Mr. Raman read his paper. I have engagements at that hour that I cannot neglect; so please excuse me. The subject on which Mr. Raman is to speak is one of immediate and great importance, and it is all to the good that we should have the help of Indian opinion upon it. It is also comforting to know that, whatever the views of the various sections and communities in India may be as to their ultimate relationships with Britain, they are completely united in their desire to prevent the Nazi philosophy of tyranny and obedience from spreading to their own country and to arrest its growth in the world. Out of an agreement so fundamental a satisfactory solution of the problem of Indian relationships to our own country will almost certainly be found.”

Sir STANLEY REED, M.P. : I am very glad, Mr. Chairman, to respond to your invitation to speak, the more so because to many of us it is a matter of sincere regret that your Ministerial contacts with India were not resumed. It is a weakness of human nature that we always think those people are most correct with whom we agree.

Some six months before the war broke out, at a private meeting in another place, there was a discussion as to what would probably be the reactions of India in the event of Great Britain being involved in a war with Nazi Germany. I then took upon myself the audacity of expressing what I thought that reaction would be. I am very happy to say that it was almost in the identical words that Mr. Raman has used this afternoon—that there is no place in India for the Nazi creed of State worship of brute force and racial mania. The heart of India is a great and warm and generous heart. I say that from the fulness of more than four decades of happy work in India. I myself had no doubt whatsoever, as springing from that generosity of thought and sentiment, quite apart from an ardent desire to secure and develop her own liberties, what the response of India would be if this great crisis came upon us and upon all the democratic States.

It is a source of very poignant regret to many of us that with this great community of thought and action there should be what is, I hope, a temporary hitch in the full realization of the common political purpose which, I believe, both countries have in view. And you must not mind my saying, Mr. Raman, that I read with some little surprise that passage in your address where you spoke of the necessity for Britain to make up her mind to come to a radical and satisfactory solution of the Indian problem. It is just about two years since I was last in India, and so I suppose I am a has-been and hopelessly out of date. But it is only a matter of about half an hour since I came from another place, and of the feeling in that place I may speak with some knowledge and confidence. I may say, then, that at no time in the history of the connection between Britain and India has there been such unanimity of opinion in Parliament, without any distinction of Party, upon the question of the future relations between Great Britain and India. In every recent discussion which has arisen there has only been one thought expressed, and that is to seize the earliest possible opportunity—if not within the actual period of the war in a very limited period after it—to give India that full status within the Commonwealth which is the ambition of all of us who have served in India and have learnt to love that land.

Personally I am not here to split hairs between the question of Dominion status and independence. As regards the political standpoint, I can see little or no effective difference between Dominion status in terms of the Statute of Westminster and what is called “independence.” We have the definite pledge given by the Viceroy in his Bombay speech, with the full authority of the British Cabinet, that Dominion status, in the fullest sense of the term, in relation to India, is the definite purpose of Great Britain at the present time.

To my mind, rightly or wrongly, the only difference is this: to me

Dominion status is something higher than what we call independence, because it not only means the substance of independence in all internal affairs and in most international affairs, but it is also the linking of all States in the Commonwealth with each other for common defence and the common maintenance of their common ideals.

I well remember, not many years ago, a very great Indian, one of the most distinguished men of his time, the Rt. Hon. Srinavasa Sastri, after a long tour through many parts of the Commonwealth, electrifying a rather dry-as-dust body of officials in Simla by declaring his matured opinion—that the greatest instrument of human freedom existing on the earth is the British Commonwealth of Nations. I can assure Mr. Raman of this, that once there is a substantial measure of agreement in India itself Parliament will not hesitate to implement it to the fullest extent in legislative form.

If I may make a mild *caveat* it is only this. We have seen too much of the disintegrating and devastating effect of unsatisfied minorities in Europe to contemplate with equanimity the existence of great unsatisfied or uneasy minorities in India. But so soon as complete assurances are given to those minorities, and as soon as a general measure of agreement is obtained, I say without fear of contradiction that Parliament will not hesitate fully, amply, and completely to implement it so far as may be necessary in the constitutional position.

I would ask you to take away from this meeting one other thought which Mr. Raman has presented to us; it is where he said: "From her one day may have to radiate a great part of the men and the material which will conquer Europe for civilization." Mr. Raman slightly amplified that in the following passage so as to embrace not only Europe but Asia.

Two or three years ago, when I was on a lecturing tour in Germany, I tried to emphasize this very great and pregnant fact—that standing between a totalitarian continent of Europe and a totalitarian Japan, with the Russian dictatorship on the north, is India, the keynote, to my mind, of liberal progress in Asia; the great link between what survives of Western culture and the Eastern reaction to totalitarian methods. Therefore, it seems to me that India is destined to exercise a profound moral and political influence upon the future of Asia as well as upon the future of Britain and the Commonwealth and the democracies on the other side of the Atlantic. I do think that is one of the most impressive thoughts we have to carry away from a very impressive address this afternoon, and may I commend it to your very earnest consideration as something, to my mind, almost even transcending political discussions of the hour. (Applause.)

Sir ALFRED WATSON: I am sure we should all join in expressing our appreciation of the temperate and sympathetic and, if I may say so, exceedingly discreet treatment of a subject full of pitfalls by our lecturer of this afternoon.

I would agree that India, practically the whole of India, would repudiate

absolutely Hitlerism and all its works. I would go further and acknowledge that Indian opinion has been almost unanimous, with the exception of some very small sections, in urging a stronger attitude against aggression in Abyssinia, in China, in Czecho-Slovakia, and in Finland. Unfortunately, after suggesting that Great Britain should go to war for all these countries, when we came to the sticking-point, when we arrived at what everybody knew would be the sticking-point, Poland, Indian Nationalism receded from its support. We found then that Indian Nationalism, or, rather—I wish to avoid all offence—I should say Congress, was out for a bargain for itself. That is scarcely the temper that one expects to find in one's companion on a tiger hunt.

Let us consider for one moment what was the deciding cause of the Congress defection. It was that, even before war broke out, Indian troops were sent outside India itself, were sent to Singapore, to defend India, as I contend, against aggression from further East feared by those who ruled in India. A man must be blind and deaf indeed if he is not aware that Japanese propaganda for years past has looked not only to the conquest of China, not only to taking over the whole of the islands of the South Seas, but it has looked to India as the great prize of the East. In those circumstances, Singapore becomes the frontier of India against aggression from Japan.

I admit that Congress has moved, and moved substantially, from the position which it originally adopted, but it still demands—before it will give full support, or indeed any official support, to the Empire's war effort—it still demands a pledge of independence for India.

What value, I ask, attaches to independence for India if the British Empire were defeated in this war? Were India given independence tomorrow, it would be left with an army wholly inadequate for its land defence. It would be left with such tiny naval units as could not prevent the penetration of every one of its ports practically without resistance.

Independence in those circumstances becomes a mere phrase, with no practical meaning. I agree absolutely with what Mr. Raman has said, that the future of India, its future constitution, the place it will take in the world, will be decided very largely by the contribution India makes to this war. That contribution can be enormous. It may replace the loss of France. India not only has a vast power for providing munitions and the raw materials which we require, but has such a body of fine men, fine soldiers, as could be drawn from no other country in the world.

Personally I need not say I am all in favour of a settlement of the political quarrel with India. I have worked to that end for years past. But there, I think, Mr. Raman, speaking of Nationalism in India, forgot the main consideration to be taken into account by anybody who considers the Indian problem—the differences in India itself. There is no difference, let me say, as to the justice of our cause in this war. That is supported by Hindus, by Muslims, and by all the minority communities. But there is a very real political difference. If that difference could be settled—and we all pray that it will be settled—by the bringing together of Indian parties, I can assure Mr. Raman that there will be no party in this country which

will seek to resist the fullest concession of self-government within the Empire that India itself can desire. Independence, as I have said, must remain a figment of the imagination so long as there are aggressive Powers, east and west, ready to seize upon an undefended India. (Applause.)

Sir PHILIP HARTOG : Mr. Chairman, I should like to repeat what you said about Mr. Raman's broadcast. I also was deeply moved by that broadcast, and I think few can have listened to his penetrating address today unmoved. He seems to me to have come nearer to the facts of the present situation than any other Indian politician to whom I have listened. I wish he could take an active part in the negotiations with the Viceroy that are now going on.

Most of what I intended to say has been said, and no doubt said better, by those who have spoken before me, but I should like to emphasize a point that has been made by Sir Alfred Watson. He has pointed out that the word "independence" would be a mere phrase, and something worse than a mere phrase, if independence meant that India was to be left undefended. Phrases have been of great importance in the past. I remember welcoming, when I was in India in 1918, that magnificent phrase uttered by Woodrow Wilson, "self-determination." What did self-determination mean for the former components of the Austrian Empire? What did self-determination mean for Austria? For Czecho-Slovakia? Destruction.

I know that Indians are often apt to think that British statesmen are merely playing with the great problem of India when they point out the internal differences by which India is torn, and to which Mr. Raman has himself drawn attention. Those differences are profound, and it would be a very poor gift that we should give to India if we left her with such a constitution that she would fall apart, just as the Austrian Empire was torn apart, because of the differences of peoples and communities and beliefs. I wish I could see something more than lip-service for Indian unity not only in the utterances but in the work of both the Congress Party and the Muslim League.

I think—I am speaking perfectly frankly—it has been a great failure of the Congress Ministries that they have not been able to bring over the Muslim minority to their sides. I am not saying that there is not a fault on the other side, but I do say that there has been a great failure of Congress in this respect. And though I cannot, like Sir Stanley Reed, speak as a politician—I am no politician—I believe with him that British statesmen are only waiting for the union of Indian politicians to give India that Dominion status which she has been demanding.

I speak advisedly of Dominion status, for with the freedom of action conferred on all Dominions in the Commonwealth by the Statute of 1926, for India as for the rest of the countries concerned, a commonwealth of democratic nations is a far greater safeguard than any independence outside that Commonwealth. I believe Mr. Raman would be one of the first to agree to that.

Beneath all this talk of parties and of communities and of races there is

something of fundamental importance. I think I shall express it most clearly if I quote from a passage which Lord Halifax read at a meeting the other day, a passage from an Act which confirmed in 1413 the union of the kingdoms of Lithuania and Poland, a union which, alas! did not last: "Nor can that endure which has not its foundation upon love. For love alone diminishes not, but shines with its own light, makes an end of discord, softens the fires of hate, restores peace to the world, brings together the sundered, redresses wrongs, aids all and injures none. And who so invokes its aid shall find peace and safety and have no fear of future ill."

If that were the spirit of Congress and the Muslim League we need have no fear for the future and greatness of India. (Applause.)

MISS CORNELIA SORABJI: Like all the speakers who have preceded me, I would like to express my appreciation of the extraordinarily interesting paper read to us by Mr. Raman. It would seem that we are all agreed on the main question at issue—namely, hatred of oppression, of Hitlerism, of Nazism. Half the battle is won if that is genuinely so, is it not? Why then should we waste our time over anything but the evident and imperative action which follows upon that conviction? If our conviction in India as a whole is that Hitlerism and Nazism are to be destroyed, that we ought to be on the side of those who fight for the freedom of the world, our duty is plain surely; and I cannot understand what looks like bargaining. I am sorry to say this, but I ask forgiveness.

I speak as an Indian, as a lover of my country, and as one who by temperament, by education, by service and practice knows no distinction between race and race, whether in my own country or outside it. Then what about concentration on our aim, if we would follow our conviction?

I wonder if many people remember the story of the master archer and the five Pandara princes. He was teaching them to shoot. His test was to put a blue bird as a mark in a tree, and the five princes stood facing the target. He tested them in this way. He said to the first brother, "What do you see?" He replied, "I see a forest full of trees." The master archer stopped him. "I do not want you to shoot." The second brother saw the one tree. The third saw the branches of the tree. The fourth saw the blue bird on the tree. None of them were allowed to shoot. The fifth brother said, "I see the heart of the bird that I wish to shoot." "Shoot," said the master archer, and the bird fell to his arrow.

Are we in India not forgetting the heart of the bird in thinking of the forest and leaves and all sorts of things—of our own rights, for instance? If you sit down and face the issue which has been put before us by the Prime Minister, Lord Halifax, and others of our leaders, is it not that we can be strong enough and brave enough and spiritual enough to fight the evil thing? The present is the greatest opportunity that has ever come to us to prove our spiritual ancestry. So often people in England talk to us of the spiritual-mindedness of India. Let us prove it now. Let us make the great spiritual gesture which Gandhi himself would have advised in probably other circumstances. Let us make abnegation of self, and, casting aside everything else, throw ourselves whole-heartedly into the struggle

against oppression, into the support of our convictions. And why should we contend further we cannot agree among ourselves as to our demands?

But we know that England does not break her promises. She has promised us Dominion status; we know she cannot give it to us at this moment. The Act cannot be reconsidered in the middle of a battle. Cannot we take our stand on that—those of us who are keen about our political status, and prove worthy of our great opportunity? I should like to see the Congress re-shouldering its administrative duties and demonstrating its fitness to rule in a crisis. In doing that we would find peace among ourselves. Unity among ourselves can be got only by working together for something outside ourselves which is bigger than ourselves. (Applause.)

Professor BASIL MATHEWS: I do not wish to try to add a single thing to what has been said about the relations of Britain and India. My interest here is, at the moment, in a rather different field, although I would like first of all to pay a warm tribute to the statesmanlike quality of the paper that we have listened to and the depth of penetration of Mr. Raman's mind into the essentials of this situation.

I had just a little bit of feeling in regard to what you said, and what Sir Stanley Reed and Sir Alfred Watson said in criticism of the action of Congress, that right at the heart of the thing in India it is not quite so much a matter of constitutional discussion but of the temperature of relationship. As I read the statements made by our Government from this end and the statements made in India, I felt again and again that these are perfectly correct constitutionally, but that they conceal rather than reveal the warmth of the heart of England in its attitude towards India.

I would wish it were possible that even our new Secretary of State for India might fly to India himself and come face to face not only with the political leaders but with the rank and file of the Indian people. Possibly out of that might be developed a warmer temperature of appreciation and of heart coming to heart as well as head coming into collision with head.

I am convinced about this constitution, that it has been devised by British people thinking in terms of Western democracy and Indians trained in the terminology of Western democracy, and that it is about time that people who understood the ways in which Asiatic Government has through the centuries expressed itself should tackle this issue and perhaps frame some new lines of approach. Graham Wallas years ago said he was convinced that our one-man-one-vote principle had no relation to Asia, and probably some government on the basis of occupational groups might bring us to a greater unity.

All the time Mr. Raman was speaking my mind was on that tremendous republic in the West, on whose attitude to us and whose action in relation to us possibly the whole destiny of this war may depend—America. Mr. Duff Cooper, when he came back from America a few months ago, said to a group of American journalists that the first question that was asked of him at the end of every lecture he gave there was, "What are you going to do about India?"

In America, large numbers of Indian lecturers, who hold very extreme

views and who (as I read their lectures as they are reported in the American Press and come over to us on this side) trade largely on the ignorance of America as to the facts of the situation in India, have created a very widespread and false impression as regards the American Continent as to what is really happening in India and what are the facts of the situation. I could not help wishing, while Mr. Raman was speaking, that that address he has given us might go into the hands of every University professor and high and middle school teacher in the United States and of every journalist there.

On my desk as I came away was a copy of *Asia*, with a brilliantly clever article by Miss Batlivala expressing with the legal skill she has facts that present what looks like an uncontrovertible case, which is one side of the situation, without indicating that the other side exists at all. There is on my desk a paper called *Amerasia*, which has an article of a similar character. America today is just saturated with half-truths and sometimes total lies, and occasionally a balanced picture.

I should like to get Mr. Raman's power of expression in speech on the platform, on the wireless, in writing, and in other ways liberated to the widest possible degree for the interpretation of the Nationalist side and the British side simultaneously to the vast American public.

It is no use presenting them with rubber stamps. They say that is just a Government expression which may or may not be sincere. I think he could do a magnificent piece of work both for India, for Britain and for the future of the world.

Mrs. MUKERJEE : Sir Alfred Watson said that the future of India would be determined by the help given in this war. I can say the spirit of the soldiers was shown the other day at a country hospital when I went to visit some of the wounded. I had an English lady with me. They asked me to interpret to her what they said. They said that had there been more Indian soldiers at Dunkirk we would have done better. That shows that they were very ready to help.

Mr. A. YUSUF ALI : I should like to begin with a few words of appreciation of the vigorous character of the paper that has been read to us, and also of the fact that it really implied very much more than it said. Reading between the lines we realize how much the real progress of India is held up by side issues. The condemnation of state worship, brute force, racial mania, and so on, is really based upon the traditional thought and faith of India. If we want the Indianization of services, the stimulation of manufactures, and a healthy balance between industry and agriculture, that involves a very big programme and will require quite a long time for accomplishment. The question is, What can we do straight away to begin the processes which will ultimately bring our country to the fore not only in Empire politics but in the settlement of the whole world?

We want to direct our education immediately to social and national aims. And our national aims themselves need to be modernized. Our education has hitherto been mainly on traditional lines. Can we break

through those lines? Can we cease to be imitative? Can we get to the basic facts and build up our system on those facts?

We want to scrap old formulæ and old organizations. They have held the field too long. We want new formulæ and organizations that are more responsive to the new atmosphere that has arisen, and it will be better if we begin entirely with a new point of view. It is the genuine building-up from local foundations that we want.

India is too big a country for centralized dictation. One organization or one society, however well organized, will not be able to feed the spirit of the people. If we build upwards from the foundations instead of downwards from the generalized institutions, I think there will be a greater chance of helping ourselves and helping those who require our help.

Economically we have every reason to be satisfied; not, indeed, with what has been hitherto done, but with the programme now placed before us. We had Rs. 7 crores sanctioned for the expansion of new factories in India the other day. We are to have special training for chemists and engineers. These may be war measures, but they are going to help to a far greater expansion of Indian power and Indian self-reliance than appears on the surface. They are practical measures. For that reason I think the paper that has been read to us will do good if it leads to a real understanding of our problems amongst the people of India themselves. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: I must apologize to those who would like to have taken part further in the discussion. I know that practically everybody here is a competent speaker on India. I am sure we are going to lose something, but the time is going on, and I would like to give Mr. Raman an opportunity to reply, and I am sure you would like to hear him.

Mr. RAMAN: I have first to thank you for the very kind attention you have given to my observations.

Sir Philip Hartog pointed out that a demand such as the Congress is now making for outright independence could not be literally meant. Most Congressmen are hard-headed realists however fire-eating their words may sound. Their acceptance of office in the Provinces and the very able way in which they worked that part of the constitution for a couple of years, prove it. Whenever we hear the word "independence" trotted out we may console ourselves with Gandhi's famous paraphrase of Swaraj as the *substance* of independence. When every Dominion declared war after parliamentary discussion, and in the case of South Africa after considerable opposition, and when even today Eire is seeking within the framework of the Empire to maintain the myth of neutrality, Indian politicians cannot at heart doubt the reality of freedom under the Statute of Westminster. Practical statesmen need not be daunted by a word or a slogan.

Further, the only independence practicable to India at the moment is either a form of protection by some other Power or an independence entirely undefended, the extreme Gandhian ideal of non-violence. The

first choice no responsible Indian leader will consider for a moment, and the second has been demonstratively rejected by the Working Committee of the Congress.

I recollect discussing this matter at length with an eminent Congress leader. I argued somewhat in the terms of Sir Stanley Reed's remarks that Dominion status was actually a much better proposition for India than complete independence. The way he summed up the discussion was this: "You are talking academically. You speak as if somebody offered us Dominion status and we rejected it. Tell your British friends to make a firm offer and they will then get India's real reactions."

Sir Alfred Watson was critical on one point, that I had sought to evade the real difficulties of accepting the Nationalist demand. I am painfully conscious of differences that do exist in India. So I think are most responsible leaders of Congress, patient and able men like Mr. Rajagopalachari. But I must add that we are rather tired of this continual harping on difficulties and differences unaccompanied by a single constructive suggestion to get over them. It is a little disappointing to find able administrators, keen students of India, men who have studied and served the country for many years, contenting themselves with enumerating and stressing these differences.

Congress demands that the intentions of Britain as regards India's status at the end of the war should be put beyond doubt. That doubt exists today in most of our minds. Rightly or wrongly, most of us do not take declarations such as have been made in general terms at their face value. My general attitude will, I hope, have convinced you that I am extremely anxious that there should be a settlement soon, but, frankly speaking, I distrust any parliamentary talk about "goals" and "objectives" and "natural issues."

So there the doubt remains. Let us translate these generalities into concrete terms. No responsible Congressman has denied adequate safeguards for the minorities, or that a transitional period will have to be arranged for, or talked of repudiating financial or other obligations, or sought to confiscate British vested interests in India. Britain has undoubtedly a right to a say in the constitution-making of India as regards these subjects. But let her declare that, subject to satisfactory provisions being made on all these matters, India will have full self-determination.

It may not be possible to please the extremist and the doctrinaire in the Congress, nor the fanatic and the separatist in either the Hindu or Muslim communities, and certainly not that small but dangerous section of the population which owes trans-national allegiances. But if Britain makes a concrete declaration on the above terms and makes it clear that she realizes a bureaucracy, however efficient, will not do and that she is determined to get the great bulk of public opinion behind the central government of India—then many of these difficulties will assume an entirely different aspect.

Sir Alfred Watson may doubt that statement. There are risks, he may say, that it may prove too optimistic. But, as against that, the risk we are facing today is that this politically conscious India may split in the most

critical hour. That is a tremendous risk, and any other is preferable to it. I, however, feel convinced that a satisfactory declaration in specific terms will rally the great body of the country to complete support and unity.

All these considerations seem small against the scale of the world's tragedy today. From London it may indeed seem that these arguments are bickering and opportunist. But let no one attempt to analyse political motive. This is no time for introspection or recrimination. Britain and India have a problem to solve. It is a difficult problem indeed, but from Britain's own point of view the solution is vital and must be found soon. Let us then "Go to It" with the same decision and determination as we displayed in destroying the French Fleet at Oran.

Sir JOHN WOODHEAD : We are all very grateful to Mr. Raman for his very able address. I listened to it with rapt interest. I think we have to congratulate him on taking a very statesmanlike point of view in the examination of that great problem of India's constitutional position in the future. I would like on your behalf and on behalf of the Council to thank him most heartily for his very able address to us today.

The CHAIRMAN : I have just to convey the thanks which have been expressed to Mr. Raman. I hope you all feel that we have had a useful and helpful meeting. I do think we should recognize that we have already had very substantial contributions from India in this war, to one of which Mrs. Mukerjee referred. And I am delighted to see how magnificently Ceylon has responded to the needs of the situation. I do hope that all that has been said today will assist in this great object which we all have at heart.

I agree with Mr. Raman on this feeling of distrust. I think Professor Mathews spoke in the same sense. If the Indian people could realize what the British people feel, I do not think there would be any difficulty, but they have not yet realized or understood what the British sentiment really is.

Many will agree with Mr. Raman in saying that bureaucracy is not enough. It is a cry which will be echoed by many in this country at the present time. I sincerely hope and believe that the result of the meeting here and of the wider distribution of what has been said by Mr. Raman and others will be a distinct contribution to the welfare of India, the welfare of the Empire, and the welfare of the world.

Sir ERNEST HOSON : We should not separate without a vote of thanks to the Chairman and the others who have spoken for the very able contributions they have made to a singularly useful and interesting discussion. (Cheers.)

THE ROYAL INDIAN NAVY

BY ADMIRAL SIR HERBERT RICHMOND, K.C.B.

"THE Royal Indian Navy has grown out of all knowledge since the declaration of war. In addition to the escort vessels, it now includes a large fleet of anti-submarine craft, minesweepers, and patrol craft armed and equipped to deal with the menace of sea raiders against our ports and harbours. The strength of the personnel is now two and a half times what it was, and the new ratings are now fully prepared to maintain the ancient traditions of their service should the need arise." So the Commander-in-Chief of India, Sir Robert Cassels, has recently written.

What are these ancient traditions? They are the traditions of over three centuries of war, during which, in the words of Colonel the Hon. Leicester Stanhope in 1827, "Never was there an instance of any ship of the Indian Marine having lowered its flag to an enemy of equal force." That Indian Marine was founded by the East India Company within a few years of its own foundation—to be exact, in 1612—for the protection of its ships and interests in the Eastern seas. Enemies were numerous from the beginning—Portuguese, Dutch, and pirates along the length of the Malabar coast. It consisted of four vessels, and the number grew. Bombay came into British hands in Charles II.'s reign and provided a permanent base, and in 1686 the force was given the title of the "Bombay Marine." To this Marine the duty fell of protecting the Company's ships, for no squadrons of the Royal Navy were permanently maintained in the East for many years; only when France began to challenge British interests in the middle of the seventeenth century were royal squadrons sent, and then only for the duration of the wars. But while there were intervals of peace with France—not very long intervals, to be sure—there were none with the pirates. It was a time of constant war with them and an almost constant service of convoys. The trade between Bombay and the Malabar coast sailed under convoy of one "cruiser" and three smaller craft, and the same protection was given to the trade to Surat; the salt trade was convoyed, cruising vessels were kept to seaward of Bombay, Basra, and Scinde. Military expeditions to the pirate strongholds on the coast and in the Persian Gulf called for protection at sea and tactical assistance on landing. It was an endless service and a hard service, and it produced men who knew their business as thoroughly as any seamen in the world. When the great ships

came out from Europe, these little ships—little, for the “capital” ships of the Marine were only twenty-gun ships—they could not work alone against them, but they took part in many an operation with the royal squadrons. They were with Clive and Watson at Calcutta and Chandernagore; they fought in the campaigns in Java, Sind, Persia, and China, and, at a later date, even in a war so remote as that in New Zealand. Nor was their work fighting only. It included a vast range of surveying the Eastern seas. At the Marine’s headquarters, Bombay, a dockyard arose, where the great shipwright family of Wadia built ships both for the Marine and for the Royal Navy, and refitted the war-worn vessels during the north-east monsoons.

The value of the Marine in war is well illustrated by the difference between the losses of shipping on the two sides of India. On the Bombay side, where the trade was convoyed, the losses were very slight; on the Calcutta side, where there was no naval force, the trade suffered heavily. Thus in 1781 the *Bengal Gazette* of September 16 was complaining that “for near twelve months the coast between Madras and Palmyras has been infested by French privateers, who have unmolested reigned triumphant, to the great impediment of trade. . . .” Nor was trade protected by cruising and convoy only. In spite of the British superiority at sea enjoyed after Trafalgar, a force composed of some heavy French ships, with frigates and a score or so of privateers, wrought great harm, which was only finally cured by the capture of their base, Mauritius, by 10,000 troops from India, a naval squadron, and vessels of the Marine.

In all the wars in which Britain has been engaged since she became a great trading nation her enemies have naturally made attempts to destroy her shipping and commerce. The defence of this national interest has always called for two things—bodies of heavy ships capable of meeting the corresponding heavy ships of the enemy, and lesser vessels, in large numbers, to tackle the numerous smaller craft which prey upon scattered merchantmen. Of the latter there never have been enough, particularly on the distant stations. The Indian Marine was an auxiliary of very great value to the royal squadrons, relieving them of the responsibility of protecting a number of trade routes, and so setting frigates free for other duties. The excellence of their crews, which were composed partly of British and partly of Indian ratings (the latter sometimes as much as three-quarters of the complement), may be estimated from the results of a battle fought on January 26, 1772, between two twenty-gun ships of the Bombay Marine and eight enemy ships mounting from forty to twenty-six guns. The enemy was decisively beaten, most of his ships being destroyed. The spirit which animated the men is illustrated by

a round robin signed by the whole crew of the *Elphinstone* in 1858, when an expedition was being sent against Shaikh Othman : "We, the *Elphinstone's* crew, having heard that there is to be an expedition against Lahej, humbly beg that you will kindly allow us to serve with the forces, where we flatter ourselves we might be of use in working the field-pieces or as infantry. Would you allow us to be the forlorn hope, as we are living ashore and have got nothing else to do?" Their wish was granted.

Such was the old Indian Navy, such its traditions. It remained in existence, having changed its name from the "Bombay Marine" to the "Indian Navy," until 1863. Its strength and constitution had varied, but in general the Marine had been composed of about eighteen to twenty vessels, from five to seven of which were stout cruisers of twenty guns, and the remainder lesser craft of from fourteen to six guns, vessels which may be roughly compared with the destroyers and sloops of today. It is worthy of remark that two officers of the Indian Navy were among the first to win the Victoria Cross.

In 1863 this fine old fighting navy was abolished as a military force. It was reconstituted as a non-fighting force, with the title of the Bombay Marine, till 1877, the Indian Marine till 1892, the Royal Indian Marine till 1926. Its duties were those of military transport, surveying, lighting and buoyage, and port control. During the last war, although it was still principally a transport and embarkation organization, some of its officers served in fighting appointments.

The question of reconstituting the Marine as a fighting force was brought up in 1923, and a Committee sat at Delhi in 1924, under the presidency of Lord Rawlinson, to examine the proposal. Among the members of this Committee was the late Sir Bupendra Nath Mitra, an enthusiastic supporter of the change. It was agreed that the Marine should be reconstructed as a combatant force whose functions would be the training of personnel for service in war, the performance of various Government services in the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf, the organization of port defences, survey work, and marine transport; and it should be known as the Royal Indian Navy and fly the White Ensign. As a beginning the navy would consist of four sloops, two patrol craft, four trawlers, and two survey ships. It was not until 1934 that the full constitution came into effect, and then the Government of India undertook to maintain not less than six modern escort vessels which would be free to co-operate with the Royal Navy, and to provide the craft necessary for the local defence of harbours against mines and submarines. As it would be uneconomical to maintain a large personnel in peace, these local craft would be officered and manned partly by regular personnel

of the Navy, partly by members of the reserve forces—the royal Indian Fleet Reserve, Naval Reserve, and Royal Indian Volunteer Reserve, all of whom would be trained in peace by the Royal Indian Navy. The commissioned ranks are open to Indian and European candidates, who enter as cadets at the age of about eighteen and undergo a training similar to that of the young officers who join the Royal Navy from the public schools. At the present moment some Indian officers are serving on board ships in home waters and gaining invaluable experience.

What services can this small force perform? It can do precisely what was done by its predecessor of the old wars. In those wars the trade in the Indian seas was pestered by the privateers of France from the Straits of Malacca to the Persian Gulf. The modern representatives of these craft are the armed merchantman, the submarine, and the aeroplane, and it is possible in the present war for any of these to make an appearance in the Indian Ocean. We have seen the small craft of the convoy escorts in the North Sea beating off attacks by bombers, guarding the convoys against submarines. The escort vessels of the Royal Indian Navy can deal equally well with flights of bombers in the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb or submarines coming from the ports in the Red Sea, nor is it improbable that an armed merchantman, attempting to attack a convoy protected by two or three of these escort vessels, would find them as awkward customers as the *Graf Spee* found Commodore Harwood's squadron.

On the outbreak of war the effective fighting strength of the Royal Indian Navy consisted of five escort vessels of from 1,200 to 2,000 tons and a patrol vessel, the *Pathan*, since lost by enemy action. The large vessels were placed under the command of the naval commander-in-chief, thus unifying the sea forces in those seas, whose immediate purpose was the maintenance of the flow of trade. The smaller craft, concerned with the defence of the ports, remained in the control of the local naval authorities. Their numbers were supplemented, and a large increase was necessary in personnel to man them and the forthcoming increase in the fighting vessels. Up to the present this increase amounts to about 200 per cent., and an expansion of the training establishments has taken place as well.

The dockyard at Bombay, the only repairing establishment, other than the private yards at Colombo and Calcutta, between Malta and Singapore, which employs about 800 workmen in peace, is available not only for the refit and repair of the ships, but also for building small craft, fitting mine-protective appliances to ships, and mounting armaments on board merchantmen. Thus the modern Indian Navy is developing on the same principles, and in the same general form, as the old navy of John Company.

It is a navy of what may be called flotilla craft; and no one who looks at what is happening in the war at sea today will underrate the importance of the flotilla.

If one should ask, "Does the Indian Navy contribute to the defence of India itself?" the answer is plain. The trade of every country is the foundation of its prosperity, and in islands it is by sea that the trade moves. Economically India is an island—the proportion of its commerce that passes over its land frontiers is negligible. Those who remember the dislocation and the losses to commerce in Bengal during the short time of the *Emden's* cruise will easily realize what a prolonged stoppage of Indian commerce would mean to the people of India.

SOME INDIAN PROBLEMS

BY SIR ALFRED CHATTERTON, C.I.E.

APART from the solution of the political question which will determine under what form of Constitution India is to take its place in the comity of nations, there are many problems to which attention should be paid by those who, under that Constitution, hope to be entrusted with the promotion of the welfare of its teeming millions.

Few who know the country well will be prepared to gainsay the facts that a large proportion of the population reach a very low standard of living, tending slowly but surely towards the verge beyond which they will not get enough food to enable them to carry on their normal avocations. Year by year the numbers grow, but there is not an equivalent increment in the area under cultivation or in the yield of the land. Notwithstanding the very great protection afforded by the extension of irrigation during the last hundred years, a widespread failure of the monsoon rainfall would lead to as devastating a famine as has ever occurred in the past. Today there are probably three times as many people to be fed as in Moghul times. The vast improvement in the means of transport by road and by railways has practically eliminated the local famines of former times. Experience has taught us how to deal with them, but in the last sixty years there has been no major disaster of this kind, and should one eventuate it might yet prove that our resources would be unequal to the strain. It is probable that the stocks of grain in the country are relative to the population much smaller than was the case before India became a large contributor to the markets of the world. No doubt in peace-time the surplus stocks of other countries could be imported if the credit of the Government was good enough, but in war, such as now prevails, with scarcity of shipping and heavy demands elsewhere, India would probably be able to get little help from outside. The politicians, with easygoing optimism, refuse to recognize the danger or consider it so remote that it may be disregarded till other and, in their opinion, more urgent matters have been satisfactorily disposed of in accordance with their demands.

A faint idea of what a failure of the rains over an extended area may mean was furnished by the comparatively slight scarcity which prevailed in the United Provinces in 1928. In that year large quantities of wheat were imported from Australia and of rice from Indo-China at a total cost of nearly 15 crores of rupees.

For some six weeks or more the East Indian Railway was so congested with the urgent grain traffic that deliveries of coal up country were almost completely suspended. The extra expenditure on food necessarily entailed a corresponding decrease in the demand for other staple commodities, and the Indian cotton mills experienced a great falling off in the demand for their manufactures. Obviously, then, a really big famine would seriously strain the financial resources of the country, which suggests the necessity for the creation of fluid reserves which can easily be drawn upon. In the last few years there has been a remarkable outflow of gold from India, stimulated, no doubt, by the high price of that metal, but it is not at all clear how far this is due to current expenditure or how far it represents the abandonment of hoarding in favour of remunerative investment. Some of it has certainly been used to provide funds for new forms of industrial enterprise, and to the extent that it has so been used the resources of the country have been strengthened. Today, however, war overshadows everything, and for years to come, possibly for many years, defence measures will entail an exceedingly heavy expenditure which will certainly lead to some degree of impoverishment.

The whole trade of the world is now dislocated, Europe is blockaded, and India has lost valuable markets for her surplus products. With energy and ability to meet the changed situation, this might be made to redound to her advantage, but only if, to a much larger extent, she can meet her own industrial needs and thus find employment for many more people than are at present engaged in productive industry as distinguished from agriculture.

Recent events in Europe have disclosed the potentialities of air transport in military operations, so that the Hindu Kush and the rugged mountains of Afghanistan no longer present a serious obstacle to the invasion of India from the north-west by a Power in possession of a very powerful air fleet. Against such a danger adequate provision will have to be made. This will prove a very costly business and an intolerably heavy burden to whatever form of government may be established in India in the not remote future. Again, on the sea-front there is a by no means negligible menace from the sea power of Japan, restrained at present by preoccupation with nearer objectives. What will ultimately emerge from the titanic struggle now developing none can foresee, but unless it ends in world disarmament, of which there seems to be little prospect, there is absolutely no hope that India can look forward to an independent existence. The might of the British Empire alone stands between India and its domination by one or other of the aggressive totalitarian Powers.

In times of stress the rift between Hindus and Muslims is not likely to be closed, and there is some evidence that economic

factors tend to strengthen the political antagonism engendered in the efforts now being made to give effect to the principle of self-determination. That autonomy should be of advantage to the people, not merely in a material sense, but also in the more important matter of engendering self-respect, it is essential that they should be strong enough to maintain law and order within and to be capable of resisting external aggression. To fulfil the latter condition it would be necessary to possess and maintain a great mechanized army, a powerful fleet, and an air force comparable in numbers and equipment with that of any prospective enemy.

The British Empire is now spending at least three thousand five hundred millions a year in defence of freedom, and the United States of America, in preparation for its own defence, more than half that amount. That is to say that these two great representatives of democracy are compelled to devote to these objects alone a sum equivalent to about three times the gross annual income of India. Obviously, till some radical change comes over the international situation, India is totally unable to defend herself. If complete independence were granted to her it would be enjoyed just so long as it suited the convenience of one or other of the great aggressive world Powers. The only hope that the coming of the evil day might be postponed for a time would rest in the jealousy of those Powers, who would each probably object to the others obtaining any foothold in the country, whether by force of arms, economic penetration, or the fostering of internal dissensions. It would, therefore, seem that India must remain within the orbit of the British Commonwealth of Nations as provided for in the India Act or face an extremely perilous future. The very rapid development of aviation in the last quarter of a century has profoundly affected the relative military strength of the nations of the world, conferring on those countries with great engineering industries means for attack and defence which mainly agricultural countries are unable to obtain. India must be regarded as belonging to the latter category, a fact which her aspirations in the direction of complete independence does not sufficiently recognize.

Since the discovery by Sir Ronald Ross of the part played by the anopheline mosquito in the dissemination of malaria, great progress had been made in eliminating this disease from selected areas where otherwise human activities would be practically impossible. The modern development of the plantation industries and mining in tropical regions is a direct result of the success which has been achieved in malarial control. Preventive, in place of prophylactic, measures have been introduced whereby much sickness and suffering has been avoided, whilst the cost of application has been reduced to such an extent that it is possible to

apply them now to widely extended rural areas provided the co-operation of the people can be ensured.

It is difficult to overestimate the depressing influence of malaria on the people of India, and the good work which has been done in many, if not most, of the municipalities ought to be extended to the rural areas. It is a matter for the village communities to carry out, and involves the re-constitution of the panchayets on a legal basis, endowing them with the necessary authority. The revival of communal life in villages is an urgent necessity as a preliminary. The distribution of the seasons regulates the periods of labour in the rural areas and leaves the people with a very large amount of leisure, for which no profitable form of employment can be found. Where malaria is prevalent it should be possible with expert assistance at the outset to carry out the very simple protective work whereby the breeding-places of the mosquitoes are got rid of. How this can be done is well described in a *Hand-book on Malarial Control* recently issued by the Ross Institute. It is not possible to state in exact terms the loss caused by the ravages of malaria, but it is generally recognized that it is enormous, and there is no doubt that the time has now arrived when we are in a position definitely to indicate how to combat this scourge. Some work in this direction has undoubtedly been done by the Anti-Malarial Societies of Bengal, but a more vigorous organization is wanted and, in the initial stages, Government assistance and control is essential till the people can be got to recognize that by their own efforts alone they can do much to improve the health of their villages and small towns. In the great irrigated tracts from which the shadow of famine has been removed, the boon so conferred has been obtained at the price of malarial infection. No longer can it be pleaded that there is no satisfactory way of dealing with the problem. Under the democratic constitutions which the Provinces now enjoy, it should only be necessary to educate the electors to ensure that they will demand from those to whom the administration is entrusted, that steps should be taken to confer upon them the great benefits which have resulted from the work of Ross, Malcolm, and many others who have devoted their lives to the work of malarial control.

Of all the problems facing India in the future, perhaps the most difficult, and certainly the most controversial, is the reform of the system of education which was accepted as best suited to the conditions then prevailing when Macaulay wrote his famous minute on the subject. In the course of a century an educational machine has been working which annually turns out many thousands of graduates and failed graduates, inflated with semi-digested information which is of little use to them in their subsequent careers.

In the early days of this system practically all those who were able to take advantage of it found little difficulty in obtaining remunerative employment and openings which eventually led to positions of influence and responsibility. In recent years the outflow from the Universities greatly exceeds the demands of the country. The result is that the young men are a burden on their families and a potent source of discontent and irritation.

Considering the difficulties under which the Indian student labours it is not surprising that there are many failures. Most of them have to study in what to them at the outset is a foreign language, and one must pay tribute to the grit and determination displayed in overcoming this very serious obstacle, but too often the effort called for results in a permanent exhaustion or distortion of the mental faculties. Linguistic ability does not carry one far in the struggle for existence. It is often a natural gift which should not be unduly exercised, but rather restrained, so that time and attention may be given to the cultivation of less prominent but more important mental processes, such as the ability to observe and deduce logical conclusions from such observations. The teaching of drawing, manual training, and the co-ordination of hand and eye form no part of the methods of education in vogue.

Education is an expensive business, and the extreme poverty of the country is undoubtedly the reason that precludes that diversification of aims in the schools and colleges which is essential to meet the varied wants of a great population. All the universities are framed on the same model, and lack of funds severely restricts the introduction of new ideas. Year by year the affiliated colleges become more crowded, and undoubtedly the first step in reform should be a very drastic cutting down of admissions into the courses of study leading to the granting of degrees. That, of course, implies great changes lower down in the educational ladder, and such suggestions as have been made and such experiments as have been tried have given rise to extensive controversy and criticism.

It may be broadly stated that there is much dissatisfaction with the present system not only on the part of the educated public that it has produced but also amongst those who are intimately associated with the direction and control of the machine. In a paper read at a meeting of the East India Association a few weeks ago, Dewan Bahadur E. S. Runganadhan, the late Vice-Chancellor of the University of Madras, drew a vivid picture of the difficulties which have to be faced to remedy the ineffectiveness of the educational system to meet the varied and growing needs of a vast population upon whom the privileges of self-government have been conferred. He has clearly shown that the problems to be solved are fully envisaged by some of the leaders of Indian

thought and that they are devoting much attention to the matter, but that so far practical results have not been commensurate with their discussions.

Rather more than twenty years ago an Indian Industrial Commission, under the presidency of Sir Thomas Holland, reported as to the measures that should be taken to accelerate the progress of industries. Owing to the exclusion of fiscal questions from the terms of reference to the Commission and to the introduction of constitutional changes in the Government very little was done to implement the recommendations that were made. Then followed the Indian Fiscal Commission, which was able to formulate certain principles which should guide the Government of India in granting protection by means of tariffs to nascent or promising new industries. Some years later a Royal Commission was appointed to survey the state of agriculture in India. It submitted a masterly report which has influenced official action during the last ten years. It will thus be seen that the Government has not failed to provide itself with information and authoritative opinion on matters concerning the advancement of the material prosperity of the country.

During the last eighteen months of the war of 1914-1918 the Indian Munitions Board exercised a very large measure of control over industry and made strenuous efforts to increase its contributions to the demands of the military authorities. Except along certain specific lines such as textiles, including jute, iron and steel, leather, and the productions of the ordnance factories, it was found that India was woefully weak and that very little could be done to strengthen the position, owing to the inability of any of the allied nations to supply machinery and plant for new enterprises. Today the engineering resources of the country are much greater, but military equipment has become almost entirely mechanized, and the great bulk of it, still, cannot be made for lack of any provision that it would be needed.

Here in England it is recognized that our exports must be increased to enable us to obtain the foreign exchange requisite to maintain our credit abroad. It is therefore possible that the authorities who control exports may be able to meet the requirements of India to a larger extent than they did in the last war, in the expectation that they will enable useful contributions to be made to the maintenance of the armed forces on sea and land and in the air for the defence, not only of these shores, but to prevent the molestation of Indian seas by vagrant enemy raiders.

The Dominions are making great efforts to provide for their own defence and to help the Mother Country. India does not possess their resources, yet she has a much greater task in front of her to secure anything approaching immunity from attack.

She cannot manufacture motor transport, aeroplanes, tanks, submarines, or destroyers. Her ordnance factories are not up to date, and her output of explosives is totally inadequate to the needs of modern warfare. An attempt is being made hastily to remedy some of these deficiencies, but it is to be hoped that the present conflict will be over before these new measures begin to produce results.

The destruction of Nazism and Fascism, which is our immediate goal, will not necessarily be followed by an era of universal peace and disarmament. The war has already exposed the weaknesses in the armour of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and when it is over it will be well if we examine the defects it has exposed and frame a joint policy of future action to remedy them. Too much is concentrated in these islands, and a large measure of industrial distribution is essential. India should welcome some such development and be prepared to work in close co-operation with the other members of the Commonwealth.

In this connection it may be noted with satisfaction that a start has been made by the decision to hold an inter-imperial conference at Delhi in October, which it is hoped will be attended by representatives of all the Governments of Dominions and colonies east of Suez, including South Africa. The object is to secure between the constituent members a larger measure of co-ordination of resources than exists at present for the prosecution of the war effort. The results of this meeting will be awaited with interest as marking a new development within the British Commonwealth.

Obviously it will be necessary to make a careful survey of existing industrial facilities with a view to ascertaining the gaps which exist in the industrial equipment. Then comes the question as to the agency by which they are to be filled, whether by direct Government action or assisted private enterprise. Academic economic theories will not supply an answer. Private enterprise, both in Bombay and Calcutta, has great achievements to its credit, and it may well be that it is strong enough to resist political pressure in favour of State control. Railway policy has been hitherto largely responsible for the distribution of industry, and has resulted in undue congestion in certain areas. The great improvement in means of communication and transport now justifies a much greater degree of inland manufacture.

These are problems which may well exercise the minds of the future administrators of the country, but that their studies may be fruitful they must be supplied with information, and it should be an urgent duty of the Government of India to see that it is made available.

In the last ten years, whilst India has been concerned mainly with discussions on its future form of government, the totali-

tarian states have, amongst other things, assumed complete control of their industrial activities and by the forceful methods of dictatorship have completely revolutionized the trend of industry and placed it on a purely war basis under highly centralized control. The outbreak of war has forced the British Empire, at least temporarily, to adopt a similar policy, and India to some extent is following in the same direction. We cannot tell when peace will be restored to the world nor envisage the situation in which it will find itself, but we can assume with some certainty that the difficulties which were faced in 1919 and subsequent years will again present themselves in an even more virulent form.

To transfer industry from its peaceful pursuits to a war basis is a comparatively simple matter compared with reversing the process. War develops gradually, peace comes to us suddenly, and a mighty effort ceases at a given moment. The so-called *blitz-krieg* is no exception, as its application involves a long period of preparation on the part of the assailant. Just as at army headquarters plans are prepared beforehand to meet any conceivable move on the part of any potential enemy, so the Government that has assumed control of industry in time of war should be prepared with plans to meet the dislocation and chaos which will inevitably follow the declaration of peace. In proportion to the effort made during war so will be the intensity of the aftermath. The course of the present war has clearly disclosed the defects of the democratic states in their preparations to meet the almost certain aggressive action of the dictators. A similar unreadiness to meet the conditions which will arise when hostilities cease may plunge the world into hopeless anarchy and confusion.

It may be that India will not greatly suffer during the war and that the standard of living of the majority of its people will alter but little. Indeed, like America in the last war, it may emerge wealthier and stronger than ever. If such be the case, it should be ready to play a great part in the work of restoration. The impoverished nations of the West may, and probably will, need Indian credit to help them through the last stages of the war and the initial stages of peace. There is bound to be dearth and perhaps even severe famine in Europe, and it may be that India will be able in some measure to contribute to the alleviation of the consequent distress. How she can best do so will be to create a market within her own borders for the industrial products which she needs and which the West will be able to supply. Purely in her own interests, therefore, there should be a definitely conceived plan for the exchange of her raw or semi-manufactured materials for the machinery and plant to enable a further and more rapid advance in the development of her internal resources and in finding useful work for her superabundant supply of labour.

Specific protection to certain selected industries and a high revenue tariff have stimulated industrial progress in recent years, but the result has been achieved by enhancing the cost of living, which has in its turn tended to lower the standard of life of those dependent on the land. The imposition of high tariffs and excise duties on commodities in general demand is an expedient that may be temporarily justified though it is unsound as a permanent basis for raising revenue. Modern industries are very unevenly distributed throughout the country, and the provinces and states which are almost purely agricultural are likely to resent a fiscal system which throws additional burdens on them without conferring any equivalent benefits. The totalitarian states introduced planning for the future, and it would seem that in this respect India would be wise to follow their example. There are various ways in which this might be done. The essential point is to secure the co-operation of representatives of the varied interests involved, who should meet at intervals sufficiently frequent to keep in touch with a world situation which may be exposed to violent reactions till some kind of stable equilibrium is established in international affairs.

THE NEW MYSORE CONSTITUTION

BY STANLEY RICE

SINCE the death of the Maharaja of Baroda early last year the Indian States have suffered no misfortune comparable to that of the recent passing of the ruler of Mysore. The two men may not have had a great deal in common, but this feeling at least they showed, that each loved his State and gave up his life to promoting the welfare of his people. The younger man was much attracted by the elder, and letters passed between them which might almost have been between father and son. But the main point is that Baroda and Mysore shone with an almost equal brightness in the constellation of the Indian States. Mysore liked to call herself, and to hear herself called, the Model State—not without reason, for it was generally acknowledged that she was excellently governed; but Baroda was not far behind, if, indeed, she was behind at all. She is the smaller State, and is not compact, as is Mysore; she had to be lifted almost bodily out of the slough into which she had sunk, and it is to the credit of her ruler that she reached and maintained the position of one of the few really well-governed States. Mysore, on the other hand, which, after the defeat of Tipu Sultán, had been restored to the ancient Hindu dynasty, very soon fell a victim to the plague of extravagance and misgovernment which seems to have infected most of India in those troublous times. At any rate, such was the condition of the State after twenty years of Hindu rule that the British Government intervened in 1831 and governed the State till 1881, when the adopted son of the first Maharaja came of age, and ruled till 1894. But when the State was restored in 1881 it was only on certain conditions embodied in what is known as “the instrument of transfer.” The late Maharaja, who has died at the early age of fifty-six, was a pleasant, unassuming man, who, especially in the latter part of his life, devoted much time to religious observance. It is noticeable that in a lengthy document, to be referred to later in this paper, he is frequently mentioned as “our Saintly Ruler.” The title may well have been deserved, for there is no reason to doubt that His Highness was unusually devout, even if Rumour may have attributed to him, with her usual exaggeration, more than was warranted by the facts.

That this is so is to some extent suggested by the Act XVIII. of 1940, by which the Government of Mysore is now regulated. Such an Act requires the imprimatur of the Sovereign, and one

can hardly suppose that the Maharaja, who had all his life shown so much concern for his State, would have accepted blindly such a piece of legislation as this is. For the Act goes much further than any other seems to do in any Indian State, unless it be Travancore, towards placing the Government on a democratic footing. The process was begun by C. V. Rangacharlu, who was the Minister in 1881, and who seems to have been somewhat precipitate in his imitation of British Indian institutions, for it was in that year he gave Mysore a Representative Assembly. This title, which has a faint flavour of the French Revolution, was in effect a very harmless body. It met annually, but only to hear an account of the administration; it had no power to legislate, to vote supplies, or even to pass resolutions which are binding on the Government. As the *Encyclopædia Britannica* puts it, "it gave to the leading men of the districts a pleasant opportunity of visiting the capital." But, as in other States where some such advisory body exists, the opinion of the Assembly was not altogether without weight with the Government; at least it provided the opportunity to initiate a discussion, perhaps even to ventilate a grievance. The franchise was exceedingly limited; after 1891 it was elected by local boards and other public bodies. In this respect it may be interesting to compare it with a similar body in Baroda State, as set out in the latest Administration Report. Baroda has no Representative Assembly on the Mysore scale. The Legislative Council contains only eighteen non-official members, of whom only ten are elected by the local bodies. This Council has the right of interpellation and of moving resolutions which are not binding on the Government, but its "decisions are in the nature of recommendations to His Highness the Maharaja." It therefore performs much the same functions as its Mysore counterpart, though the latter's Representative Assembly, which originally numbered 350, is more than ten times the size of it. One is inclined to wonder why Mr. Rangacharlu thought it desirable or necessary to bring so many members together merely for the purposes already described. It is, however, probable that his idea was gradually to enlarge their powers so that eventually they might become a really parliamentary body, prepared, after the experience of listening and debating, to take a definite share in the government of the country on democratic lines.

Chapter II. of the Act sets up a Council of Ministers, not less than four, in addition to the Diwan President, and this Council is to "aid and advise His Highness the Maharaja in the exercise of the executive authority of the State." In other words, the State is to be governed by this Executive Council, who issue orders in the name of the Government of His Highness the Maharaja (s. 8). There is, however, a very significant provision. Section

6 (2) provides that "two at least of the Ministers shall be chosen from among the elected members of the Representative Assembly or the Legislative Council." That is to say that in a Council of Five (including the Diwan President) nearly one-half shall be non-official and elected. That is certainly a great advance in the direction of popular representation. It is, perhaps, difficult for the average Englishman, unacquainted with India, to realize how much power this puts into the hands of a man who, however brilliant in his own line, may never have handled administrative matters. It is true that the Ministers are to be appointed by the Maharaja and can be dismissed by him, apparently without any reason assigned; anyone, moreover, who has served in an Indian State knows that if the Maharaja is much withdrawn from business, as in Mysore itself, or spends large parts of the year abroad, as in Baroda in recent years, much must necessarily depend on the Diwan's recommendations. The Diwan, being in much closer touch with affairs, is probably a better judge of the material available for appointment. The risk of appointing the wrong man is thus greatly reduced. That, in fact, is what is now being done in British India, where the more or less inexperienced Ministers gain by contact with what may be called the permanent Civil Service.

It will be noticed that the two non-official Ministers may be chosen either from the Representative Assembly *or* the Legislative Council. But while the Representative Assembly is to consist of 310 members, of whom 12 shall be nominated, the Legislative Council shall consist of 68 members, of whom 24 shall be nominated. While, therefore, the choice of elected Ministers, or, rather, of Ministers chosen from the elected members, is offered over a wide scope in the case of the Representative Assembly, it is very restricted in the case of the Legislative Council, the actual numbers being 298 against 44. In seeking for some explanation of these widely divergent figures, one naturally turns to the qualifications of voters and candidates. These are contained in the Rules made under the Act. Rather as one would expect, there does appear to be a considerable difference between the two sets of qualifications. Thus for the Legislative Council a candidate must pay an income-tax of Rs. 50, or taxes of different kinds amounting, in any one case, to Rs. 10 or land revenue to the amount of Rs. 50. There is no such pecuniary qualification for the Representative Assembly. Moreover, the educational qualification is "graduation of not less than seven years' standing"; whereas for the more popular body (where the age limit is twenty-five against thirty) graduation itself is sufficient. It is, therefore, clear that the aim of the legislators was to obtain a class of candidate which should not only be more mature in age and experience, but should also have a higher stake in the country.

Special interests have been considered in the case of both Houses. These include women, mining, planting (both European and Indian), Labour, and University; but the Representative Assembly has also two seats for commerce and one for co-operation. Besides these, forty-one seats in the Representative Assembly and eleven in the Legislative Council are reserved for various religious communities, including the depressed classes. It cannot be said, therefore, that any considerable class has been overlooked in the framing of this comprehensive statute. It is a melancholy reflection that the Maharaja under whose auspices it was enacted did not live to see it come into force on September 1, 1940.

It must not, however, be thought that the two Chambers were deliberately designed, the one to be a check upon the other. The Representative Assembly is a much older body than the Legislative Council, for it dates back in a somewhat rudimentary form to 1881, known as the year of rendition. The first suggestion for setting up such a body is attributed to Sir J. D. Gordon, who was then the Chief Commissioner for Mysore, and who prepared the way in some respects in principle, though not in detail, for the present matured constitution. The Government of India of the day did not accept this particular recommendation, probably regarding it as too advanced for the politics of that time, and it was therefore left to the first Diwan, as already explained, to bring the idea into effect. At first it seems to have taken the form of quite informal conversations in which public officers, *raiyats*, and merchants were invited to take part; the underlying notion was to bring the Government into more direct touch with the people. The result seems to have been eminently satisfactory, because five months later—that is, in August, 1881—the formal announcement was made establishing the Assembly.

The Legislative Council was not born until 1907. Originally the framing of laws had been left to the Executive Council, but in 1907 this nominated Council of not less than ten or more than fifteen, of whom two-fifths were to be non-official, was brought into being. As the Executive Council consisted of three members, including the Diwan, it is clear that the non-official vote, consisting of four in a Council of thirteen or of six in a Council of eighteen, was not of decisive weight. But these provisions were gradually modified in what we may call a democratic direction, and in 1919 the additional membership was raised to thirty, of whom thirteen were to be elected, and five nominated, non-officials. The principle of the official majority, thus abandoned in 1919, has been continued in the present Act of 1940, by which the non-officials outnumber the officials (counting amongst the latter the nominated non-officials) by at least twenty.

In a long paper one of the Committee whose labours seem to

have resulted in the present Act has recorded a dissenting minute. The recommendations of the Committee are not before us, and it is impossible, therefore, to say how far they have been carried out. The Dissenting Note is chiefly concerned with pointing out that "responsible government" is not necessarily the best form of government, nor the one best suited to the Mysore State. The writer pleads earnestly for the maintenance of the *status quo*, which has served Mysore so well for fifty-eight years. Here he is not very clear. If there is one thing that is certain, one thing that must strike the most superficial observer, it is that the constitution of 1881 has undergone much modification since then. Anyone who has followed this article so far will have noticed the creation of the Legislative Council in 1907, which took the place of the old bureaucratic Executive, and, although the Representative Assembly has not undergone any violent changes since 1881, such changes as there have been have been in the direction of democracy. In 1881 there was no thought of admitting women to the vote, nor the depressed classes; yet under the new Act women may become not only voters, but actual members of the Assembly. The same may be said of the depressed classes, where, however, the rules are slightly different.

But in spite of these progressive tendencies there is not very much in the new Act to cause alarm, even to the most convinced conservative. As already explained, the original Representative Assembly was a more or less informal body called together to discuss by way of conversation the questions of the day which most concerned or interested the people. The powers of the Assembly, though now placed on a more constitutional basis, are not, after all, so very much greater. Every Bill placed before the Legislative Council must first have been read in the Representative Assembly, which can reject it if opposed by a two-thirds majority of the whole House. But even this provision is hedged about with restrictions. The Representative Assembly may discuss the Bill, but only in principle and not in detail, except in so far as that may be necessary to explain a principle. In English Parliamentary terminology that would mean in effect that no Bill can now reach the committee stage in the Lower House. Moreover, matters relating to the ruling family of Mysore, relations with the Crown or its representatives, treaties and conventions, and other matters specially reserved by His Highness, are outside the scope of the powers of the Assembly. There are somewhat similar provisions in respect of finance, and no tax may be imposed or increased unless on the recommendation of the Government.

It is fairly clear that this is not "responsible government" or anything like it. There are, no doubt, elaborate election rules for both Chambers; no doubt, too, the position of minorities and

women has been carefully considered, but there it would seem the approach has, if not stopped altogether, at least halted by the way. Responsible government implies the sovereignty of the people, who delegate this sovereignty to their representatives upon the principle of an absolute majority of votes regulated upon a given system. But the corollary is that those to whom the power has been entrusted must carry out the will of the people. That this does not always take place is due largely to the limitations of human nature. A Government elected by the will of the people can outlast its mandate, and when it does so, and the people have realized that their representatives no longer represent them, a General Election takes place. It has been recognized, too, that after a certain period, which seems to be fixed arbitrarily—in England it is now five years, in Mysore four—there should be a kind of stocktaking; the people should therefore be asked to decide whether to keep the old gang or to bring in a new one. The underlying principle throughout is that the House of Assembly—whether it be called Commons or Representatives—shall be responsible to the country for the laws that are passed. That this is actually the case in England is proved, not merely by the provisions just referred to, which belong to English constitutional law but not necessarily to any other, but also by what is called the Parliament Act, by which the veto of the House of Lords, which does not represent the country, since it is not an elected body, has been largely curtailed on this very ground—that the Lords cannot and should not obstruct the will of the people.

Now, can it be said that the Government of Mysore is a “responsible Government” in this sense? Clearly the answer must be in the negative. The popular House cannot make laws at all; it can discuss them, but only in principle and not in detail. It is true that no Bill can be so much as introduced into the Legislative Council unless it has first been laid before the Representative Assembly. There is, therefore, a useful check, in that the Government cannot proceed (except in the case of emergency) against the declared opinion of the popular Assembly, whose criticisms may be valuable. In the last analysis, however, it is the Executive Government which decides whether or not a projected law shall be pressed and, if pressed, shall be passed. This would seem to be the case not less in Mysore than in Baroda, where there is a Legislative Council but no Representative Assembly. There a Bill is shaped by the legal authorities, scrutinized and criticized by the Diwan, and perhaps discussed with the Maharaja before being introduced into the Legislative Council. It is then commented on, amendments are moved, and, if it seems advisable, accepted; the broad fact, however, remains that no Bill can become law without the consent of the Government, which

is not bound by adverse resolutions and which, if it accepts amendments, does so of its own free will. The Government is not responsible to anyone but the Maharaja, who appoints and can dismiss the Diwan and any or all of the Ministers. It does not appear that the procedure is very different in Mysore. It is true that two of the Ministers are to be chosen from the elected representatives, but they, like the others, hold office "during the pleasure of His Highness the Maharaja."

But though the present constitution is not "responsible government" nor anything like it, it is only fair to admit that the most that is claimed is that such government is to be regarded as a "goal." The formula suggested is that "the goal to be kept in view in all constitutional reforms should be the establishment of a system of responsible government." In that sense, no doubt, the present Act does mark an advance, and especially in the concession that two members of the Executive Council shall be chosen from the elected members of the two Houses. On the other hand, though the dissenting minute is exceedingly diffuse, one is tempted to ask with the writer why this approach to democracy should be the "goal to be kept in view." Apart from the fact that democratic ideas have been losing ground on the continent of Europe, where political theories usually have their origin, what is good for the British India goose (if it is good) is not necessarily good for the "Indian India" gander. With the British example before them it is hardly possible for British India, in dealing with a British Government, to turn to any form of government other than that to which they are accustomed, at least in theory. It is therefore only to be expected that the Congress or any other party of sufficient importance to make its voice heard should envisage a native Government based upon a broad franchise and the principle of election. Moreover, the demand which is to lead to this desired state of affairs is the transfer of power from foreign to native hands, and that in itself is quite a different thing from the transfer of power from Maharaja and Cabinet to people in an Indian State. It is one of the strongest arguments in favour of the Congress position that they, as Indians, are bound to know more of their own people than any Englishman, however sympathetic, can possibly know. This argument was usually countered by the assertion that the Indian intelligentsia dwelt in towns and paid little or no attention to rural affairs. Consequently the English officer, who was always travelling from village to village, actually knew, foreigner though he was, more of the villager than the Indian town dweller, who only went to the villages when he could not avoid it, at the time of election and so on. There is, or was, some truth in this allegation, though it is said that now there is a closer connection

between town and country. Be this as it may, in an Indian State the transfer of power can only be from one Indian hand to another.

There is thus much truth in what the dissenting note says that there is no valid ground for disturbing what has already been tried and not found wanting. After all, there is nothing infallible, there is no panacea, in a constitution. Men give it a label and it is then assumed to possess all the qualities implied in that label. But this is hardly ever the case. An autocracy, for example, cannot exist as such. The autocrat does his will just so long as it suits the people and no longer. History bristles with examples of the autocrat who, having gone too far in his autocracy, is pulled from his throne. All Indian States are in theory autocracies; yet the late Maharaja of Baroda once said to me: "I have long wanted to do so-and-so"—to all appearance a trifling matter—"but I dare not." In the same way there can never be more than an approach to a democracy; modern States have outgrown the example of Athens, which was a true democracy and was governed by the vote of the people given in person in open Assembly. At best it is only a working hypothesis today, and, since it has served the purpose, especially of Britain and the United States, neither country wishes to change it. But that it does not satisfy others, and has therefore no special inherent virtue, is clear, since it has never really flourished on the continent of Europe. France tried it in 1793 for a few years, again in 1830 for about twenty years, and again in 1871 for a longer spell, but even she never made a great success of it.

As a matter of fact, the constitution of Mysore was very liberal. By introducing the Representative Assembly as early as in the year 1881 the then Diwan made a great step forward. For although the people had no power (and still have very little), it was, for those times, a novel idea that they should be consulted at all in an Indian State. It did not, of course, follow that if they asked for the moon they would get it, but it did mean that any reasonable request would receive attention, and it is a matter of frequent experience that what seems perfectly reasonable on a superficial examination turns out to be quite undesirable on a consideration of other aspects. That, too, is what makes democracy possible. If it is to work smoothly there must be acquiescence on the part of the people in what the rulers do; they must understand that the Government, which has experience, knows, on the whole, better than the individual or even the community. When the Government does something outrageous, they can be forced to retract, even when, as in Indian States, the Executive is irremovable. I do not, of course, mean to imply that such acquiescence cannot exist in undemocratic countries. In fact,

unless there is such acquiescence no Government can work at all. But acquiescence does not imply that there should be no criticism. On the contrary, it is almost an axiom of the English system that the stronger the Opposition, the stronger the Government; no English Government likes a weak Opposition. In India, however, this is hardly yet appreciated. The Governments are inclined to be intolerant of criticism, to resent opposition, while possibly giving lip-service to the principle of hearing both sides. This is, perhaps, due to the fact that in earlier times criticism was not really criticism, but tended to become abuse. Moreover, whoever was not actually in Government service, not necessarily as a member of the Cabinet or what corresponds to it, seemed to think himself in honour bound to oppose everything the Government proposed to do. It is this want of a *reasoned* opposition, this blind acquiescence in everything that the Government does, this unquestioning obedience to every order issued, good or bad, which leads to autocracy, totalitarianism, and dictatorship. And the opposite is nearly as bad; Civil Disobedience is only a polite name for anarchy. It claims the right to disobey all laws with which in the exercise of its private judgment the party or community does not agree.

But if it be granted that the goal in Mysore is "responsible government"—and that, to judge by the continuous progress in one direction, would seem to be the case—then the Maharaja and his Government are to be commended for the caution which they have shown. The result of their legislation is, after all, to take no very great step towards this goal, and this is all the better, seeing that the State under its present Diwan, Sir Mirza Ismail, is known to be very flourishing and contented. The address in which he reviewed the Budget (June 7, 1940) is remarkable in several ways. It is the last which he delivered in the reign of the Maharaja he had so well served; it was the first under war conditions, and it was evidence of the care with which the whole question was treated for the sake of the Representative Assembly. He made a fitting allusion to the war. "Meeting as we do here in an atmosphere of calm and quiet, let us not for a moment forget that these are grave times. . . . A heart-rending tragedy is being enacted in Europe on a scale beyond the wildest dream of our savage ancestors." This is not the place to examine the Budget in detail. As one might expect, it shows Mysore as a thoroughly equipped State, and it is only necessary to mention one or two items. The revenue is Rs. 4,39,06,000, or something over £3,000,000 sterling. It is frankly admitted that rural co-operation has not so far had the success expected. No reason is given for the failure, except the usual one that zeal outran discretion. Mysore is not the only State that has "had to retrace its steps."

She has found that it is extremely hard to uproot a firmly planted tradition and to overcome not merely the village custom, but the vested interests of the money-lending classes.

Another item, though small in itself, deserves consideration. Rs. 10,000 have been provided for itinerant dispensaries. These are very well in their way, so long as their limitations are recognized. For treating immediate cases they are, no doubt, not without value, but when they travel outside these limitations they become waste of money. If you want to attack malaria in a malarious district, it is quite useless to administer quinine once or twice and then not again for some months. It may be said that such treatment has a "faith value." It is, however, few people who have sufficient faith to last them over their next attack. In Mysore the money is to be used for these dispensaries in the Malnad, which is the western and more hilly part of the State. It is here that the forests are, and here that the elephants breed, the capture of which is a special feature of Mysore. And where there is forest there is malaria; if, then, these dispensaries are to be used among the forest tribes for (amongst other things) the treatment of malaria, it looks as if Mysore was copying the error of British India and not only wasting money and material, but deceiving itself that it is doing valuable work.

On the other hand, the State is fully alive to the importance of good roads, and it is probably ahead of most, if not all, other States in making special allotments for the asphaltting of roads. But the State is not so fortunate in dealing with liquor excise. It has for a long time been the slogan in British India that you should combine "the maximum of revenue with the minimum of consumption," and the means adopted for attaining this desirable result is to raise the duty while lowering the number of shops. This plan must obviously have its limitations; as a matter of fact, it has not had the desired effect. Men will have their pleasures, as was seen in the dismal experiment in America. If you prohibit the legitimate sale of liquor, you only invite the illicit still and the illicit sale. The result is a certain amount of extra *revenue* crime, and in the case of Mysore a considerable increase in drunkenness.

Mysore is one of the few places in India where gold is successfully mined. The Diwan has dealt cautiously and wisely with the difficult question of taxing the mines. For the rest, apart from one or two items which, if not peculiar to Mysore, are prominent there, the State is equipped as we expect to find an Indian State of that calibre and importance.

But it is the new constitution that figures first and most prominently in the Budget speech. "We have done," said Sir Mirza Ismail, "for the time being with the discussion of politics.

We have arrived at a further stage in the association of the people of the State with its ruler in the application of the science of government. And it falls to us now each to do his utmost to get the best possible service out of the machine that His Highness has been pleased to give us." There is a certain melancholy satisfaction in the last words. The machine is one for which Mysore would seem to have been waiting, and it was the last gift which the late Maharaja could give his people. Whether or no the State will have done, even "for the time being," with the discussion of politics is another matter; at any rate, it would seem that they need not enter into the deliberations of the Representative Assembly.

THE INDIAN STATES AND THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO THE WAR

BY SIR FREDERICK O'CONNOR, C.S.I., C.I.E., C.V.O.

THE earlier history of the British in India is concerned to a very great extent with the various States into which the peninsula was at that time divided, their internecine quarrels, and the degree to which the old East India Company was involved (often very much against its will) in the resulting chaos. It is true that for over a century—in fact, until the fall of Delhi in 1857—the greater part of the Indian peninsula was under the nominal rule of the decaying Mughal dynasty; but the authority of the Delhi emperors was fast disappearing, and great provinces like Hyderabad and Bengal, for instance, were actually under the effective Government of the Emperor's viceroys. The Mughal sovereignty had, in fact, been reduced to a shadow, and the entire area had become a mosaic of conflicting States, large and small, with uncertain and varying frontiers, under a variety of chiefs, few of whom could count on any security of tenure or succession.

There existed over the whole peninsula during this period no operative centralizing influence or authority, and nothing even approaching any sentiment of nationalism. It was a situation where the weakest went to the wall, and where any strong and ambitious man, whether a hereditary landowner, a freebooter pure and simple, or a claimant to some show of authority under the Emperor's firman, could organize an irregular force and carve out a kingdom or a principality or at least a *jagir* (estate) for himself, and could hold it or extend it until he came into conflict with some stronger or more unscrupulous neighbour.

From the time of Clive until after the Mutiny the sub-continent which we now call "India" might be described as a kaleidoscope of shifting (and always colourful) fragments which presented no sign and apparently no prospect of ultimate stability or unity.

All this is a matter of history, as is also the extraordinary series of chances and changes which resulted, in the course of a century, in the establishment by a commercial company of the overlordship over a vast area extending from Peshawar to Calcutta and from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin; and thus, after the Mutiny, to the assumption of supreme authority by the British Crown.

During the course of this century the old East India Company was confronted, one after another, with a series of antagonists whom, in its struggle for existence, it was compelled, *nolens volens*,

to fight and subdue or to make terms with—the rival claimants for authority in Hyderabad, the Mughal Emperor's viceroy in Bengal, the Mahrattas, the Pindaris, the Sikhs, and innumerable other lesser chiefs and groups—all culminating in the Mutiny campaigns of 1857-1858, which terminated once for all the Mughal sovereignty and created the entity now known as the "Indian Empire."

BRITAIN AND THE STATES

Taking a bird's-eye view of the whole panorama of a century of confusion and conflict, we see in the result the kaleidoscope brought to a standstill, the shifting pieces arrested, and the whole unstable mixture crystallized, as it were, into permanency as by some chemical process. For change, uncertainty, and confusion were substituted stability, confidence, and order.

The political entity which emerged presented, and still presents, two main features—great provinces under direct British rule (now advancing towards complete self-government), and a large number of States under their own Rulers, their relations with Great Britain regulated by treaty. These Rulers henceforth were guaranteed security of their frontiers and in the matter of succession, and independence within their own domains.

The story of the relations between the British and the various States varies in almost every individual instance. With some (as, for instance, Hyderabad) relations with the ancestors of the existing Royal House were friendly from the start; with others (as, for example, Kashmir) matters were negotiated as a bargain; and with the majority existing treaties resulted after a period of hostilities. But in every case the final conclusion was the same—pacts which have been faithfully observed on both sides, and a mutual friendship and esteem, which have been cemented and strengthened with the passage of time. Anyone who had the good fortune to be present at such functions as the great Durbars at Delhi in 1903 and 1911, or at a meeting of the Chamber of Princes, must have been impressed by the presence of so many romantic figures, of ancient lineage and martial traditions, all willing, and indeed eager, to pay their homage to their King-Emperor, and ready to co-operate with one another for the benefit of their own order and the good of India as a whole. Every race and every religion in India is represented among these Princes—Muhammadans, Hindus, Sikhs, Rajputs, mountain chiefs from the farthest recesses of the Himalayas, and plainsmen from the extreme south.

It is important for any student of Indian affairs to realize the extent and population of these States. There are over 500 of them in number, and they occupy between them over one-third of the

area of the Indian peninsula and contain over 80,000,000 of people—nearly one-quarter of India's population. And it should be realized also that they are not mere picturesque survivals of a past age, but are, for the greater part, progressive, up to date, well-organized entities. Their internal administration varies, naturally, in accordance with the character and ability of each particular Ruler, and with the traditions, history, wealth, etc., of the different territories. But, speaking generally, the States may be said to have made, and to be continually making, marked progress in every branch of their administration.

MARTIAL TRADITIONS

The populations of the great majority of the States belong to the fighting races of India and have behind them a background of martial traditions, and nearly all of them have from the first maintained military forces of some kind or another, varying from small armies to posses of feudal retainers. It was natural that the Rulers of fighting stock should desire to seize opportunities for using their troops on active service; and, in fact, forces from a number of States have joined and fought with the soldiers of the British and Indian armies in almost every campaign since early in the nineteenth century. As time passed on it was realized that, in order to make such support from the State forces thoroughly effective, their organization and equipment would have to be brought up to the same standards as prevail in the Indian Army proper. This was done in the case of several of the States, and the forces thus organized were termed "Imperial Service Troops," and their training was supervised by selected British officers in the capacity of "Inspecting Officers." Units of these troops have served with distinction in many campaigns, and in the last war over 20,000 of them were employed in India and overseas in France, Mesopotamia, Palestine, Egypt, etc., and everywhere gave a very good account of themselves. After the war these State troops were further increased, and number nearly 50,000 men of all branches of the Service—cavalry, infantry, artillery, engineers, and transport. They are now known as "Indian State Forces."

The way has thus been paved over a long period for the effective co-operation of many of the Indian States in modern warfare, and the various Rulers have gladly embraced the opportunity offered for proving the metal of their men. Ruler after Ruler, from great States like Hyderabad and Kashmir (as large as some European countries) down to the smallest and poorest, has placed his personal services and the entire resources of his State unreservedly at the disposal of the King-Emperor. Those with troops have offered them, and all have been lavish in gifts of money

and such supplies as their territories produce. Such offers have been received literally by hundreds; and although, of course, the scope and amount of the gifts and services vary with the size and wealth of the donors, the spirit underlying them all is the same.

Much as I should like to do so, it is not possible to give a detailed list of the offers and gifts of the whole body of the Indian Princes and Chiefs. It may appear invidious to select particular names and examples, but in doing so the object is to try to typify the spontaneous generosity and the loyalty of them all. It is in this light that the instances cited below should be regarded. Let us, then, consider some of them.

THE HYDERABAD AIR SQUADRONS

We may begin with the biggest and wealthiest of all the Indian States, Hyderabad, with an area of 83,000 square miles (as large as Italy) and a population of 14,000,000, with whose Rulers we have been allied by treaty since the year 1766. Besides sending units of the State troops to serve with the British and Indian troops, the Hyderabad Government, immediately on the outbreak of war, made a gift of £100,000 for the formation of a fighting squadron. It is known as the "Hyderabad Squadron," has been constantly in action, and has already created a very fine record for itself. Its first success was gained last February, when it shot down a Heinkel off the north-east coast; and during the ten days August 13 to 23 it brought down no less than twenty-four Junkers and Messerschmitts. Twice during that period the squadron accounted for five enemy aircraft in one day, and on the 18th one pilot bagged three (the last of which was shared with a comrade). The total bag up to August 24 was thirty-four enemy planes. His Exalted Highness may well be proud of his fighting squadron, and can feel assured that the cost of its creation and maintenance has been well justified. The value of this gift was further enhanced by another gift of £50,000 for the maintenance of the squadron, and also for that of a squadron of bombers of the R.A.F., which was formed out of the gift made for submarine warfare during the last war.

To crown these efforts His Exalted Highness the Nizam last July made a personal donation of £50,000 towards the cost either of a fighting squadron or a corps of mechanized tanks or such other purpose as might be desired by the British Government. And a few days later he presented a further sum of £37,500 to the Viceroy's War Purposes Fund.

Recent news from Hyderabad tells us that a fresh gift of £100,000 has been subscribed by the people of Hyderabad, to which thousands, rich and poor, have sent sums ranging from

humble gifts of 4 annas (4d.) to donations of £10,000. Other private subscriptions for the provision of aircraft have also been made in the State. A subscription has been set on foot for the collection of three lakhs of rupees from the public towards the cost of one Hurricane, the greater part of which has already been realized. Nobles and landowners of the State, too, have announced their intention of making a gift of three more aircraft.

Other generous gifts have also been made, not only by His Exalted Highness himself, but also by officials and nobles of the State and by the general public towards the Viceroy's War Purposes Fund and the Hyderabad War Fund, which latter now amounts to over £10,000. The ladies of the State, too, have organized a "Women's War Relief Committee" to provide comforts for the Indian troops serving abroad and for the Hyderabad units serving in India.

Large sums have been devoted by the State Government to the purchase of interest-free bonds of the Indian Government.

Altogether it is estimated that since the outbreak of war His Exalted Highness and his Government have made available to the British and Indian Governments no less than £750,000, besides meeting charges incidental to the training of technical staffs and other activities for war purposes.

Early in the war His Exalted Highness issued a clarion call to all the peoples of India, and especially to the Muslims, to sink their differences and do everything in their power to assist the British Government and thereby give proof of their loyalty.

Similarly, H.H. the Aga Khan, the head of 10,000,000 Ismaili Muhammadans scattered throughout India and the Near and Middle East, at once summoned his followers to rally to our cause. After serving at the head of his own troop of horse with the French in Syria, Prince Ali Khan, son of His Highness, is now an officer in the British army in Egypt.

OTHER MUSLIM PRINCES

Muslim Rulers generally have displayed similar loyalty and similar generosity in proportion to their means and resources. The Nawab of Rampur, for example (whose hospitality has been enjoyed by so many Europeans in India), besides other gifts, has presented motor ambulances to the value of Rs. 1 lakh. In offering his services to the King-Emperor, he said:

"In keeping with the traditions of my house, and following the example of my forefathers set at critical junctures during the Indian Mutiny and the Great War, I shall be proud to offer my personal services as a soldier and those of my troops and the

whole resources of my State unreservedly in the service of the King-Emperor when required in the present crisis."

This declaration is typical of hundreds of others, and the offers are accompanied or followed by monetary and other gifts. The Nawabs of Tonk, Bahawalpur, Pataudi, etc., the Chiefs of the small hill States of Hunza and Nagar, tucked away in the remotest recesses of the Gilgit Agency on the road leading to the Pamirs, the Mehtar of Chitral in the extreme north-west, may be mentioned as showing how widespread, and indeed universal, is the sympathy for our cause among the Muhammadans within the boundaries of the Indian Empire. And it is interesting and significant to note that even the independent Pathan tribes of the Khyber region have signified their sympathy with us at a formal tribal Jirga. Similar declarations of sympathy are reported also from the trucial Arab Chiefs of the Persian Gulf.

THE HINDU STATES

When we come to consider the great Hindu Princes, many of them of noble Rajput race, we find the same attitude and the same eagerness to serve and to give. Mysore* is affording invaluable help in the industrial field, and in September made large donations for aircraft production and to the British Exchequer for general war purposes. That staunch friend of Britain and doughty Rajput, the Maharaja of Bikanir, who fought at the head of his own troops during the last war, has offered to raise and maintain six battalions of infantry and the services of his famous camel corps under the command of his only surviving son and heir. "The loyalty of the Indian States," he has declared, "has no price, nor was it a matter of bargain and barter. Such an unchivalrous attitude has never been part of the policy or creed of the Princes at the hour of the Empire's need." And in expressing the hope that he would himself have the privilege of fighting again personally for his Majesty the King-Emperor, he added: "No Rajput is ever too old to fight."

These remarks are taken as typical of the spirit of the Hindu Princes and Chiefs. They are reflected in hundreds of other instances. From Gwalior, Indore, Alwar, Jaipur, Udaipur, Cooch Behar, Travancore (in the far south), and many others come gifts and offers of service. The young Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda has presented a flight of Lysander aeroplanes to the Indian Air Force. The Kashmir State has presented six fully equipped ambulance cars to the British, and the same to the Indian army. H.H. the Maharaja has said:

* It is typical of the loyal devotion of the late Maharaja, whose death is so universally deplored, that the last Proclamation issued under his signature was for setting aside Sunday, June 30, as a day of prayer for victory. It is reproduced on page 732.

“This war may be short or long, but let us all resolve that we shall not lay down our arms until righteousness has triumphed over an unprecedented combination of greed and inhuman heartlessness.”

NORTHERN INDIA

And so with the great Sikh States of the Punjab—Patiala, Kapurthala, Jind, etc.—those gallant fighters who gave us such a tough struggle during the Sikh wars of the last century, and of whom so many have served and are serving in the Indian army. Their support is valuable indeed. Two of the sons of the Maharaja of Kapurthala have volunteered to serve personally, the elder of whom served also in the last war. The Maharaja of Patiala has urged all the Khalsa (Sikhs) to sink their differences and to unite in rallying to the British cause. “I should like,” he said, “to impress on all my countrymen that this war is our war no less than Great Britain’s. It is a war to save civilization from ruin.” He added that it would give him pleasure to convey to the Viceroy the inflexible resolve of the Sikhs to fight to the end in order to save their moral and spiritual heritage.

India, as we know, is a country of many races and several diverse religions, but in the pronouncements quoted above we see all differences of race or faith ignored and swept away in a common purpose and a common loyalty.

One religion, once widely spread in Northern India, but now reduced in numbers—Buddhism—has not been mentioned. There is, in fact, only one Buddhist State in India, the small hill-State of Sikkim, situated to the north of Darjeeling, of which the Maharaja and the population of the northern part are Buddhists. Sikkim, too, as in the last war, has affirmed its loyalty to our cause and is supporting us with gifts and prayers. And in this connection it is interesting to note that Sikkim’s two Buddhist neighbours, the countries of Tibet and Bhutan, have also declared their sympathy, and the Lamas have held services to pray for our success. The Maharaja of Bhutan has, in addition, offered his personal services; and a Tibetan official, Kusho Ringang, who is one of the four Tibetan boys educated at Rugby, has sent to India a gift of the famous Tibetan wool to be made into socks for British sailors on patrol in the North Sea.

THE KINGDOM OF NEPAL

Nor should we omit to mention that Sikkim’s western neighbour, the independent Hindu kingdom of Nepal (which, by the way, also contains a number of Buddhist subjects), has again, as in the past, sprung to our aid with substantial gifts and services.

H.H. Sir Joodha Shumshere Jung, the Prime Minister, has despatched to India a force of no less than 8,000 men of his own army under the command of his eldest son; and Her Highness, the Senior Maharani, has made the generous gift of Rs. 1 lakh to the Viceroy's War Purposes Fund, this sum to be divided, at the express wish of Her Highness, between the British and Indian Red Cross Societies and the St. John Ambulance Association.

His Highness has also presented the sum of Rs. 25,000 for distribution to the sufferers in the East End of London, in connection with which gift the Nepalese Minister, General Singha Shumshere Jung, has visited the stricken districts and has seen for himself the misery and destitution caused by the indiscriminate German bombings. The money will be distributed among the victims by the local authorities concerned.

OTHER NOTABLE GIFTS

Another point worthy of note is the imaginative and sympathetic nature of many of the gifts from the Indian States and Princes, and their allocation to specific purposes. The Maharaja of Gondal—he is, by the way, an M.D. and F.R.C.P.(Edinburgh)—for instance, has given Rs. 1 lakh for the benefit of the dependants of the victims of the *Royal Oak*, and also a similar amount for evacuated children from the Channel Islands and elsewhere. In acknowledging this latter gift, Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, writing to the Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, says:

“These children have not only lost their homes, but many of them are entirely cut off from their parents, who have remained in the islands. The Maharaja's gift thus helps in relieving the children . . . and the help which has come to them from India will be a vivid illustration of the practical meaning of Empire unity.”

Real kindness of heart has prompted such gifts as these.

To take other instances. The Maharaja of Travancore has presented a trawler for minesweeping and submarine detection. The Maharaja of Sirmur has given a Valentia aircraft; the Maharaja of Bikanir a number of gifts for war comforts for British and Indian soldiers, sailors, and their dependants, and also £1,000 for London air raid victims; the Jam Sahib of Nawanagar, a monthly contribution of one-tenth of the income of his State; the Nawab of Bahawalpur, Rs. 1 lakh for British children evacuated overseas. The Maharaja of Rajpipla (well known in England as the owner of Windsor Lad, which won the Derby in 1934) has earmarked the first instalment of his gift of Rs. 1 lakh to be used for the purchase of cigarettes for the troops. Mention has already been made of the many Chiefs who have made gifts of ambulance units and cars

and of sums of money for the use of the Red Cross and St. John Ambulance Association. The Nawab of Bhopal has presented £75,000 for the purchase of Spitfires, and the Begum of Bhopal, wife of the reigning Prince, has held an exhibition for providing funds for the medical equipment of allied troops, which was visited by some 15,000 veiled women; and the State officials of Bhopal have donated from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 15 per cent. of their salaries to the Viceroy's War Purposes Fund. The Maharaja of Gwalior has made a free gift to the Government of India of his cotton mill in Bombay, valued at over £100,000.

The total of the Viceroy's fund up to the end of July amounted to over £750,000. The list of donors runs to many hundreds, and includes sums ranging from princely gifts of Rs. 5 lakhs (£37,500) from the Maharaja of Morvi, Rs. $4\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs from the Maharaja of Bhavnagar, Rs. 3 lakhs from the Maharaja of Jaipur, and so on, down to gifts of Rs. 5,000 or so from lesser Chiefs. It is not possible to mention all, but, great or small, all display the same spirit of generosity, loyalty, and faith in our cause.

So at the close of the first year of the second Great War stands the record of our friends and allies, the Princes and Chiefs of India. It is a record creditable alike to these hereditary rulers, feudatories of the British Crown, and to British rule in India. From the chaos of earlier years has been created a stabilized system of alliances; former foes have been transformed into good and loyal friends; and the States, one and all, stand firmly behind the British Empire in her hour of trial.



THE MYSORE GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY

PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY

BANGALORE, MONDAY, 24TH JUNE, 1940.

*The Palace,
Mysore,
24th June 1940.*

My beloved people,

This is a time of very great anxiety all over the world. The forces of His Majesty the King Emperor and of his whole Empire are engaged in a deadly struggle against aggressors who care nothing for right and justice. For a time the forces of evil may appear to succeed; but we know that we are fighting for the victory of the human spirit against mere brutal force. Therefore we believe firmly that, in the end with the blessing of God, our cause will prevail.

At this season, when I have received once again the assurances of my subjects' love and loyalty, I ask that every one may join with me in solemn prayer for victory.

I desire that Sunday, the 30th June 1940, should be observed as a day of special prayer for the success of our Empire and Allies in the great struggle, so that the free spirit of mankind may triumph, and victory may bring peace and safety to us and all the world.

KRISHNARAJA WADIYAR

No. 5641—C. B. 166-39-1, dated Bangalore, the 24th June 1940.

The above gracious message of His Highness the Maharaja is published for general information.

By Order,
B. T. KESAVIENGAR,
Chief Secretary to Government.

INDIA'S MINERAL RESOURCES AND THE WAR

BY SIR LEWIS LEIGH FERMOR, O.B.E., D.SC., A.R.S.M.,
M.INST.M.M., F.R.S.

FROM the earliest times for which there is any evidence man has taken an interest in, and made use of, for the provision of food, clothing, and weapons, the resources of the three kingdoms of Nature—animal, vegetable, and mineral. Partly because of the importance of weapons, including tools, in the provision of food, and in protection against wild animals and other predatory men, and partly because of their durability, leading to their preservation through the ages, archæologists have used the names of the materials from which weapons and tools have been fashioned to designate the various stages or ages in the progress of mankind towards civilization. Thus we have the Stone Age, with its various subdivisions, the Bronze Age, and the Iron Age, which do not, however, denote absolute divisions of time, but stages of culture. We are thus reminded with emphasis that from the very earliest times mineral products have been of the utmost importance to man both in peace and war.

In so far as it may be said that every aspect of a country is of importance under conditions of totalitarian warfare, there is no product or activity of a nation that may not play a part in war, either directly in the provision of armaments, or in the provision of food, the maintenance of the financial structure through trade and business, or the support of the morale and health of the population. We are, however, in this article, concerned only with the products of the mineral world, especially in their relationship to armaments and transport.

Of these mineral resources, the most important are :

(1) The *fuels*, coal and petroleum, each profoundly important sources of energy, as well as of an endless range of derived products.

(2) Snowfields and glaciers (the true *houille blanche*, or white coal), and rainfall in mountainous country, creating through rivers of high gradient and through possibilities of storage of water conditions favourable for the development from *water-power* of the low-cost supplies of electric energy so essential for many electro-chemical and electro-metallurgical industries.

(3) Metallic ores required for the manufacture of *iron and steel*, including ferro-alloys and special steels, particularly ores of iron, manganese, chromium, nickel, tungsten (wolfram), molybdenum, and vanadium.

(4) Metallic ores required for other military purposes, particularly for the manufacture of *aeroplanes, shells*, etc., of which

TABLE I.—Quantity of the Mineral Production of India, 1934 to 1938 (excluding Burma).

	1934.	1935.	1936.	1937.	1938.	Mean, 1934-1938.	Mean, 1914-1918.
<i>War minerals :</i>							
Coal (tons) ..	22,057,447	23,016,695	22,610,821	25,036,386	28,342,906	24,212,851	17,951,583
Manganese-ore (tons) ..	406,306	641,483	813,442	1,051,594	967,929	776,151	577,457
Gold (ozs.) ..	321,253	326,170	331,946	330,744	321,138	326,250	584,556
Petroleum (gals.) ..	67,265,210	71,323,362	69,241,504	75,657,857	87,082,371	74,114,061	7,325,376
Mica (cwts.) (a) ..	92,918	141,814	177,664	297,343	175,109	176,970	49,586
Salt (tons) ..	1,591,311	1,568,420	1,348,222	1,493,021	1,539,603	1,508,127	1,356,043
Iron-ore (tons) ..	1,916,918	2,341,212	2,526,931	2,870,832	2,743,675	2,479,914	408,643
Copper-ore (tons) ..	328,676	350,801	357,194	371,458	288,127	339,251	8,054
Ilmenite (tons) ..	75,644	127,051	140,477	181,047	252,220	155,288	—
Saltpetre (tons) ..	8,314	8,663	8,140	8,357	7,441	8,183	20,949
Refractory materials (kyanite, etc.) (tons)	21,548	43,724	41,298	45,158	48,743	40,094	—
Chromite (tons) ..	21,576	39,127	49,486	62,307	44,149	43,329	22,929
Magnetite (tons) ..	14,975	16,984	15,468	26,166	25,611	19,841	10,165
Zircon (tons) ..	380	6,654	2,210	1,329	1,450	2,405	—
Bauxite (tons) ..	18	7,635	3,644	15,180	14,768	8,249	939
Tungsten-ore (tons) ..	—	—	—	18	10	4.6	28.5
Beryl (tons) ..	55	139	98	27	17	67	—
Corundum (tons) ..	—	28	1½	—	2½	6.4	—
Tantalite (cwts.) ..	—	—	18	11	—	5.8	—
<i>Non-war Minerals :</i>							
Building materials (tons) ..	7,334,797	7,461,090	6,502,971	7,240,449	8,716,434	7,451,148	1,601,699
Other minerals (b) ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

(a) Exports. (b) Not given, as there is no point in adding quantities of unlike minerals.

TABLE 2.—Value of the Mineral Production of India, 1934 to 1938 (excluding Burma).

	1934.	1935.	1936.	1937.	1938.	Mean, 1934-1938.	Mean, 1914-1918.
<i>War minerals :</i>							
Coal	£ 4,741,425	£ 4,903,833	£ 4,099,128	£ 5,872,364	£ 7,942,077	£ 5,631,763	£ 4,419,174
Manganese-ore (a) ..	388,240	768,600	1,124,422	3,229,554	2,932,445	1,688,658	1,255,330
Gold	2,106,080	2,277,159	2,293,113	2,285,404	2,127,483	2,265,208	2,250,787
Petroleum (b)	884,537	936,198	915,188	1,030,591	1,234,563	1,000,215	28,098
Mica (c)	453,423	604,111	689,963	1,079,702	845,175	734,475	383,015
Salt	683,824	689,987	554,099	612,584	710,327	650,164	785,740
Iron-ore	216,246	259,999	294,125	344,840	349,073	291,057	34,108
Copper-ore	257,133	262,316	300,993	366,150	243,956	285,930	11,806
Ilmenite	39,245	58,789	62,418	84,686	115,406	72,109	—
Saltpetre	100,614	100,420	86,273	84,048	87,197	91,710	474,199
Refractory materials ..	13,519	30,301	29,660	53,280	55,710	36,494	—
Chromite	23,313	36,087	45,450	62,826	59,933	43,722	20,164
Magnesite	7,385	7,918	7,684	12,326	11,984	9,459	7,568
Zircon	1,030	6,997	6,335	2,935	1,906	4,061	—
Bauxite	7	1,148	548	4,649	1,652	1,652	408
Tungsten-ore	—	—	—	1,842	716	512	4,949
Beryl	124	641	465	148	119	299	—
Corundum	—	495	32	—	19	703	—
Tantalite	—	—	76	—	—	20	—
Total	£10,006,145	10,944,958	11,108,974	15,127,952	16,849,029	12,807,611	9,677,947
<i>Non-war minerals :</i>							
Building materials ..	710,788	664,195	657,369	729,911	840,701	720,593	121,005
Other minerals	84,422	82,213	67,286	83,459	90,821	81,640	61,533
Total	795,210	746,408	724,655	813,370	931,522	802,233	182,538
Total, all minerals ..	£10,801,355	11,691,366	11,834,629	15,941,322	17,780,551	13,609,844	9,860,185

(c) Exports.

(b) Value estimated.

(a) Values f.o.b. Indian ports of quantities produced.

mention may be made of the ores of aluminium (bauxite), copper, zinc, and magnesium, with lead and tin.

(5) *Gold*, of great importance in the maintenance of credit and the provision of foreign exchange.

(6) *Refractory materials*, used for the lining of furnaces, etc., such as magnesite, fireclay, bauxite, kyanite, sillimanite, and zircon.

(7) *Abrasives*, such as corundum.

(8) Materials for the manufacture of *explosives*, such as saltpetre, toluene from coal-tar, ammonia from coke-ovens, etc.

(9) Materials for *chemical industries*: a great range, including salt, sulphur, sulphides, such as iron pyrites, and nitrates.

(10) *Mica*, in a class by itself, chiefly of importance for insulating purposes in electrical instruments, either direct or as mica-ite, and especially in wireless installations.

Almost any mineral has some war use, either direct or indirect—for example, stone suitable for constructional purposes and for the manufacture of cement, and limestone for fluxing in the iron and steel and other smelting industries; but it is not proposed in this study to treat these as war minerals, though India, in fact, possesses ample supplies of such materials.

In view of the uneven distribution of valuable materials throughout the world, it is not to be expected that any one country should possess adequate supplies of them all. Units as large as the United States of America and Soviet Russia are well supplied with most minerals, though America suffers from a deficit of ores of nickel, manganese, and tungsten, for example, and Russia from a deficit of mica and tungsten-ore. The British Empire and Commonwealth of Nations, with its large total area and far-flung distribution, is also as a whole nearly self-contained, but it is deficient in supplies of petroleum, though British enterprise controls in Iran, Irak, South America, and elsewhere adequate supplies of this essential raw material for the manufacture of petrol.

It is our purpose now to survey briefly the mineral resources of India and see what contribution India makes or can make to the British output of essential war minerals. In war-time it is the developed minerals, or those susceptible of easy and early development, that are of the greatest importance, and therefore a study of the statistics of mineral production of the country will furnish us in the main with our answer.

In Tables 1 and 2 I have collected the mineral production statistics for the five calendar years immediately preceding the present war—namely, 1934 to 1938. The tables show also the averages for this quinquennial period and, for comparison, the averages for the quinquennial period 1914 to 1918 of the last war. As Burma was separated from India with effect from April 1, 1937, the mineral possibilities of that country are not included in

this study; consequently, although the figures presented are based on the official annual and quinquennial reviews of mineral production published in the *Records of the Geological Survey of India*, I have removed those relating to Burma, as also those for Aden (salt only), so that these figures constitute a new presentation of the mineral production figures of India. Table 1 shows the quantities of the minerals produced, and Table 2 the values thereof. The order of arrangement in each table is that of the values for the latest year, 1938.

In presenting figures of the mineral production of a country there is always the difficulty of deciding at what point to report the production, especially the value thereof. Should one give the output of raw mineral, or that of the finished products, in cases where a mineral is subjected to chemical or metallurgical treatment before use or export? As the value, in the latter case, includes the cost of industrial processing, it is simpler to report the mineral before treatment, except such concentration as is necessary to fit it for transport, and this course has been adopted. Even so the figures as presented are not homogeneous, because in some cases the values represent pit's-mouth or spot values, and in others export values.*

Many of the minerals shown in these tables are subjected to further treatment before they can be of use to man. Thus a portion of the coal is converted into coke, ammonium sulphate, tar, gas, etc.; the petroleum is distilled, with production of petrol, kerosene, lubricating and other oils, and paraffin wax; by far the larger part of the iron-ore is smelted in India, with production of pig-iron, and a portion of this pig is converted into steel; a small part of the manganese-ore is smelted, with production of ferro-manganese, the major portion being exported; and the copper-ore is smelted, with production of metallic copper, of which the major portion is converted, by addition of imported spelter, to yellow metal sheets. Further, limestone and clay, included in these tables under "building materials" and "other minerals" respectively, are in part converted into cement, of which there is a large output in India. The value of all these products is not easily ascertainable, but figures of production of metals and such values as are available are given in Table 3. It will be realized that if a value could be placed on all these secondary products, especially on those derived from coal and petroleum, the value to India of

* The one inconsistency in these tables is the inclusion of gold instead of gold-ore; but the gold was present as metal in the original ore, and the treatment at the mines may be regarded as one of chemical concentration of an already existing metal. In all other ores the metal is in a state of chemical combination and needs some form of metallurgical treatment for its isolation in the metallic condition.

such secondary production would be many times that of the total of primary mineral production shown in Table 2.

Let us now return to Tables 1 and 2, arranged, as stated, in the order of value of production in 1938. In these tables the minerals of direct war value are shown in the upper part of the table, and those of lesser or no war value in the lower part. The only one of the latter group of minerals shown separately is "building materials," the "other materials" including, in descending order of value, clays, monazite, gypsum, steatite, fuller's earth, diamonds, silver, barytes, ochres, graphite, asbestos, felspar, garnet-sand, bentonite, sapphire, apatite, aquamarine, and antimony-ore, some of which have, of course, a subordinate or indirect war value.

First let us compare the quinquennial averages of 1934 to 1938 with those of 1914 to 1918. This will show us the extent to which the mineral industries of India have expanded since the last war and give us an idea of the mineral ability of India to help in the present war. We see, first, that the total average annual value of the war minerals has increased from £9,677,647 in 1914-1918 to £12,807,611 in 1934-1938, whilst the total value of all minerals has increased from £9,860,185 to £13,609,844 in the same periods. Comparing the production of the two periods mineral by mineral, and now noting quantities instead of values, we see that, with the exception of gold, saltpetre, tungsten-ore, and corundum, increases are shown by every mineral, often of very great extent. Specially noteworthy are the increases in the output of petroleum from an annual average of 7.3 million gallons to an average of 74 million gallons, due to the development of the Digboi field in Assam and to the success recently achieved in the Punjab; mica, from some 50,000 cwts. to some 177,000 cwts.; copper-ore from 8,000 to 339,000 tons, due to the smelting by the Indian Copper Corporation in Singhbhum; the enormous increase in the output of iron-ore from some 400,000 to nearly 2½ million tons, mainly to meet the needs of the Tata Iron and Steel Company and the Indian Iron and Steel Company for the production of pig-iron and steel; the appearance of India as the world's largest producer of ilmenite; and, finally, the substantial increases in the output of chromite, refractory materials, magnesite, and bauxite. The considerable increase in the production of coal from 18 to 24 million tons, though less than had in some quarters been predicted, is yet substantial, and is part of a secular process due to expanding industry, the most important factor being the iron and steel industry, with its great consumption of coke manufactured from coal.

The large decrease in the output of gold is due to the increasing difficulties of working at ever-greater depths in the Kolar gold-field, Mysore, but is accompanied actually by a slight increase in

TABLE 3.—*Production and Value of Metallurgical Products in India, 1934 to 1938.*

	1934.	1935.	1936.	1937.	1938.	Mean, 1934-1938.	Mean, 1914-1918.
	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.
Total pig-iron produced	1,320,210	1,451,862	1,540,056	1,621,260	1,539,889	1,494,655	243,353
Pig-iron exported	398,054	472,636	605,976	597,331	525,254	519,850	—
Pig-iron not exported	922,156	979,226	934,080	1,023,929	1,014,635	974,805	—
Pig-iron converted to steel	—	—	756,723	801,602	851,509	—	—
Steel produced	596,981	627,867	660,291	665,309	693,064	648,702	95,986
Ferro-manganese	5,536	14,182	3,263	8,041	18,385	9,881	4,069
Copper, refined	6,300	6,900	7,200	6,830	5,330	6,512	—
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
<i>Values of some of above production :</i>							
Pig-iron exports	665,466	816,081	1,030,681	1,548,765	1,961,495	1,204,498	—
Pig-iron not converted to steel, excluding export (a)	—	—	—	577,415	606,863	—	—
Steel (b)	—	—	—	4,989,817	5,197,980	—	—
Ferro-manganese (c)	—	—	—	80,410	183,850	—	—
Copper	—	—	—	463,721	328,551	—	—

(a) Valued at export values.

(b) Valued at £7 ros. a ton.

(c) Valued at £10 a ton.

the total sterling value of the gold won, due to the divorce of sterling from the gold standard. The fall in the recorded output of saltpetre is partly due to a change in the method of recording production, and partly to a recession of the industry with the removal of the special war stimulus during the last war, when saltpetre was in demand for the manufacture of explosives.

This comparison of the changes in output of raw mineral products gives some idea of the increased ability of India to help in the present war. But a startling light is thrown on the position if one compares the output of iron and steel products in India during the two periods. One sees, then, from Table 3 that the production of both pig-iron and steel in India has multiplied sixfold. The doubling of the output of ferro-manganese is merely a reflection of the increase in the steel industry, in which it is consumed. Further, there is the important production of metallic copper to the amount of 6,500 tons annually, where there was none before.

Production of hydro-electric energy does not find a place in mineral statistics. Nevertheless, it is necessary to mention here that since the last war there has been an important development of a portion of the large latent water-power resources of India, partly in the form of schemes dependent on the provision of storage facilities for India's heavy rainfall in the Western Ghats, in the Tata Company's enterprises, and partly in the development by Government agency of Himalayan water-power in the Punjab. Further schemes are in course of development in the hills of Southern India. It is to be hoped that amongst these schemes sites may be found to provide electric energy at a cost cheap enough to permit of the smelting in India of metallic aluminium from alumina extracted from Indian bauxite.

We can now refer briefly to each of the war minerals shown separately in Tables 1 and 2, following the same order.

Coal.

The increase in the output of coal is part of a secular process; but there is no doubt that Indian mines are developed sufficiently to be able to supply all the possible requirements of Indian railways, of the Indian iron and steel industry, and of other industries, as well as the export requirements of ports on the Indian Ocean, in so far as competition with supplies from other sources can be successfully met.

Manganese-ore.

This mineral is required mainly for the manufacture of ferro-manganese for use in the manufacture of steel. Indian consumption in the iron and steel industry is small, and the major portion

is exported. The Indian ore is of high grade and can be supplied in quantities adequate for the needs of Britain and her allies. After Russia, India is the world's largest producer.

Gold.

The increased price of gold has, as elsewhere, prolonged the life of the Kolar mines by permitting a lower grade of ore to be treated profitably. This has not, however, yet led to the successful opening of any other important mines.

Petroleum.

The Indian oilfields yield only a small part of India's requirements in petroleum products, which are still supplied largely from Burma, Iran, and Borneo, and in normal times also from Russia, the U.S.A., and elsewhere.

Mica.

India is the world's largest producer of this very essential mineral, the other chief producers being the U.S.A. and Canada. India's proportion by value of the total output of these three countries is over 80 per cent. During the last war this mineral was of such importance for military purposes that the Geological Survey of India undertook special measures, including the control of mines, to stimulate the output. Since then the Indian output has increased very greatly, as we have already seen.

Salt.

This mineral is, of course, used largely for domestic purposes. But it is also an important raw material for chemical industry, such as in the manufacture of soda, undertaken recently by an Indian subsidiary of Imperial Chemical Industries, Ltd. The Indian output could be increased substantially to meet increased demands. Large quantities were also produced at Aden, and this source is available to reinforce Indian supplies. Owing to Italian interests in the Aden salt industry, it is, no doubt, not at its best at the moment.

Iron-ore, Iron and Steel.

The large expansion in the iron and steel industry of India since the last war makes the country much less dependent on imported supplies of steel, and this position will now be improved still further with the recent entry into production of a second producer, the Steel Corporation of Bengal, the Tata Iron and Steel Company having hitherto been the only producer of steel in India. In fact, it is expected that there will be this year, for the first time, an exportable surplus of steel. The substantial exports of pig-iron shown in Table 3 were mainly to Japan and Britain, Japan taking

the larger share. It must be mentioned here that India's easily accessible supplies of iron-ore in Bihar and Orissa are enormous and of the highest quality, and that, should the course of war cause any shortage of iron-ore elsewhere in allied or friendly territories, India could easily step into the breach, given adequate shipping space.

Copper-ore.

The copper smelted in Singhbhum by the Indian Copper Corporation, amounting to some 6,500 tons annually, was, in times of peace, converted almost entirely into yellow metal for use in the domestic production of brass vessels. This output forms a useful reserve of copper for ordnance purposes in war-time. Arrangements have now been made to extend the refining facilities of this enterprise in order to treat blister copper from Northern Rhodesia. The refinery is already finished and in operation.

Ilmenite.

This mineral, derived from beach sands in Travancore, is used largely for the preparation of titanium white and as a body in other white paints. It is also useful for the manufacture of certain ferro-alloys and of titanium carbide, a super-hard cutting agent.

Saltpetre or Potassium Nitrate.

This is used both as a fertilizer and for the manufacture of explosives. For this latter purpose there was an expansion of the Indian production during the last war. Owing to the manufacture of nitric acid from atmospheric nitrogen, saltpetre is, however, no longer so essential for the manufacture of explosives as in the last century.

Refractory Materials.

India has ample supplies, both for home use and for export, of various refractory materials, including kyanite and sillimanite, suitable for lining furnaces and for the manufacture of refractory bricks.

Chromite.

This is an essential mineral in the manufacture of chrome-steel for armour plating for warships and of stainless steel. India is a steady producer (Baluchistan, Mysore, and Singhbhum), and has now an average output twice that of the last war. This is one of the important war minerals of India, which is one of the world's important producers of chromite.

Magnesite.

India is a producer (Salem and Mysore) of magnesite of the highest quality, used largely in the manufacture of magnesia

bricks for furnace linings in the steel industry. Magnesite is also one of the raw materials for the manufacture of metallic magnesium, now being used in light-weight alloys in the aeroplane industry.

Zircon.

India is an important producer of zircon, which is obtained as a by-product in the winning of ilmenite from the beach sands of Travancore. Zircon is another refractory material.

Bauxite (Aluminium-ore).

Bauxite is found in quantity in several parts of India. The bauxite of Katni in the Central Provinces is used in the cement industry and for chemical purposes, whilst bauxite from Kaira in the Bombay Presidency is shipped occasionally to the works of the Anglo-Iranian Petroleum Company for use as a decolorizing agent in the refining of petroleum. Such uses as these account for the recorded production of India, which is trivial in relation to India's capacity. But the world's principal use for bauxite is as the raw material for the manufacture of metallic aluminium, and there has been for some years an unrecorded production of high-grade bauxite from the Ranchi district of Bihar and Orissa, which it is understood is exported to Japan for this purpose.

Hitherto success has not crowned attempts to organize an aluminium-smelting industry in India, in spite of the fact that India possesses bauxite deposits of considerable extent and high quality, as well as cheap coal available for the manufacture of cheap electric energy, apart from a variety of possible water-power schemes. Two companies are now in the field, however, developing schemes for the manufacture of metallic aluminium in India from various deposits in the Peninsula of India.

There are also high-grade deposits of bauxite in Kashmir, to which reference has been made recently in the Press. They are, however, situated unfavourably, geographically, in competition with the deposits in Bihar and Orissa, the Central Provinces, and Bombay. Should the course of war in Europe and the sequestration from Britain of the bauxite deposits of France cause any shortage of raw material that could not be filled by supplies from British Guiana and West Africa, there is no doubt that bauxite could readily be shipped in quantity from Calcutta (Ranchi bauxite) and Mormugao (Belgaum bauxite).

I have discussed the bauxite position at some length, owing to the supreme importance of aluminium in modern warfare. The startling expansion in the output of aluminium in Germany from 18.9 thousand tons in 1933 to 165.6 thousand tons in 1938* was

* The *Mining Magazine*, lxii., p. 276, May, 1940. The 1938 figure given above includes the Austrian output—say, 5,000 tons.

a clear index to the German bid for aerial supremacy that should have served as a final danger signal to the democracies. It is to be hoped that India will soon be a producer of this essential metal.

Tungsten-ore.

Tungsten-ores (wolfram and scheelite) are in great demand for the manufacture of tungsten-steel, a self-hardening high-speed steel used for the manufacture of the tools required for turning shell-cases. Although Burma is the world's largest producer of wolfram, yet India produces only trivial amounts (from Rajputana, and formerly from Singhbhum and the Central Provinces).

Beryl.

This mineral, which in its gem form is known as emerald and aquamarine, contains the element beryllium, which is one of the rare metals that has recently found a place in modern metallurgy—namely, in the manufacture of beryllium-copper and other alloys. The Indian output (from Rajputana), though averaging under 100 tons annually, is nevertheless the largest reported from any country.

Corundum.

This is of use as an abrasive, but the present Indian output is trivial. The much larger output of the last war was derived from the Khasi Hills in Assam, and was exported for munitions purposes; it was, in all probability, partly sillimanite.

Tantalite.

Tantalite is a rare and costly mineral never found in quantity. The occasional Indian production is from the Monghyr district, Bihar. This mineral is used in the extraction of metallic tantalum, of use in various scientific and technical instruments. The niobium that tantalite also contains has of recent years found several technical uses.

SUMMARY

In summary it may be said that India's most important war minerals are coal, manganese-ore, mica, iron-ore, copper-ore, chromite, and bauxite; and that of all these, except copper-ore, India can make a substantial contribution to the common effort outside India. On the other hand, in respect of copper India is able to make a contribution by undertaking the smelting of imported blister copper. Apart from the manufacture of pig-iron and steel in the country, India could easily export large quantities of high-grade iron-ore should the need arise, whilst the exports of pig-iron to Britain could be enhanced. Deficiencies in bauxite supplies abroad could also be remedied.

BURMA'S WAR EFFORT

By F. BURTON LEACH, C.I.E.

IF little has been heard hitherto of Burma's war effort, it is not because that effort is unimportant or negligible. India lies very close, and her mighty effort and immense resources have somewhat obscured her smaller neighbour's contribution from limited resources. Few of Burma's peoples have martial traditions, and the bulk of them are cheerful, peace-loving agriculturists. She has few industries or prosperous industrialists. Nor has Burma the counterpart of the many great princes and rulers of India, who have thrown all their resources into the struggle.

Yet Burma in her own way has much to offer towards the common cause, including certain almost unique natural resources, existing and potential. Whatever she has, Burma is willing and anxious to give, and the mobilization of those resources is proceeding steadily. This will undoubtedly gather momentum and direction as the result of the forthcoming economic conference in Delhi, at which Burma will be represented.

Of the sympathy of the peoples of Burma with the Allied cause, and their detestation of Hitlerism and all it stands for, there has been ample proof. Even before the actual outbreak of war the Burma Senate recorded its loyalty to the King and approval of British policy. In the very early days the Chiefs of the Shan States and the Karenni States placed all their resources at His Majesty's disposal, and all communities demonstrated their loyalty in various ways. There was a remarkable demonstration of this unanimity on the day of national prayer for the Allied cause, the congregations at the various places of worship including Christians, Buddhists—Burmans, Karens, and Chinese—Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Jews, and Armenians. The attitude of Burma towards aggressive nations was stated afresh in the resolution unanimously passed by the House of Representatives in February of this year, and the Premier made an emphatic statement in August that

"It is Burma's bounden duty to place all resources of men, money, and material at the disposal of Britain for a speedy and successful termination of the war."

BURMA SQUADRON OF THE R.A.F.

Loyal sentiments found further expression in spontaneous contributions towards the cost of the war. The Shan Chiefs, for example, offered £40,000 through their Federal Council, and this

total was raised to £60,000 through individual contributions from the States. In addition, the Sawbwa of Tawnpeng sent a direct contribution of £10,000 to the Lord Mayor's Fund in London for the Red Cross. An interesting contribution was that of Pun Za Maug, Chief of the Kamhu Tribal Area in the Chin Hills, who gave Rs. 500 (£37), as his father, How Chin Koop, did in the last war. This represents a very substantial donation from a Chief of the Chin Hills.

From this public-spirited desire to help arose the inception last March of the Burma War Fund, and donations have since been received from all classes of society. More than £125,000 has already been contributed to this Fund, and donations for general purposes, such as those mentioned above, bring Burma's present contribution to over £200,000.

It was felt that the first-fruits of the Fund could most suitably be used for the formation of a Burma Squadron of the Royal Air Force, and this offer has been gratefully accepted by the Air Council. It is fitting, too, that the squadron which is to bear Burma's name will have as its crest the national emblem of Burma—"A peacock in its pride."

THE DEFENCE OF BURMA

Burma has all through her history been remarkably free from external aggression. Her frontiers march for some two thousand miles with China and Siam, and for a short distance with French Indo-China, but they lie in difficult country, and none of these neighbours are aggressive.

Two recent events have, however, altered the position—the development of aerial warfare and the Japanese invasion of China. Yunnan, formerly the most remote province, has become the centre of China's resistance, and her only contact with the free world is by the new Burma-China road. The closure of this road is demanded by Japan, whose air force is now within striking distance of Burma, which has therefore acquired a new strategic importance.

Until the last war the garrison of Burma, which had in the last generation been considerably reduced, consisted mainly of British and Indian troops, the only entirely indigenous unit being a company of Sappers and Miners, in addition to which a few companies of hill-tribes, Kachins and Chins, and of Karens, were included in the Burma Military Police, of which the Upper Burma battalions were responsible for watch and ward on the frontiers of Burma.

In the very early days after the First Burmese War local forces were raised both in Arakan and Tenasserim, but they did not last

long, and no further efforts seem to have been made to recruit Burmese after the second and third wars, except for the Sappers and Miners. There was never a strong military tradition, and what little there had been had almost died out when the 70th Burma Rifles (which later became the 20th) were formed in 1916. All the main races of the country—Burmese, Karens, Shans, Kachins, and Chins—were recruited. The first battalion went to Palestine, and, though a very new formation with no old soldiers to give it a stiffening, received excellent reports.

The regiment continued to exist, and for ten years or so after the war one battalion was always stationed at Taiping in the Malay States. About 1927, to the great chagrin of the Burmese people, recruitment was limited to Kachins, Chins, and Karens, and about the same time the Burma Company of Sappers and Miners was disbanded for reasons of economy, and for ten years before separation not a single representative of the Burmese people served in the ranks of the regular army.

One of the first demands after separation from India was to remove what was considered a slur on the Burmese people. The Burma Sappers and Miners were at once reconstituted. Technical units of this kind suit the Burmese temperament better than infantry of the line, and in the last war the Sappers and Miners did excellent work in Mesopotamia and on the North-West Frontier, never sick or sorry, cheery and hard-working, and exceptional in their ability to stand extremes of heat and cold.

Of actual fighting qualities the Burmese showed no lack in the Burma Rifles, but the routine work and discipline of peace-time soldiering was less to their taste. They suffered from hasty and injudicious methods of recruiting in 1917 and 1918 and earned a reputation which was not always deserved. They are now being recruited again for the Burma Rifles, the four regular battalions of which have been increased in strength, and a fifth battalion is in process of formation.

Those who, like the present writer, served with them in the last war know that the recruits included some first-rate material, and, with care in recruitment and avoidance of undue haste, there is no reason why the Burmese should not make excellent soldiers and be able in due course to undertake the defence of their own country.

At any sort of technical work they rapidly become adepts, and other technical units recently raised are the Burma Army Signals, an Animal Transport Company and ancillary units—ordnance, medical, and veterinary.

Three years ago responsibility for her own defence was imposed on the Government of Burma as the result of separation from India. Much had been done to organize and equip the Burma

Defence Force before war broke out, and much has since been achieved in providing for new and urgent requirements. In assessing the value of Burma's contribution in the war and comparing it with those of other territories in the Empire, it must be remembered that the entire cost of her defences is met from her own resources, and that this burden, always heavy for an agricultural country to shoulder, grows rapidly heavier in time of war.

The Burma Defence Council came into being shortly after war was declared, to "simplify and expedite consideration of and decision on problems created by the war, both in the interests of the people of Burma and to ensure the successful prosecution of the war." Subsequent expansion of the Council provided for a majority of Burman representatives, while recently a representative Burman was appointed to serve as Counsellor to the Governor in the all-important sphere of defence.

AUXILIARY AND IRREGULAR FORCES

Non-regular units exist in Burma side by side with regular units, and their numbers continue to grow. The Burma Auxiliary Force, open to both Burmans and Europeans, includes four infantry battalions and a brigade of artillery, which includes, among other duties, that of manning the coastal batteries and anti-aircraft defences. The Burma Territorial Force, recruited entirely from the indigenous races of Burma, now comprises three battalions, of which the Shan States Battalion has recently been raised at the expense of the Shan States as a further contribution towards the prosecution of the war.

The Burma Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve Force has also been constituted for local naval defence, and an auxiliary air squadron is in process of formation, preliminary training having already started. Finally, there are six irregular battalions of the Burma Frontier Force, together with a training battalion, and a seventh battalion is now being raised.

This Force, under its old name of the Upper Burma Military Police, sent many thousands of fighting men to the last war. Raised after the annexation of Upper Burma, it has for over fifty years been responsible for watch and ward on the Frontiers of Burma. It prides itself, with good reason, on its great mobility and on the power of independent command of its Indian and Burman officers, who spend most of their service in small outposts with little supervision from British officers, who are very few in number.

To the Burma Defence Force as a whole 4,000 men have already been recruited, and 5,000 more will be called up shortly.

Since separation from India the Army in Burma Reserve of

Officers, corresponding to the A.I.R.O., to which many Europeans living in Burma used to belong, has been constituted, and King's commissions are granted to Europeans and Burmans who, after attending training courses, are posted for service with Burman units. Compulsory service is being instituted for all European British subjects.

NATURAL RESOURCES

Burma has an area of 250,000 square miles and 15,000,000 inhabitants. Her export trade approximates to £80,000,000 annually, rice exports alone totalling over 3,000,000 tons. After rice her best-known export is timber, mainly teak, of the best quality of which her huge forests contain a virtual monopoly. Burma is mainly an agricultural country, and after rice her main crops are cotton, oil-seeds, millet, maize, and groundnuts. She possesses, however, rich stores of minerals, of which oil, lead, zinc, silver, tin, and wolfram are the most important. In normal times over 200,000,000 gallons of kerosene and petrol, valued at £13,000,000, are exported annually, mainly to India, and the exports of metals and ores vary between 150,000 and 200,000 tons a year.

It has been remarked that Burma is a country with as yet little important manufacturing capacity. Her prosperity and her strength lie in her output of natural products. Burma's war effort, then, apart from providing for the effective defence of her land and sea frontiers, must largely be directed to an increased output of such of her products as are valuable for the conduct of the war, a characteristic which, in greater or lesser degree, applies to practically all of them. The task of increasing her output of various groups of commodities to meet the requirements of the Allies and of her partners in the British Commonwealth is one of the most important functions of the Defence Council, and increased responsibilities in this respect will arise from the forthcoming Delhi Conference.

Already the output of tin and wolfram has been increased, and India is to have more lead for her expanded war-time industries. Wolfram is essential in the manufacture of high-grade steel. Burma is one of the world's main producers, and her supplies are now practically reserved for Empire needs. There has been a large increase in the export of teak, essential for new naval construction. Burma produces large quantities of aviation spirit for R.A.F. units operating east of Suez, and is prepared for much greater calls upon her. There has been a greatly increased demand throughout the Empire for industrial precious stones, particularly rubies, which are essential for chronometers, the finest electrical instruments, and precision work generally. Burma is

one of the largest producers of such stones in the world, and is arranging to meet all demands. Rice production must be maintained, for the rice-eating peoples of India and Ceylon are largely dependent upon Burma.

It will be seen, then, that, though Burma's war effort has been partly obscured by the wider and weightier activities of India, she is making her own particular contribution to the common cause. She is giving money according to her means, has put her defences in good order, and is mobilizing and training adequate reserves, and is developing her natural resources to the fullest extent demanded of her. Burma is a land of peace, beauty, and happy laughter, but she has turned resolutely to the grim pursuits of war and is tackling them with fortitude and determination.

MALAYA: THE FIRST YEAR

BY G. E. CATOR

THE decision of the Government of the U.S.A. to build up a reserve of tin and rubber has, of course, important effects on the economy of Malaya, for that territory is the world's largest producer of each of these commodities, and for each the U.S.A. is Malaya's best customer.

One of the results of the great slump of 1931-1932 was to impose on the output both of rubber and tin a scheme of control operated by means of an international agreement.

In the case of tin, the advantages and disadvantages of control in general and the agreements in particular were, and still are, subjects of sharp controversy, but the general opinion of the industry in Malaya is reflected by the fact that on the expiry in 1937 of the original agreement a fresh agreement continuing control for a further period of five years was entered into.

The operation of this agreement in its earlier phases was marked by the maintenance of a comparatively steady price level, but by violent fluctuations of the quota of release, which made it difficult for producers to evolve and work upon a constant policy; and it was to absorb these fluctuations that the Tin Pool was created.

With the necessity of providing the tin required for the U.S.A. reserve, the International Committee has now fixed for a year the rate of release at 130 per cent. of standard production, which means that for this period the labour and equipment of the Malayan tin industry will be working within measurable distance of maximum potential capacity.

For twelve months, therefore, the Malayan tin industry has before it the prospect of high production at a remunerative rate.

The effect in Malaya will be to give prosperity for this period to an industry that of recent years has received more than its share of ill fortune, and that from the point of view of the revenue and financial resources of Malaya is a very important consideration.

For the great mining companies and their shareholders the prospect is somewhat less agreeable, for excess profits tax will deprive them of most of the profits which they would otherwise enjoy, while their capital assets in the form of ore reserves will be depleted at a greatly increased rate.

This question of the depletion of Malaya's known reserves is indeed one of major importance.

There have for some time been complaints by the industry of the lack of encouragement by the Malayan Administrations of

prospecting enterprise to supplement existing known reserves, which were estimated, when Sir Lewis Fermor visited Malaya in 1938 at the invitation of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, to study and examine in all its aspects the mining industry of the territory, at 1,000,000 tons of metal.

At the time when Sir Lewis Fermor's report was written the rate of release was at 50 per cent. of standard production, and on that basis, and making allowance for future increases of release, as far as could then be foreseen, he estimated that the known reserves would cover about twenty years' working.

It is obvious that the continuance for any considerable period of the present rate of release will reduce the life of known reserves at a pace which will make imperative an early and exhaustive examination of potential reserves, the extent and capacity of which has not yet been tested.

Tin, though the most important of the mineral resources of Malaya, by no means exhausts the list of minerals available within the territory; but only the coal and oil are in a degree of development in any way comparable with that of tin.

Coal has been worked in Selangor since 1915, and the output of the pits of Malayan Collieries, Ltd., amounted in 1939 to approximately 440,000 tons. Nearly the whole of this output is consumed locally, for the provision of power for the tin mines and for transport and the output of coal reflects the activities of tin mines.

In the Seria oilfields in the State of Brunei, which falls within the province of the High Commissioner for the Malay States, there has been for ten years regular production on a large and increasing scale of petroleum and natural gas.

The last available figures give the output for 1938 as 685,257 tons of crude oil and 1,045,621 cubic feet of natural gas.

Deposits of phosphate of lime have for many years been worked in Christmas Island, and the output for 1939 was valued at £259,572.

There are, moreover, in Malaya other mineral resources, the full extent and value of which have not been hitherto fully explored.

Bauxite (aluminium ore) is found in Johore, and in the view of Sir Lewis Fermor further exploration may well lead to the discovery of additional deposits.

The value of Malayan ilmenite, due to the development of the use of titanium oxide in the manufacture of white paints, has only recently been recognized. Exports of this mineral in 1939, principally to the United Kingdom, amounted in 1939 to 11,098 tons.

The valuable iron-ore deposits of Malaya, as at present known,

are confined to the eastern States, though hæmatite is found in Perak. One million nine hundred and forty-five thousand tons were exported in 1939, almost exclusively to Japan.

Manganese ore deposits of economic value are found in the eastern States of Kelantan and Trengganu, but they are of comparatively low quality.

The rubber industry of Malaya also operates under a scheme of international control of production and export. In this case, while the rate of release has varied widely, the fluctuations have not been marked by the same suddenness and violence as in the case of tin, and producers have had better opportunity of adjusting supply to demand.

The immediate outlook for the industry is bright without the problem of wasting assets which looms over tin.

The U.S.A. have always been the industry's best customer, and trade demand, which is mainly related in one form or another to war requirements, is high both in the U.S.A. and the United Kingdom.

In the U.S.A. approximately 50,000 tons remain to be delivered under the barter agreement, and the recent decision to increase the war stock reserve by another 180,000 tons provides the industry with an assured market and an ascertained price.

In the United Kingdom absorption during the first six months of 1940 exceeds by 12,500 tons that of the corresponding period of last year.

The prosperity of the rubber industry is a factor of the greatest importance in Malaya's internal economy, both directly and indirectly. Rubber in Malaya is a small man's crop to an extent which is not always realized; of the total area planted with rubber, more than a million and a quarter acres represent holdings of 100 acres or less; and it is hardly too much to say that the purchasing power of the population of Malaya depends on the amount and price of rubber sales.

As a unit of the British Empire one of Malaya's most important functions in the war is the provision of foreign, and particularly dollar, exchange by the sale of its staple products.

Now that the markets of Europe are so largely closed and the United Kingdom relies to an increasing extent on purchases in America, the importance of Malaya's position in this regard is enhanced.

Not only are the agreements an important stabilizing factor in the financial field, but they have also a considerable political significance.

There have in the past been complaints in the U.S.A. that British policy has been to make consumers pay a maximum and even an exorbitant price for Malaya's staple commodities, and

counter-complaints of American failure to grasp the problems facing producers.

In the present case, prices, deliveries, and arrangements for releasing the reserves with as little disturbance as possible to markets have been fixed by mutual consent on terms which should give satisfaction to all parties; and a potential cause of suspicion and ill-will should thus be eliminated.

Malaya's part in the war is, however, not limited to the provision of export commodities for direct munitionment or for the provision of exchange, but includes measures for the active defence of the country if need arises, and in any case for placing at the disposal of the Empire for the purposes of the war the whole resources of the territory.

Foremost among defence needs is the necessity for reducing the dependence of the country on imported foodstuffs, particularly rice, which forms the staple diet of 99 per cent. of the population. The importance of this was realized before the war, and steps were taken to increase largely the area of land under *padi* cultivation.

Large and far-reaching schemes of irrigation were prepared and put in hand, but the process of extension was visualized as a gradual one, the aim being to keep development just ahead of colonization. The object was threefold: to spread over the heavy initial cost of such schemes, to avoid the very real danger that when heavy expenditure had been incurred the colonists would be tempted away by a rise in the price of rubber, leaving the area derelict, and to provide for the maintenance of the colonists during the period necessary to convert primary jungle into cultivated ricefields.

The policy, therefore, was to plan the whole scheme in advance, but to develop it block by block.

The colonists of each block were employed part of the time on their own holdings and part for wages on the preparation of the next lot, and the heavy cost of installing the main headworks of the irrigation scheme was postponed until a sufficient area had been developed to justify the expense.

This leisurely process, which has much to recommend it in time of peace, was abruptly terminated by the outbreak of war, and it was decided that cost and all other factors must be subordinated to the imperative need for making Malaya more nearly self-supporting in the matter of food supply as quickly as possible.

To take one instance out of many of this process of acceleration, it was decided to double in nine months the area of one irrigation scheme, which under the previous policy it had taken six years to develop. This involved felling and clearing at the rate of more than 1,000 acres a month, and to anybody who knows the primal

jungle of Malaya the magnitude of the task in undeveloped, inaccessible, and swampy country can be appreciated.

Never in the history of Malaya had anything of this sort been hitherto attempted.

Two villages had to be created in the forest, each to house 1,000 labourers.

Each village had to have its water supply, proper sanitary arrangements, medical facilities, a shop, and a small mosque, since the labour force was isolated from normal social and religious amenities.

Properly constructed concrete ring wells were sunk, sanitary arrangements to comply with the requirements of the Health Department were made, a dresser (with dispensary) was installed in each village, anti-malarial measures provided for, and forty "lines," each to house fifty labourers, were erected.

Daily transport of fresh food supplies, fish, meat, and vegetables, had to be arranged by boat, taking some five hours for the return trip.

The serious work of felling began in January. Many of the labourers had to be trained, though a nucleus of experienced men existed, and at first progress was slow, but none the less the rate of work increased in February and March, and was in April proceeding at the rate of 1,500 acres a month. Heavy rains slowed up operations in May, but nevertheless the ambitious programme was completed according to schedule.

The process of felling jungle of this type proceeds by two stages: first, *tebas*, by which all undergrowth, small trees, and, above all, the mass of creepers, some as thick as a man's arm, are first cut down; and, secondly, *tebang*, by which the larger trees are dealt with. It is almost impossible to describe Malayan swamp jungle, but it may convey some idea of the difficulties of felling to state that a European could not, in the area referred to, travel more than two or three paces until the process known as *tebas* has been carried out.

Simultaneously with the programme of accelerated clearing the Drainage and Irrigation Department had to carry out an accelerated programme of the essential works in their charge.

The scheme as planned comprises headworks built in reinforced concrete, with towers, valve platforms, and a bridge of 3 spans, 49 miles of main canals, 100 miles of subsidiary canals, 53 miles of main and 101 miles of subsidiary drains, 84 miles of bunds and bridle-paths, and 22 miles of road.

Of these, the headworks were started in the March of 1939 and completed in June, 1940, and steady progress has been made in other directions.

The decision of Government in September, 1939, to double the

area under cultivation meant a drastic acceleration of programme. In nine months 564,000 cubic yards of earthwork had to be carried out for the construction of bunds, canals, and drains, and all necessary concrete controls such as outlets and off-takes constructed. The whole of this work lay in ground which at the outset was covered with virgin jungle.

To complete the scheme, storage accommodation and a mill had to be provided. In three months the Public Works Department cleared a site and erected storage accommodation for 15,000 tons of rice, and within a further six months a mill of sufficient capacity to meet the needs of this and neighbouring irrigation areas was built and at work.

This particular scheme is by no means the largest of those undertaken in the drive for increased food production, but its history does show the determination that has been put into the effort. Malaya can and will "go to it," too, when the need arises.

With, so far as can humanly be foreseen, a year of financial prosperity in view, Malaya has been able to offer to the Empire, in addition to the value of its exchange trade and internal preparations, substantial direct financial assistance. During the six months preceding the outbreak of war Malaya, which has always taken a generous view of its responsibilities as a partner in the Empire, offered £1,500,000 towards the cost of Imperial Defence. During the first year of the war Rulers, administrations, and people have voluntarily contributed not less than £5,000,000 for the same purpose or for the relief of suffering.

The Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States have each made free gifts of £1,000,000, and the Unfederated Malay States have been equally generous according to their means.

Special supplementary taxation, estimated to produce £2,000,000 a year, has been introduced, the whole of which will go to the British Government for the prosecution of the war.

When German successes on the Continent proved the urgent need for additional aircraft, a Bomber Fund was started jointly by two of the principal newspapers in Malaya, with the result that in little over a month no less than £500,000 was contributed by voluntary subscription.

In addition, the Malaya Patriotic Fund for the relief of suffering caused by the war has remitted to the United Kingdom £220,000 for war charities and war service organizations. In addition, the Fund has sent home for the use of the British Red Cross and similar allied associations 150 cases of "comforts" and hospital requisites, prepared and despatched by women of all communities and all classes.

The Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States have now

undertaken to lend free of interest to His Majesty's Government a sum of £5,500,000. All interest charges on this loan will be paid by the two Administrations concerned by means of special taxation.

This picture presumes that under the shield of the Royal Navy Malaya will continue to be protected from the direct impact of war; but if the reverse proves to be the case the country is ready and willing to defend itself.

Apart from the powerful garrison of all arms, there are strong local forces, and all British subjects between the ages of eighteen and fifty-five are liable to military service.

An Auxiliary Air Force has been created, the Malayan unit of the Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve has gained a year's valuable experience, and the efficiency of the Volunteer Force increased by a period of mobilization.

Reserves of rice and other essential foodstuffs have been accumulated and distributed, transport organized, and all necessary measures taken for the defence of the country.

As to the attitude of the rulers and peoples of Malaya there can be no doubt. They have behind them a long tradition of loyalty, and the record of the first year's effort shows that this loyalty is no mere matter of form and words.

There would, no doubt, be attempts to foment trouble and stir up disaffection, but it is doubtful whether the efforts of a fifth column would have a greater prospect of success in Malaya than they have in England.

As a whole the people of Malaya are solid in their pride of partnership in the British Empire and ready if called on to take their part in its defence.

THE FLIGHT OF THE PHŒNIX

BY ALAN HOUGHTON BRODRICK

(The author, who knows Indochina well, returned from his last visit there eighteen months ago.)

THE EARLIEST TIMES

WE are only just beginning to learn something of the archæology of China, and the little knowledge we have is confined to the north of the country. In no land in the world is it more difficult to excavate. Violation of a sepulchre, however ancient, is a serious offence, and, although plundering of graves has gone on, as elsewhere, since men have buried their kind with treasure, still, the regular and open digging into tombs is fraught with danger. What has come to light up to now has mostly been by chance of railway cutting, road building, or agricultural operations. Although we have today a good and clear idea of much of the civilization and of the burial customs of the Shang dynasty, we have to judge of the internal arrangements of the great funeral tumuli which have been the imperial graves of China from Chou times to our day, by plans, by examination of unfinished monuments, and by hearsay.

Therefore, in far too many things regarding the early history of the Chinese we are driven to guesswork and to the help of analogy and to comparison of what we do know with the remains of other cultures.

It is, however, possible, at the present time, to form a general idea of the sequence of events which led up to the appearance of what the French have aptly called *le miracle chinois*.

The Palæolithic period in the Far East seems to have been prolonged until far later in time than in Europe, but we must always bear in mind that the words "palæolithic" and "neolithic" when applied to regions so far apart as Western Europe and Eastern Asia relate to similarities of culture and not to any contemporaneity.

Until quite recently no remains of Upper Palæolithic Man had been brought to light in Eastern Asia, but within the last eighteen months the human bones from the so-called "Upper Cave" at Choukout'ien, near Peking, have been examined. The Upper Cave is quite close to the sites which have yielded so many skulls and some other bones of the *Sinanthropus*, or Peking Man. The Upper Cave relics are, of course, much more recent than the remains of *Sinanthropus*, and it is interesting to note that the Palæolithic men of the Upper Cave were, in contrast, of a very

mixed type. Of the three skulls which have been best preserved (all of the seven show traces of blows sufficient to have caused death), one might be that of a modern Ainu, another that of an Eskimo, while a third is very Melanesian in appearance. It has been even suggested that we have here in these men of anything from twenty to fifty thousand years ago either the ancestors of immigrants towards the Americas or actually members of the vanguard of immigration.

In the Upper Cave with the human bones have been found stone implements, bone artifacts and ornamental objects, beads of calcareous stone painted red with hæmatite, pendants fashioned from the bones of large birds of the ostrich type, perforated marine shells, and fish-bones. Pieces of charcoal and layers of ash indicate that these Upper Palæolithic men knew the use of fire, and it is clear from the presence of a bone needle (very like those still used by the Eskimo) that they wore some sort of clothing, probably with decorative features. It has been thought that we have here to deal with the remains of men slain in the chase or hunted for their heads, as, perhaps, was the pre-hominid *Sinanthropus*. From early times scalps and heads have been necessary for maintaining the fabric of society. The hunted head was honoured. Perhaps the first trace we have of ritual burial of relics is in the recently explored Monte Circeo cave to the south of the Pontine Marshes. Here the Upper Palæolithic skull was set in a circle of small stones, and the *foramen magnum* had been greatly enlarged, presumably to extract the brain, just as is the custom with the Dayaks of today. We are back in a dim past where hunting-magic jostles ancestor-worship, and we cannot see clearly among the vague things that have developed to mean so much for us.

The Upper Cave at Choukout'ien, however, appears to have been a regular burial-place. The Abbé Breuil, who has examined the whole site, is very affirmative in this sense. The remains are, perhaps, those of one family—an old man, two women, a young man, a youth, a young child, and a new-born infant.

In fact, it is the oldest Chinese burial of which we have any record.

In spite of the fact that the burial-place has been in the past frequently disturbed by burrowing animals and that we know nothing of the manner of burial of the Upper Cave men, one important fact stands out which militates against the supposition that the place is a charnel-house of discarded heads or the remains of cannibal meals. A great quantity of hæmatite powder was found scattered around the skeletons. It is worthy of note that the nearest hæmatite deposits to Choukout'ien are at Lungkuan, over a hundred miles to the north, so that our Upper Cave men were either roamers or traders or both.

The first of the exotic substances which have always played such an important part in Chinese funeral and burial rites was the pigment with which men raddled the dead many thousands of years ago.

Now, in Neolithic times the long-headed steppe nomads of Central Asia and South Russia not only covered their dead with red pigment (in this case generally ochre), but buried them under tumuli or kurgans. It seems probable that the custom of erecting tomb barrows was borrowed from West to East. There are no traces of barrows among the Shang, but their successors, the Chou, were interred under great tumuli, and these have ever since remained the classical burial monument of the great personages of Asia. The round barrow may be a Heaven symbol (originally that of the disc of the sun) and be associated with the worshippers of Heaven. Perhaps the Chou conquerors of the Shang in 1040 B.C. brought with them from the West the round barrow and the round sacred tabernacle wherein was performed the sacrifices to Heaven. We cannot say whether the practice of raddling the dead was also borrowed from the West, but, as the remains of the Upper Cave at Choukout'ien probably much antedate any Neolithic remains found in the steppe zone, for the present we must conclude that the use of red pigment on the dead, and the employing of red objects to surround the dead, goes back right to the beginning of specifically human culture in Northern China.

NEOLITHIC MAN IN CHINA

We have much more information about the Neolithic cultures of China than we have concerning the ways of Upper Palæolithic men. All except the most recent Neolithic sites (and the so-called Eneolithic) yield only dog and pig remains; oxen and sheep come later. Some bones of horses have been reported, but it is not clear whether they are of domestic beasts or of wild animals slain as food. Neolithic man in China made a coarse pottery by the coiling process, and such ware survived among the poorer classes and in the country districts late into historical times.

We can also form some sort of idea of the religious beliefs and practices of Neolithic men in China; they were animists and conducted fertility rites, often accompanied by human sacrifice. Such rites and sacrifices are everywhere associated with earth-worship and the cult of female divinities. Shamanesses, female rulers, and matrilineal descent seem to have been prominent features of life in Neolithic China.

The so-called "painted ware" and the bronze and copper trinkets discovered in the late Neolithic sites along and near the great trans-continental emigration route, mostly in the present-

day province of Kansu, bear marked resemblances to those dug up in South Russia. Such finds date, perhaps, from the closing centuries of the third millennium before our era, and are, therefore, contemporaneous with the later phases of the Indus Valley cultures and with early dynastic times in Sumeria and Egypt. Compared, then, with cultural centres farther west, there is certainly a time-lag in the Far East.

After the "Painted Pottery" period comes that of the "Black Pottery," when men in North China already possessed domestic cattle, sheep, and perhaps horses, as well as pigs and dogs. These men lived in small towns with tamped earth ramparts. They had come to know the potter's wheel, but they probably were unable, as yet, to fashion metal. Then comes a dark age. We do not know how long it lasted, but during this time somewhere and somehow was being formed the almost mature Bronze Age civilization which we find on the Yellow River plains, in the north of what is now the province of Honan, by the middle of the second millennium B.C. We have learnt a great deal about this Bronze Age civilization, that of the Shangs, from the excavations at their capital, Anyang. This advanced civilization had obviously quite a long history behind it, of which we know nothing; but all that is peculiarly "Chinese" in this ancient culture of the Shangs seems to point towards the south—the language, the aristocratic social organization, the religious beliefs. The Chinese were from the first a sedentary and agricultural people with a feudal political structure. In fact, the Chinese, as far as their origins go, have little or nothing to do with the neighbouring people to the north—Japanese, Koreans, Tungus, Mongols, or Turks—but their closest relations are the Thai-speaking tribes and the "primitive" peoples of Szechuan, Yunnan, Kweichow, and elsewhere in China's south-west.

THE SHANG PRIEST-KINGS

The Shang rulers were priest-kings whose whole religion turned upon ancestor-worship and offerings of food to the divine manes of forefathers. Upon the right performance of the rites depended the welfare of the realm. In later times, when the Chou dynasty had collapsed, the calamities which afflicted the Chinese were attributed to ignorance of the rites. If the rites are wrongly performed they have no efficacy. They are wrongly performed if their *shuo*, or interpretation, has been lost.

Shang-ti, the great god of the Shangs, was the Supreme Ancestor, whether actually human or totemistic is not clear. Some hold that Shang-ti was originally a vegetation demon, perhaps the Spirit of Rice, and he may originally have had a

chthonic character, for human sacrifices continued to be offered up to him long after he had risen to be the Lord of T'ien, or Heaven. Human sacrifices are everywhere associated with the earth-goddess and the vegetation spirits of her realm. The cult of the dead and that of the earth-deity are closely connected.

THE CHOU HEAVEN-WORSHIPPERS

The Chou, who overthrew the Shang, were a people probably from the West, who were possibly not even "Chinese" in language and culture. They seem to have been definitely inferior to their predecessors in civilization, but they brought with them new religious, social, and political ideas, some of which may have filtered through to the Far East from the West. The main deity of the Chou was T'ien, or Heaven; they set up a system of indirect rule in their dominions which contrasted with the direct control of the Shang; they substituted a seven-day for the ten-day week of the earlier dynasty; they had eunuch harem guards; and they erected grave-mounds containing several chambers.

The earlier period of the Chou dynasty was one of religious syncretism when Shang beliefs were blended with those brought in by the conquerors. Shang deities were equated with Chou divinities, just as the gods of Greece were transformed into Romans. By the first century A.D., however—that is, of course, long after the fall of the Chou—the use of the word "Ti" to mean a great god and ancestor had become obsolete. The Chou deity "T'ien" had quite absorbed his "equivalent."

It is most probable that until late Chou times, and perhaps until early Han times, too, the clearly feminine character of the Earth deity was emphasized by the sacrifices thereto being performed by the queens and empresses. From the early days of the Western Han the stylization of classical Confucianism tended more and more to impose the seclusion of women and to their relegation to an inferior place in society and in the State. By Sung times the subjection of women had reached its maximum. From then until the 1911 revolution Chinese women, with the exception of a few writers and painters and at least one great woman of State, were little heard of. The influence they have always wielded behind the scenes is, of course, immense.

IMPERIOUS AND IMPERIAL WOMEN

Three imperial and imperious women are outstanding figures in Chinese history. The Empress Lu, widow of that burly bandit, the Emperor Kao-Chu, founder of the Han dynasty, was

a woman of spirit who quite dominated the successor of her lord. She particularly disliked the favourite concubine of Kao-Chu, so she had the woman's hands and feet cut off, blinded her, and gave her to drink the potion which causes numbness, addressed her as "the human sow," threw her into the latrines, and a few days later, when life had not quite left the agonizing mass, showed it to the Son of Heaven.

The Empress Wu Tso-T'ien, of the T'ang dynasty, is regarded by the Chinese as one of the most able and wicked rulers of their land. Her vigorous and powerful personality dominated the whole empire during her sovereignty. Clad in imperial robes, she even dared to offer up the sacrifice to Heaven.

The Manchu emperors, although conforming in everything to the standards of Chinese tradition, remained Manchus and married Manchu women. But they had their ancestors' graves at Mukden remodelled to resemble those of the Ming rulers. It is significant that the last great ruler of China was a Manchu and a woman. The Empress-Dowager Tzu Hsi remained true to her origins in many things: she was fond of ice-cream, and all dairy products are abhorrent to the Chinese, for the old-fashioned ice-creams that used to be sold in the streets of Peking were a Manchu importation. It is related that the "Old Buddha," at least, once forced upon a discarded lover a dish of ice-cream and arsenic flavoured with apricots.

THE IMPERIAL FUNERAL

The Empress-Dowager's splendid obsequies made up one of the most magnificent pageants of Old China; photographs of parts of the procession exist, and contemporary accounts enable us to imagine the great cortège of chariots, yellow umbrellas, palanquins, mandarins, shrines, and servitors sweeping over the sand-strewn streets towards the great imperial sepulchres set against the western hills.

There will probably never again be an imperial funeral in China accompanied by all the old ceremonial. Yuan-shi-kai, who "reigned" for three months within the walls of Peking, is buried under a very imperial-looking tumulus, and the emperors of Japan are still carried to their resting-places with much archaic ceremonial, but it is not in all details that of ancient China. There is only one land where the old rites and ceremonies of China live on, and that is Annam. The Imperial Court of Hué, where in 1938 the obsequies of the Empress-Dowager, mother of the late Emperor Khai-Dinh and grandmother of the reigning Sovereign, Bao-Dai, perpetuates on a smaller scale, it is true, but faithfully, the essential traditions of imperial China.

In the old Middle Realm the rites at the burial of all, whether prince or peasant, differed but in pomp. The burials of the people in Annam display several peculiar features and are more tinged with popular Great Vehicle Buddhism than those of China itself. The imperial obsequies, however, are a close copy of those of the Peking Court. There are some special features to be noted as we watch the unfolding of the elaborate ceremonial. The whole thing is, of course, informed with the rather fragile grace of the South, which contrasts with the sturdy and somewhat stolid magnificence of the Purple Forbidden City in Peking.

Immediately that the death has taken place the body is covered over and preparations are made for calling back the soul. This Calling Back of the Soul is a most ancient rite and can be paralleled in many countries and epochs.

Then comes the Death Howl. According to the Li-Ki, there are Death Howls of three degrees, appropriate to the rank of the deceased. Both the Calling Back of the Soul and the Death Howl are the highly conventionalized survivals of something going very far back in time and coming down to us from the ages when a corpse was a thing of horror and defilement, sacred and accursed, full of power and menace. There are traces in the records that the love and reverence for the dead, which seem to have been general among the upper classes in Chou times, did not constitute a primitive attitude, and that even among the Chou the common people regarded corpses with very different feelings.

Imperial bodies are embalmed and the mortuary toilette is performed by women. The mouth is plugged after rice and cowries (already prized by the Upper Cave Palæolithic men) have been placed in it. Offerings of flesh and wine are laid out. The essence of Chinese religion, from the earliest times, has been the feeding of ancestors, both those of the individual and those of the reigning dynasty, with whose well-being and that of their reigning descendants is bound up the weal of the State. We are back to one of the themes of the "Golden Bough."

The body is exposed upon a couch in the Great Hall, which is curtained off. The Place of Wailing is prepared. The inscription is written upon the Tablet of the Soul, and the Messenger of Woe leaves to announce the death to the Emperor. The dynastic tripods are set out, those sacred cauldrons with which in a mysterious but imperative way the fortunes of the dynasty are linked. The first Emperor and his Han successors were never able to recover from the river the dynastic cauldrons which the last Chou rulers had confided to the spirits of the waters.

On the morrow of the death, the decease is announced at the South Gate of the Imperial Chancellory in Annam, at that part known as the Pavilion of Edicts. The mandarins in white receive

the Imperial Message upon their knees. A proclamation is drawn up for despatch to the provinces and (in Old China) to the tributary States.

The Emperor presides over the mourning ceremonies for an Empress in person, within the complex of the Purple Forbidden City, which is conceived of as the microcosm of the Secluded Sovereign, successor, in some measure and in this aspect, of the "Sole Man" of the very early Chinese monarchy.

On receiving the message of death, the Emperor removes all his jewels, bonnet ornaments, and robes, and he and all male and female members of the imperial family assume white mourning garments according to their rank. The Emperor as the Chief Mourner assumes the deepest mourning—*i.e.*, that composed of the coarsest cloth. The Sovereign should isolate himself for a hundred days.

In very early times mourners lived a life apart in a booth near the grave. When the whole apparatus of Chinese life was conventionalized under the Western Han sovereigns, a prolonged mourning period was retained. It was probably less of a curse to mourners than would appear at a first blush. The withdrawal from the world came generally in late middle life (the Chinese have always married early), and was an occasion of surcease from the toil of public business and the boredom of private and family life. At the transition from maturity to age a man could survey his existence and strike a balance. Many early codes have provided for a period of "return to nature." The forest-life of the mature man in the Laws of Manu is in this respect typical.

WHITE IS THE COLOUR OF MOURNING

The Chinese *literati* did well to keep the piously long mourning of their forefathers. The Annamese Code was revised and remodelled by the Emperor Gia-Long at the beginning of the last century, but his laws contain most of the Chinese prescriptions, which had had force of law and custom in Annam, with the backing of organized tradition, at least since the time of the Ming Emperor Yo-Lung, who had reannexed "the Pacified South"—that is, Annam—to the Chinese Empire in the fifteenth century. Chinese ideas and ideals had, moreover, thoroughly permeated the web and the woof of Annamese existences during the ten centuries of direct Chinese rule from the third century before our era until T'ang times.

The Chief Mourner must wear a coat and skirt of untrimmed and unhemmed hempen cloth, a twisted girdle, rush shoes, a hat with string cords and four flaps, one to cover each ear, one the nape, and another the eyes. The elaborate directions set out in

the I-Li are still followed in the etiquette of mourning. The I-Li is, of course, in its present form—like the other ceremonial books, the Chou-Li and the Li-Ki—a late Han production, but all three books contain much older material.

White is not the mourning "colour" in the sense that red is the colour of good omen or yellow that of the imperial dignity. White is the colour of mourning in China because there mourning garments have been from the earliest times composed of natural undyed materials. It is the coarseness and cheapness of the stuff which makes it peculiarly suitable for mourners, not its whiteness. "The acts of greatest reverence," says the Li-Ki, "admit of no adornment."

The Chief Mourner in this imperial funeral, the Emperor, carries in his hands a roughly pared off stick of wood, so long that it may, when held touching the ground with one end, reach to his heart with the other. In old China this stick was of bamboo for a male relative and of dryandria for a female. The Stick of Weeping is generally carved from the wood of the erythrina (*dông*) in Annam. The stick, upon which the Chief Mourner leans heavily during most of the ceremonies, is rounded at the top to symbolize Heaven, and squared at the base to typify Earth.

In his life apart during primitive times the Chief Mourner ate special food and abstained from all physical pleasure. Just as the Emperor secludes himself in his House of Fasting before the Sacrifice to Heaven (*vide* THE ASIATIC REVIEW, January, 1940, "The Sacrifice of the Son of Heaven," by Alan Houghton Brodrick), so the mourner must also spiritualize himself by abstaining from those things that are specifically of mortals—eating and intercourse—so as to be fit for contact with the spirits and to impress them with the urgency and the earnestness of his prayers. Spirits are very fastidious; they must not be offended by reek of wine, garlic, or ginger. For just as pungent herbs may be used to repel evil spirits, so they may also repel good ones.

No doubt in very early times in China the mourner was regarded as unclean from the contamination of the corpse, and this cogent reason for seclusion was afterwards euhemerized as respect for the mourner's sorrow.

The essentials of Chinese funeral ceremonies go back as far as Shang times, when the religious beliefs of the people centred around the feeding of ancestors with animal and vegetable offerings. The placation of forefathers and their conciliation is the real basis of Chinese religion; nearly everything else seems either later in date or subsidiary in importance.

The preparations for the funeral proper, apart from the sacrifices of placation, consist of the Lesser and the Greater Dressing and the Coffining. In Old China men and women were buried

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The Flight of the Phoenix.

FIG. I.—THE MANDARINS IN THEIR MOURNING ROBES WATCH THE COFFINING.





FIG. 2.—THE COFFIN OF THE EMPRESS SET WITH CANDLES IS CARRIED OUT OF THE IMPERIAL PALACE.



FIG. 6.—THE EMPEROR OFFERS UP A LAST PRAYER AT THE ENTRANCE TO THE VAULT.



FIG. 3.—THE PROCESSION IS FORMED. THE PALACE SERVANTS, IN SCARLET AND YELLOW LIVERIES, PREPARE TO SHOULDER THE COFFIN, WHICH IS PROTECTED BY IMPERIAL PARASOLS OF YELLOW SILK.



FIG. 4.—THE EMPEROR BAO-DAI, IN HIS WHITE HEMPEN ROBES AS CHIEF MOURNER, TAKES UP HIS POSITION BEHIND THE BIER.



FIG. 5.—THE IMPERIAL COFFIN, COVERED WITH A YELLOW SILK PALL EMBROIDERED WITH PHOENIXES, IS ABOUT TO BE SLID THROUGH THE STONE PASSAGES TO THE GRAVE CHAMBER: THE EMPEROR SEES THAT THE WAY IS CLEAR.

in their best clothes—that is, their bridal costumes, which resemble the old Court dress. Every woman is an empress twice—on her marriage-bed and on her death-bed. In Annam the dead are usually robed in scarlet shrouds, but in the imperial family the corpses are decked in Court robes.

At the Lesser Dressing the Chief Mourner stamps and sobs, while to the east of the corpse are offered up the contents of the ritual cauldrons, together with oblations of must and wine. All those present weep in relays. The funeral cresset is set up at the door of the Great Hall.

At the Great Dressing the Emperor appears, preceded by two men bearing lances. The Sovereign wails and sobs throughout the ceremony. Oblations and offerings of food and wine are again made.

The Eulogy of the deceased is then read. Originally, perhaps, the panegyric was intended not only to placate the dead one, but also to remind him that the survivors had done everything to save his life, albeit in vain. The Eulogy is now and has been for centuries purely laudatory.

THE GREAT HALL OF PITY AND PRUDENCE

The coffin is exposed from the day of the death. When the time has been set for the Coffining, funeral offerings are exposed upon a low table to the east of the catafalque: the meats are in earthenware jars and the liquids in rhinoceros-horn goblets. No metal must be used, and the spoons for ladling are wooden. In all countries the rites admit of no new-fangled inventions. A yellow tent with a white curtain on either side has been already set up near the bier, and the Red Banner has been hoisted to the east of the Great Entrance to the Palace.

The coffin for an emperor or an empress should be fourfold, and the casket should be lined with rhinoceros hide. In Annam the wood of the *Cycas revoluta* is mostly used, and the coffins are made watertight with layers of mastic and lacquer mixed with ash and sand rubbed to a fine, polished finish.

The coffin is brought to the catafalque on a sort of toboggan known as the Dragon Sledge. This is very suggestive of the northern cultures, and may be a borrowing from the neighbours of the primitive Chinese. The body on its body-rest is lifted into the coffin, which is of enormous size and rectangular. Baskets of millet (the most ancient food of the Chinese, used long before the introduction of rice) are exposed near the catafalque; the three dynastic tripods are heaped with three sorts of food. The twelve sorts of comestibles are laid out on a table towards the south.

In the coffin are placed (or should be placed) the six Objects of Jade. Jade to fortify the deceased is one of the oldest and most necessary of the grave-gear of the Chinese. It seems always to have been an exotic substance, at any rate in North China. Under the generic name of *yü* the Chinese lump a variety of mineral substances, none of which seems to have been found nearer than the Lake Baikal region to the north and Turkestan to the east. The most fruitful source of real jade has been for ages the region to the south-west, North Burma, and contiguous lands. From very early times the symbol of Heaven was a jade *pi*, or disc, with a central hole—most probably a sun emblem. That of Earth is the *tsung*, or cylinder, carved in a rectangular tube corrugated on the outside, and is probably a representation of the *vagina gentium* of Mother Earth.

In Annam the corpses are usually wedged into the coffins by means of red cushions of various shapes, known as *bô-quyêt*, so that, seen from above before the lid is fastened down, the contents appear to fill all the space. No metal is used in or on the imperial coffin.

The bier is covered with an imperial yellow silk pall embroidered for an empress with phœnixes, and for an emperor with dragons.

The catafalque having been set up in the Great Hall of Pity and Prudence, the Emperor, standing to the east of the bier, looks west and sobs. The extreme ritualization of sorrow is a good cure for grief and an excellent mask for its absence.

By the side of the coffin are the Soul Tablet and the Sceptre of Jade. Around are the members of the imperial family, the mandarins and their wives, all in spotless mourning.

The Prayer is presented to the Sovereign by the Master of the Ceremonies. The Emperor kneels and prays, and with him all present. The Sovereign then offers up libations, bowing deeply three times, once between each libation. He makes heave-offerings of flesh three times, and offerings of wine three times, and between each offering he bows, and all present kowtow and touch the ground with their heads. He then takes up his position to the left of the coffin. The offerings are removed. The weeping ceases.

The Posthumous Name is then published and pronounced. Thenceforth the personal name of the dead becomes strictly tabu, for the name of a spirit can compel its presence.

Five strokes are rolled out on the drums, both on the day of coffining and the day of interment. The auspicious date for the journey of the body to its final resting-place the astrologers ascertain by means of shell-divination.

Three days before the journey to the tomb five imperial dele-

gates announce the event to Heaven. The Sacred Way to the tombs is set in order and sprinkled with fine sand. In the Japanese funeral rites for emperors the bier is dragged upon a bullock sledge, and the white beasts are starved so that they may not defile the *Via Sacra*. In lands of the Chinese culture complex the biers are borne by men.

Sometimes, however, the coffin is left upon a catafalque in the Funeral Hall for many days before the final interment. Each day, at morning, noon, and night, offerings are made until the day of burial, and these sacrificial ceremonies are especially pompous on each twenty-eighth day.

The funeral procession of an Empress of Annam is but an amplification of that of all Annamese funerals, which are singularly picturesque and imposing. First come the flag gateways with lanterns hanging from them, then masses of banners strung tight on frames, then the House of the Spirit, the laudatory inscriptions and offerings, portable altars with flowers, the Offering of the Five Colours, wearers of allegorical masks, the Three Abundances, more laudatory inscriptions on banners, the Offering of the Five Fruits—custard apples, water-melons, pomegranates, Buddha's Hand citrus, and oranges—more laudatory banners, the Mountain in its netting cage, laudatory inscriptions, the offering of a gnarled piece of eaglewood stuck into the sand held in a bronze bowl of antique shape, the Lion of Fruit, the Boat of the Soul (*cf.* the Boat of the Soul in Ancient Egypt), the Bridge of Silk and oblation of fruits, the portable buffet, the canopies under which march the mandarins, funeral and allegorical distiches on banners, the double lanterns just like those still used at State balls (the last time I saw them was at Goering's ball in Berlin in 1937), the State Fans and the Eight Precious Objects of Buddhism, the Symbolical Fruits, the funerary distiches, the Offerings of Lotus, women with flower offerings, women with banners and lanterns, women with fans, fly-whisks, incense-burners, and the jewels; musicians, the Chariot of the Soul, containing the Tablet of the Soul, a piece of thick, flat wood five times as long as wide, and tapering towards the tops bearing the name of the deceased Empress, the date of her death, and in another column the name of her eldest son; around the Tablet is wrapped the piece of white silk which had rested upon her dying breast. Before are offerings of vegetables, tea, and plums. Then come retainers carrying candles, then the dancers and musicians, the catafalque followed by the Emperor and all his Court, shaded on either side by imperial yellow umbrellas and bearing upon it seven candles disposed so as to follow the pattern of the seven stars in the Great Bear (*Bắc Đẩu*). The catafalque must be so steadily borne by its porters that not a drop must be spilled from a full glass of water

set beside the coffin. So is the Empress-Mother carried to her imperial vault.

There have been eleven emperors of Annam since Gia-Long proclaimed himself Son of Heaven in 1802. Three of them abdicated or were deposed: Hàm-Ngi, who ruled from 1884 to 1885, is still living on in a villa near Algiers; Thành-Thái, who abdicated in 1907, after eighteen years' reign; Duy-Taû, who was deposed in 1916, is exiled in the Comore Islands of the Indian Ocean. The other eight all have sepulchres around Hué.

THE IMPERIAL MAUSOLEA

The mausoleum of Gia-Long, the founder of the dynasty, is, perhaps, the most imposing of the tombs, for it is the plainest, and its isolation in a landscape of sombre beauty increases the impressiveness of its severe grace. The sepulchre of Minh-Mang is on a larger scale than that of his father. The tomb lies on the left bank of the River of Perfumes. The entrance gate—to which you ascend by steps of blue granite—is set at the end of a long avenue of banyans. You pass through the Gate of Dazzling Virtue, over the interior courtyard flanked by buildings for servants and guardians, and go up the steps into the Hall of Venerated Beneficence, where are exposed the mortuary tablets of the Emperor and Empress under a canopy of scarlet-and-gold lacquer. Three bridges span the Lake of Irreproachable Clarity, bordered with flamboyant-trees, frangipani shrubs, and azaleas. A triple flight of dragon-steps leads up to the Palace of Attracted Light—that is, the Spirit Temple—beyond which is the tumulus containing the actual grave of the Sovereign and his Consort.

The plan, it will be seen, follows closely that of the imperial mausolea of China, and essentially the layout is the same for all the tombs except that of the Emperor Tu'-Dù'c, which encloses no barrow. The Emperor is buried in a vault behind his temple. The whole place seems more like a pleasure garden than a cemetery as you stand on the farther side of the lotus pool and look towards the pleasure pavilion overhanging the waters and overshadowed by the high banyan-trees.

The tomb of the Emperor Thieu-Tri has no surrounding wall, and is, in fact, the old country house of the Sovereign, where he loved to retire and meditate. The whole place is planned on a majestic scale. The Sovereign's body and that of his Empress lie beyond the Spirit Temple under a tumulus covered with a tangle of trees, through which you may see the green bronze doors of the funeral passage.

The mausoleum of the Emperor Dong-Khanh, who died in 1889, is the latest which is really worthy of a visit; the modern

ones are often marred by a vileness of material. Dong-Khanh's tomb, the smallest of them all, is the one I like best. The white marble gateway leads to a terrace flanked with white marble figures of elephants, horses, and mandarins set against a background of dark blue-green Chinese pines. The temple itself is tinted a delicate pink; the enamel decorations and the blue-and-white porcelain revetments lend the whole thing a gay serenity and a graceful dignity which are irresistible.

Tombs must be selected with due regard to *fêng-shui*—that is, “wind-water,” or the geomantic significance of landscape—for a well-selected grave brings good luck on the family, and ill-luck and disaster are often due to disregarding the precepts of the ancients in selecting the family tombs. Again, *fêng-shui* may be mutilated or even destroyed by the cutting of trees, the quarrying of rocks, or the ruin of buildings.

The first monarch of the Dinh dynasty in Annam, the son of a humble civil servant, and the first Sovereign of the Tranh dynasty, “who followed the profession of fisherman,” each owed his surprising and magnificent fortune to the happy choice of ancestors' sepulchres.

Save that they are on a smaller scale, the imperial burying-places of Annam are set out on the same plan as the gorgeous sepulchres of the Ming and Ch'ing emperors near Peking. A Spirit Way leads to them, and you pass under a Marble Portico before reaching the Great Red Gates; there is the same Pavilion of the Stela, the same triple bridges, Dragon and Phoenix Gates.

The exact interior disposition of an imperial tumulus can be judged from in 1920 the Emperor Tö-Tsung's grave, which was still being built in the imperial necropolis near Peking.

From the entrance a vaulted passage leads down an inclined plane towards a chamber, on the farther side of which is a stone door leading to a corridor and into another room, beyond which is another stone door, then another passage, ending in a square chamber, another passage, another door, a further passage, and then a last door giving access to the actual tomb-chamber in the centre of which is a massive stone couch upon which the coffin is placed. The arrangement, in fact, recalls that of the rock-tombs, mastabas, and pyramids of Egypt, and even the humble barrows of Northern Europe.

The tumulus raised over the complex of passages and chambers is sometimes covered with stone sets so that it appears as a sort of stupa, reminding one of the Northern Indian monuments; the tumuli of Yuan-shi-kai and the Emperor of Japan, Meiji (Mutsu-hito), are of this type.

Only empresses were buried in the imperial enclosures, either in China or Annam. The rules of the Chinese Court were as

rigid as those of Vienna, where in 1914 Prince Montenuovo, himself the son of a bastard of Marie-Louise, would not allow the Duchess of Hohenberg to share the imperial funeral honours reserved for her husband both above ground and below in the Capuzinergruft.

In the lands of Chinese culture, however, empresses were sometimes degraded, both during their lifetimes and posthumously, just as they were also posthumously promoted. The Emperor Hiao-Tsung in 1488 elevated his concubine-mother posthumously to the rank of Empress and reinterred her next to her lord, his father, the Emperor Hien-Tsung.

But if an empress dies during her husband's lifetime she is generally buried either in his prepared grave or under a smaller tumulus of her own. The barrows over the tombs of empresses are almost always, except in the case of great reigning sovereigns, appreciably smaller than those of emperors, which are often a thousand feet in diameter.

Empresses who survived their lords and who died during the reign of their direct descendants have, however, as fine tombs as emperors, since they died owners of the whole empire, for, by Chinese law, custom, tradition, and religion, whatever a child owns is the possession of his living parent—father if he lives, mother if she is a widow—and this is true of all, be they simple peasants or Sons of Heaven.

SOME ASPECTS OF RURAL EDUCATION IN PALESTINE

BY HUMPHREY BOWMAN, C.M.G., C.B.E.

(Late Director of Education, Palestine Government)

WHEN the Turks vacated Palestine after Lord Allenby's victorious campaign, they left little behind them that was worth retaining, least of all in education. The Ottoman Government had maintained State schools in the principal towns of Palestine, as in other parts of the Turkish Empire, but they were ill-organized and the methods of instruction ineffective. Although in theory they were open to children of all denominations, in practice they were attended by Muslims only. The Jews already had their separate system, in which Hebrew was beginning to be introduced as the language of instruction, while Christian parents not unnaturally preferred to send their children to their own church schools or to those organized by foreign missionary bodies.

In towns the State schools, inefficiently administered and poorly equipped, suffered from the further disadvantage of employing Turkish, a foreign language, as the medium of instruction, even in elementary classes. In the villages, which contained the great majority of the Arab population, few or no facilities were provided by the Turks. Occasional *kuttabs* existed, it is true, but in these little else than the Quran was taught, and that by an instructor not always much more learned than his pupils. Of female education, even in the towns, there was little or none. The prejudice against the education of Muslim girls, long since overcome in Egypt, and now happily disappearing in other Muslim countries, still prevailed in what was the Turkish Empire. Thus at the time of the British occupation the authorities in Palestine were faced by the fact that the majority of Arabs were illiterate, and that the literate minority were largely ignorant of their own language.

Complete reorganization was essential. The first responsibility of the newly formed administration was to take over its heritage of Turkish State schools, to reorganize and improve them, to adapt them to modern conditions, and to increase their number. The Jewish community had the advantage of an almost wholly literate population, brought up for the most part in Europe or under European conditions, and capable of evolving their own system of education. While the administration of Jewish schools was there-

fore left largely to their own authorities, subject to general supervision by the Government, the control of Arab schools naturally devolved upon the Department of Education. With English, Arabic and Hebrew as the three official languages, a dual system of national education was set up, formed on a national and linguistic basis, Arabic and Hebrew being the media used respectively in Arab and Jewish schools. The Government (Arab) schools were attended by an increasing number of Christian pupils, for whom arrangements were made to provide instruction in their own faith. English was introduced into the syllabus, and taught by the direct method. Simultaneously with the reorganization of urban schools, and the institution of training colleges for both sexes, an entirely new system of rural education for Arab villages was planned. It is with this system that the present article is chiefly concerned.

In other Oriental countries for which in the past Great Britain had assumed responsibility, notably in Egypt and India, in both of which the peasant class far outnumbered the town population, rural education had been greatly neglected. Even today the proportion of literates is still lamentably meagre in the agricultural districts of Egypt and India. On the other hand, the number of town-bred graduates or aspiring graduates is higher than either country can reasonably absorb. The British authorities, following Lord Macaulay's lead, had, in fact, paid too much attention to secondary and university education, and too little to the vitally important problem of rural education.

In Palestine we were fortunate in beginning with a *tabula rasa*. So little existed that was worth preserving that we were able to start afresh, determined as far as possible to avoid the mistakes made elsewhere. It was obvious that, in a country containing some 800 Arab villages, schools for all could only be provided by slow degrees. It was early decided that only the larger villages should be first considered, and by limiting our preliminary efforts to those with a minimum population of 600 the total to be supplied was reduced by more than half. Many were, in any case, too small to warrant a separate school, and many were near enough to larger villages for children to attend these without undue hardship. In the first few years boys' schools only were opened. The demand for these has always preceded that for girls' schools, and the financial problem of opening two schools simultaneously in each village, apart from the question of training sufficient teachers of both sexes, was from the first insuperable. Nevertheless, by 1938, eighteen years from the date when the civil administration was first set up, 305 boys' schools, with an attendance of 25,000 pupils, and 25 girls' schools, with an attendance of over 2,000, had been opened in the Arab villages of Palestine. The teaching

staff and the district inspectorate for these schools consist without exception of Palestinian Arabs.

The first principle laid down was that the villagers should contribute at least half of the cost of the building, such furniture and equipment as was required, and occasionally the pay of an assistant teacher. The Government guaranteed half the initial outlay and the permanent salary of the teacher. The building followed a standard plan, approved by the Departments of Works and Health, and capable of expansion as the school developed. In style it followed the tradition of the locality—stone-built with vaulted roofs, or of mudbrick; the rooms wide, airy, and well lit; a verandah on one side for shade or shelter. The site selected was well away from other houses, giving an ample view over the surrounding country, and remote from the dust and noise too often associated with an Eastern village.

Another principle was that the school must have a strong rural bias. To achieve this, enough land was provided by the village for agricultural practice. An acre, or even more in the case of larger schools, was set apart for this purpose; vegetables and fruit-trees and occasionally cereals were cultivated; poultry, rabbits, bees and silkworms were kept. In a country like Palestine, where the rainfall is limited to the three winter months, a good water supply for the dry season is essential. This raised a special difficulty, but was generally overcome by digging a well or cistern, or by irrigation channels from a neighbouring stream. The plot was protected from sheep and goats by a stone wall or wire fence.

To the ordinary subjects of the elementary syllabus were added the theory and practice of agriculture, and some part of the day was spent on the adjacent land, for the cultivation of which the teacher and boys were solely responsible. No outside labour was employed unless for exceptionally heavy work or for the care of the ground when the school was closed. All instruction was in Arabic; no English was taught except in rare instances, where, either owing to the size of the village or for some other special reason, it seemed desirable to introduce it.

In addition to his other responsibilities, village welfare was regarded as one of the main duties of the schoolmaster, and practice in this was undertaken by the pupils under his guidance. A cleaning campaign was set on foot; rubbish was cleared, pools were drained or oiled, manure removed to the fields. In this way flies and mosquitoes were diminished; eye disease and malaria improved. With the co-operation of the Department of Health all children were medically examined at regular intervals, each being provided with a card recording his medical history, and retained throughout his school career.

Infant welfare centres were set up in many villages; here the

resident nurse treated the children's eyes for trachoma, that terrible scourge of the East, and especially prevalent in Palestine. In other villages, not so fortunately placed, drops were administered in approved fashion by the teacher. That this daily treatment of the eyes had its effect was proved by Sir John Strathearn, the eminent Warden of the St. John Ophthalmic Hospital in Jerusalem, who once told the writer that after a cursory walk through an Arab village he was able to tell, from the state of the children's eyes, whether or not there was a school there.

A small travelling cinema, worked by hand or from the battery of a car, showed films of the dangers caused by the fly, the mosquito, the locust and other pests; of modern methods of cultivation, irrigation, drainage, road-making and forestry. The cinema was shown out of doors, with a running commentary in Arabic, the "screen" being the whitewashed wall of a house; the courtyard packed with an enthusiastic audience of men and boys, while the *harim* watched from windows or neighbouring roofs. The pill was sugared with an occasional "comic" or with scenes of life in other lands. This sometimes led to unexpected results. A film of Arab horsemen in Algeria galloping at full speed in a cloud of dust towards the onlooker caused the audience on one occasion to stampede, with calls upon Allah to protect them from the oncoming cavalry!

Experiments proved that youth tended to forget its literacy unless provided with reading material. To combat this a system of travelling libraries was instituted. A series of boxes, each containing Arabic books on a variety of subjects, was circulated by car or on donkey-back from village to village, each retaining a box for a month or so and then passing it on to the next in rotation. The box was kept in the school, and the teacher was responsible for the care and circulation of the books. Evening classes were also held and encouragement given to all to increase their knowledge in general and especially in agricultural subjects.

The wireless also proved of great value. Receiving sets, provided free by Government, were kept in the school and made available at certain hours for all who cared to listen. The Jerusalem broadcasting station gave a tri-lingual programme daily; the Arabic section contained a variety of items—news, talks, songs, music, Quran recitations—and was especially adapted to village listeners. Co-operative societies, too, have been instituted in a number of villages, with a view to encouraging thrift and as a means of escape from the money-lender. Once more it falls to the teacher, who is generally the local secretary, to explain the benefits of a co-operative society and to supervise its administration.

The foregoing applies to the rural population—the *fellahin*, or

settled peasant class. The Bedouin of the desert presented a special and a more difficult problem. Living in their black tents, often on the move, resenting any form of interference with their liberty, the Arab nomads might well be expected to look askance on education. It was hinted that if their sons attended school they would be spoilt, they would resort to towns, they would lose that independence of mind and body which is the life-blood of the Bedouin's existence. Officials, too, regarded any such project with foreboding.

Nevertheless, a modest beginning was made by the appointment of a few "peripatetic" teachers, accustomed to the nomad mode of life, who lived with the tribe, moved with them in their search for pasture, and taught in a Bedu tent. Later, in a few cases, a more permanent building was erected; when the tribe was on migration, the boys lived in tents near by or in the school itself. Later still a boarding-school was opened for sons of leading sheikhs in the little town of Beersheba. The building, erected by the Turks shortly before the Great War, was well adapted for the purpose. The boys were carefully selected, wore their Bedu dress, and lived a simple open-air life. The teachers were men sympathetic with Bedu ways and feeling. A plot of land for dry-farming was attached to the school. The experiment was justified by success. The boys were keen and receptive, and at the end of their course returned to their tribes unspoilt and, it was hoped, more enlightened than their parents. Contrary to expectation, the only difficulty experienced with the latter was that the demand for admission far exceeded the places available.

One of the main problems was how to train the village teacher. Two methods were adopted in Palestine. The first was to send for a year's intensive training a limited number of teachers to the Kadoorie Agricultural School, situated at Tulkarm, near the foothills of the maritime plain. The experiment was generously financed for some years by the Near East Foundation, an American Association that has undertaken valuable and lasting work in rural reconstruction in the Near and Middle East. Some fifteen teachers were selected annually; they lived in a hostel near the agricultural school, drawing their salaries and contributing to their upkeep. Half the time was spent in classroom or laboratory and half on the farm. At the end of their year's training they returned to their village schools, which had meantime been staffed provisionally by substitutes. Though the schools suffered to some extent for this one year, they gained greatly in the long run, and out of the hundred or so teachers thus trained there were very few failures and some remarkable successes. All profited from their specialized training, and as the scheme developed so did enthusiasm grow in the villages.

As the source of available teachers began to run dry, another method was followed. This was to form a small training centre near the agricultural school, to which students from secondary schools were admitted. They were drawn almost entirely from villagers; the town-bred youth was generally found unsuited to village life; he missed the amenities to which he was accustomed, and did not easily settle down in such a primitive environment. The course of training occupied two years, in which the theory and practice of teaching were combined with those of agricultural science. Practical teaching was given in a neighbouring village school and on the farm itself.

A similar training centre was opened for women students destined to teach in village girls' schools. This, too, was in a rural environment, near the picturesque village of Ramallah, and the course included the care of poultry, cultivation of vegetables and domestic science. The students also attended the local welfare centre and eye clinic. In Palestine, as elsewhere, Muslim boys and girls, after the infant stage, must be educated separately; Christian Arabs, too—unlike the Jews—still frown on co-education. The prejudice, once prevalent among Muslim Arabs, against female education is now rapidly disappearing, and the demand for girls' schools in villages as well as in towns exceeds the supply. In the former, as in the case of boys' schools, the aim was to give a rural bias to the course, and to adapt it to suit the needs of the peasant wife and mother-to-be. So the girl was taught gardening, poultry-rearing, beekeeping and the like, in addition to such subjects as needlework, laundry, cooking, baby welfare and the care of the home.

A brief sketch of a model rural school, well known to the writer, may be given. It is situated in a village on the hills between Hebron and the sea, commanding an uninterrupted view to the Mediterranean, some twenty-five miles away. Inspired by the enthusiasm of the local Arab district officer, the villagers contributed money and labour. With a substantial grant from Government, buildings were erected and an ample garden planned. The buildings are divided into three sections: one for classroom instruction; one for carpentry, ironwork, and cobbling; and one for weaving. In the teachers' room is installed the wireless set, which gives the daily Arabic programme and the correct time to the village; here, too, is the visitors' book, recording the signatures of High Commissioners and other less distinguished visitors. The villagers buy their boots and cloth from the school; their simple furniture and implements are made, or at least mended, by the boys. All profits go to the benefit of the school. In the garden, surrounded by a stout stone wall, are grown vegetables, flowers and fruit-trees, watered by irrigation from a

cistern. A grove of forest nurslings is planted hard by. Poultry and rabbits in several varieties are reared; bees provide excellent honey. All work, whether in the shops or in the garden, is done by the boys in rotation. Over all these activities presides the headmaster, a Muslim Arab of good standing, wearing his picturesque native dress, trained in agriculture and the crafts—an enlightened, loyal, and devoted servant of his village and the countryside.

Migration from country to town is a danger no less prevalent in Palestine than elsewhere nearer home. The peasantry are illiterate, their methods of agriculture primitive, they are deeply in debt to the money-lender. Is it any wonder that as their sons grow to manhood they look to the towns for employment? The tendency to migrate is already increasing, and if allowed to develop must be followed by serious consequences alike to the land and to the peasant population. Book-learning alone cannot stem the tide. Indeed, by itself it may actually increase the flow. But, given something more than book-learning, may not rural education, based on some such system as is here described, help to solve the problem? With a scheme for village welfare, and all that it implies, radiating from the school, conditions will be rapidly and radically changed for the better. Improved cultivation will increase prosperity; malaria and eye disease will diminish; infant mortality will decrease; the burden of debt will vanish. If the youth of today, by themselves helping to raise the standards of cleanliness and health, can be brought up to regard their village with pride and affection, and by study of modern agriculture can look forward to a livelihood from the land, will not something have been done to inculcate that attachment to the soil which should imbue the spirit of all rural communities? Is it too much to hope that a new type of peasantry may evolve—prosperous, content, enlightened—ready to hand on the torch to succeeding generations?

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN INDIA

BY JOHN COATMAN, C.I.E.

THE latest news from India (mid-September), with its announcement of Congress's rejection of Lord Linlithgow's offer of August 8, Mr. Gandhi's reappointment as supreme Congress leader, the latter's reaffirmation of the party's faith in non-violence, and, finally, the possibility of a resumption of civil disobedience in some form or other, makes it look as though the situation has suddenly deteriorated very considerably. It cannot be denied that these recent developments have caused severe disappointment both in India and in Great Britain, and have created circumstances in which there are possibilities of trouble; but a closer and objective scrutiny of the course of events and opinion in India now and since the outbreak of war leads to conclusions which allow us to hope that the last word has not yet been said in the negotiations between the All-India National Congress and the Government of India.

In the first place, the sympathy for the British Empire's cause in this War, which was expressed by practically every section of Indian opinion in September, 1939, has grown stronger since the Battle for Britain began. The Congress Working Committee itself, and Mr. Gandhi also, have explicitly announced this. We can accept their words at their face value. The responsible leaders and members of Congress do not wish to do anything to hamper the Empire's war effort. It goes without saying that this feeling is shared by other Indian elements outside Congress. The flow of recruits for the Indian army, and the subscriptions for fighter aircraft for the R.A.F. and for various other forms of war effort, afford proofs of this judgment which are much stronger than any words can be. But apart from sympathy for Great Britain, the interests of India herself enlist the feelings and services of Indians on the side of the British. It is impossible now for any Indian to pretend that India could retain peace and freedom outside the British Commonwealth of Nations. The lesson of China has bitten very deep into Indian minds, and the Dutch East Indies and French Indo-China, whose security can be guaranteed only by Great Britain and the United States, are a constant reminder of what isolation in Asia means at the present time. Added to this major consideration, there are strong economic reasons why India should support the Empire's war effort, although these are, of course, much less potent than those of the two major reasons given above.

Then, in addition to the widespread partisan feeling in India in favour of the Empire's cause, there is another reason why even the leaders of the All-India National Congress will find it difficult to sweep the country with a nation-wide movement of opposition to the Government. This reason is found in the developments which have taken place in the general communal situation during the past year. The All-India Muslim League has also pronounced on the Viceroy's offer, and in its pronouncement the League has stated uncompromisingly its extreme communal views on the subject of the political future of India. It has reaffirmed for a Muhammadan India which may federate with a Hindu India on certain terms, and this, again, has very obviously given rise to serious perturbation in the minds of the leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha. On the side of the Princes there has been no noteworthy development recently. Their views and terms are well known to the Government of India, and, unless they have changed very considerably since the outbreak of war—a supposition which has not the least jot or tittle of evidence to support it—they also will have nothing to do with any political settlement dictated by Congress. Therefore, any call for mass civil disobedience would inevitably lead to severe and widespread internal troubles, the final scope and character of which nobody could foresee. The Mahasabha leaders know this, and so do Mr. Gandhi and his colleagues in the leadership of Congress. Therefore Mr. Gandhi will not declare for mass civil disobedience. The fact that Mr. Gandhi is prepared to continue negotiations with the Government of India is the result of these various considerations—namely, sympathy with the British cause, realistic appraisal of India's own moral and material interests, and, lastly, the internal situation.

It can be said also that the terms of Lord Linlithgow's offer of August 8 are also the result of these varied considerations plus the British Government's now open and avowed intention of assisting India to attain Dominion status at the earliest possible moment. The statement was made after full study by His Majesty's Government of the results of Lord Linlithgow's long and earnest negotiations since the outbreak of the war with all the major interests in India, with a view to harmonizing the various clashing demands. The statement says that His Majesty's Government have decided to do what they can in existing circumstances to create the conditions for united national effort in the war. In view of the internal political stresses in the country, they say that they cannot hand their present responsibility for the peace and welfare of India to any system of government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life, but they authorize the Viceroy to invite a certain number of

representative Indians to join his Executive Council. This means, of course, that any major section of Indian opinion could have its own representative as part, not of the machinery, but of the very motive force, of government in India. It is, in fact, the same thing as the fruitful broadening of the base of our own National Government some months ago. Then, in addition, the Viceroy is authorized to establish a War Advisory Council, to meet at regular intervals, and to have representatives in it of the Indian States and of other interests in the national life of India as a whole. It is worth while drawing attention to these last words. Throughout this declaration of policy His Majesty's Government is concerned with *all* India, and not with any particular section or interest, however strong it may be.

The statement looks also to the future, and it deals with that fundamental demand of the All-India Congress, that the framing of the system of India's future government should be first and foremost the responsibility of Indians themselves. The words of the statement itself on this point are as follows: "His Majesty's Government are in sympathy with that desire (that is, that Indians should be responsible for devising their own system of government), and wish to see it given the fullest practical expression, subject to the due fulfilment of the obligations which Great Britain's long connection with India has imposed on her." That is not just a pious aspiration, because the statement goes on to say that the British Government will agree to setting up after the end of the war, with the least possible delay, a fully representative Indian body to work out the framework of the new constitution. The British Government will do all they can to speed up decisions by this body, and in the meantime—and here again is something vitally important—they will not only welcome, but they will help on in every possible way, every sincere and practical step that representative Indians themselves may take to come to a free agreement upon the form of this post-war representative body and the lines on which it should work, and also upon the principles and outlines of the constitution itself.

There is one very striking thing about this statement—namely, that it is far less precisely legalistic in form than one expects a Government pronouncement of first-class importance to be. It deals with the great fundamentals of political association, and it deals with them in a tone of complete sincerity. Its closing words refer to India's attaining a free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth of Nations, and its whole purpose and all the arrangements visualized in it are clearly meant to remove the obstacles from the way of India's attaining such a partnership. The spirit of the announcement has been widely acclaimed in India, and even the Congress criticism and rejection of it lacks

any real hostility. It is very likely indeed that if the leaders of Congress, including Mr. Gandhi, were in a position to reveal their inmost thoughts about it, they would admit that it was a genuine attempt to meet them as far as possible.

Unfortunately, Congress, and also the Muslim League, are very largely bound by their previous declarations, and feel that if they agree to a truce during the war and join the Viceroy's Council on the lines proposed, and take part in the other constructive activity suggested, they might find it very difficult at some future time to revert to their extreme position which they might want to occupy for bargaining purposes. The Congress is also faced with the possibility of complete disappearance in such events. The numerically inferior extreme Left Wing of Congress would no doubt refuse in any circumstances to accept the invitation contained in the Viceroy's statement, while the remainder, by identifying themselves with the Government, and through their leader or leaders who might be appointed to the Viceroy's Council actually forming part of the Government, would lose their very *raison d'être*, which, hitherto, had been that of unyielding and continuous opposition to the Government. If this analysis is even partly correct, it will be seen that if in the end Congress finally rejects the offer, it will not have behind it in any civil disobedience, or any other demonstration which it might offer, the tremendous driving-power which comes from a deeply felt and fiercely resented grievance. They will probably find it very difficult indeed to rouse the masses of the country on an issue which they cannot represent as a real *casus belli*, in view of the Government's obviously conciliatory attitude and its equally obvious readiness to do everything that is politically possible in the matter of India's political status, in view of the actual political conditions in the country and, more especially, the state of communal feeling and aspirations. In view of these things, we may still be permitted to hope that even now some way will be found out of the apparent impasse between Congress and the Indian Government.

I believe this hope to be strengthened by a general review of the course of events between the outbreak of the war and the present time. It will be remembered that as far back as last September Congress declared that it could give its full support to the national war effort only after India had become a full-fledged democracy, taking her place in the Commonwealth on the same terms as the other great British Dominions. In reply to this, Lord Linlithgow, after much consultation with representatives of all sections of Indian opinion, announced that, while it was impossible to have any such major constitutional change as this during the war, there would be full consultation with all sections of Indian opinion after the war, and in the meantime he was

ready to associate a representative consultative body with himself for the duration of hostilities. The reception of this announcement by Congress is well known. It was refused decisively. But it is also well known that the Congress leaders with patriotism and statesmanship refused to embark on any policy of direct action, in view of the vital emergency in which India found herself, together with the rest of the Empire. Nevertheless, relations between the two major communities and between the Princes and Congress tended to deteriorate, and the desirability of a settlement became increasingly clear as time went on and as the vital necessity for India exerting her full strength in the war became more and more apparent to all concerned.

The Viceroy continued his efforts at mediation and conciliation, and it was generally felt that a new opportunity to attempt another solution of the vexed question had arisen when Mr. Amery became Secretary of State for India. Mr. Amery has always been held in high regard in Indian political quarters because of the friendly interest which he has so often displayed in Indian affairs. It is by no means forgotten in India, and certainly by Indian representatives to the Imperial Conference, how earnestly Mr. Amery looked for all possible means of helping Indians in the fierce disputes which raged some years ago over the question of the status of Indians in certain Crown Colonies and in the Union of South Africa. Mr. Amery's first speech in Parliament after he went to the India Office had a definitely good effect on opinion both in this country and in India, and so it was not long before we got the announcement of August 8 of this year, which we have already discussed. When its terms are compared with those of Lord Linlithgow's earlier statement, published at Delhi on October 18 last year, the advance towards the Indian position is seen to be enormous.

We find ourselves, then, in this position. In practically every section of Indian opinion there is a desire to co-operate with the rest of the Empire in its war effort, and, as a matter of fact, India will co-operate, no matter what may happen in connection with the political dispute. On the other hand, we find the British Government and the British people freely accepting full Dominion status as India's political goal. No time limit is attached to the attainment of the goal, and the British Government and the Indian Government have announced that they will do everything in their power to help Indians to achieve that degree of national unity which is essential to Dominion status. From the statement of August 8 it is clear also that, given the requested degree of national unity, the framing of a suitable constitution for India would be primarily the work of Indians themselves. Surely the gap between the positions of Congress and the Government has

narrowed tremendously since the outbreak of the war, and just as clearly it is impossible for His Majesty's Government to go any further than they do in the statement of August 8, in the absence of national unity and general agreement on the basic principles of a new constitution for India.

What, then, holds Congress back from accepting this latest offer, taking their due share in the government of their country whilst abating none of their claims, but rather keeping them in the background until time and conditions are suitable for their revival? Indeed, as the political student looks at the Indian scene from a purely detached position and with a purely objective scrutiny, it seems that the procedure laid down in the announcement of August 8 is almost ideally suited to bring about that unity and harmony of views between the different interests of India and between those of the Government, which is the essential condition for the realization of Congress's hopes and ideals. By working together in this time of destiny for their nation and Empire, doing big things together for a cause which they all have at heart, surely they would all be able to attain that state of mind in which alone they can attempt a solution of ancient problems and difficulties freed from ancient prejudices and inhibitions. I believe that by working together in this way in such a time and for such objectives the members of all sections of Indian opinion would find powerful spiritual forces released which in the fulness of time would take them to their goal. For from what has been said in this article it is clear that difficulties in India now are largely psychological. I do not say that they are entirely psychological, for that would not be true. There are all sorts of material, social, religious, and traditional difficulties to be encountered and overcome before India can reach a state of opinion in which full national self-government would be a blessing instead of, as it undoubtedly would be at present, a source of further divisions and bitter strife. There is widespread realization of this in India, and there is also widespread realization of the fact that at this turning-point in India's national life the Pax Britannica becomes a supremely valuable instrument for the creation of national unity. Because these things are so, I believe that a peaceful solution of the Indian political problem will yet be found.

THE FRENCH POSSESSIONS IN THE PACIFIC

BY P. O. LAPIE

(The author was Deputy for Nancy; Liaison Officer with the B.E.F. in France in 1939, and now in London serving under General de Gaulle.)

THE attention of the whole world has been concentrated by recent events on the Pacific. In this great stretch of Empire which separates the American continent from Australia and Asia, France has important possessions; she has at all times had her word to say in any problems of policy or political economy which have arisen in the Pacific. What is her present position there? The object of the present article is to answer that question. But the very word "present" adds special difficulty to a task which was already far from easy. The present is always fluid. It is particularly so at the moment, in view of the situation of France and her colonies since the armistice signed between the Government of Vichy on one hand and the Governments of Germany and Italy on the other.

The French Empire is not entirely lined up behind the Vichy Government. Quite the contrary. Part of it is rallying to General de Gaulle, who sent out the call to resist and continue the fight. Large stretches of territory in Africa already form the Free French Empire. Several possessions in the South Sea Islands have also already joined the General's cause. Further, the situation in Indo-China is said to be disturbed.

In view of these facts, it is of interest today to see what possessions were held by the French in the Pacific; then to examine what is the position, as I write these lines at the beginning of September, of these various territories as regards the Vichy Government. Thirdly, what are the questions of general policy arising as a result of this new situation.

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French Indo-China is the chief possession bordering on the Pacific. Situated to the south-east of the continent of Asia, it is bounded on the north by China, on the north-east by India (Burma), and on the west by Siam. It is made up of five States, at the head of which is a Governor-General with his headquarters at Hanoi. It has a surface area of 7,842 square kilometres and a population of 23,850,500, of which 42,431 are Europeans. The States composing it are the colony of Cochinchina, the empire of Annam (Protectorate) and the protectorates of Cambodia,

Tonkin, and Laos. For the first Frenchman to visit Indo-China we must go back to 1585 and the Lamotte fathers in Cambodia. The Jesuits went to Cochin-China, Annam, and Tonkin in 1624. The treaty of June 5, 1862, signed at Saigon, recognized the freedom of the Christian religion and ceded three provinces to France. In 1863 Cambodia placed herself under the French protectorate. Four years later a campaign started which, after undergoing many vicissitudes of foreign and domestic policy, only came to an end in 1885, with the treaty of August 25. Indo-China should be taken to include the territory of Kouang Tchaou Wan, ceded on a ninety years' lease.

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New Caledonia is a colony with a population of 53,245 inhabitants, according to a census taken in 1936. The capital is situated at Nouméa on the main island. Its dependencies are the Ile des Pins, the Wallis Archipelago (which has been a French protectorate since 1842), the Futana and Anopi Islands, the Loyalty Islands, the Huon Islands, the Belep Archipelago, the Chesterfield Islands, and the Walpole Islands. All these archipelagos, which form groups of ten to eighty islands, some desert, others cultivating copra, are not as rich as the central island, which, in particular, possesses antimony, mercury, and nickel mines, the latter being of the finest quality and free of arsenic. The island is administered by a Governor, assisted by a Privy Council. New Caledonia was annexed by France in 1853.

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The New Hebrides are a condominium which takes its status from a Franco-British agreement of February, 1906, ratified the following October. The population is about 40,000 natives, and, in addition, 949 white colonials under French control and 226 under British. Great Britain and France are represented by High Commissioners, who delegate their powers to Resident Commissioners. Export trade is carried on with New Caledonia and France on the one hand, and Australia and England on the other. The commodities produced are maize, coffee, cotton, cocoa, vanilla, and in some places sulphur mines are numerous.

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In addition to these island groups in the Pacific, France possesses what is known as the French Oceanic Settlements. These are clusters of many little islands scattered in the Pacific, which together form a colony administered by a Governor. The most important of these islands is Tahiti, with its capital at Papeete. Tahiti is one of the Society Islands. The other important island

is Morea. Other groups are the Marquise Islands (the chief of these being Nika Hiva and Hiva Oa), the Paumotu Islands, the Leeward Islands, the archipelago of Gambia, and the Austral Isles. Their chief products are pearls and mother-of-pearl, phosphates, and, of course, oranges, bananas, sugar-cane, and vanilla.

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This, then, is a rapid survey of the French possessions in the Pacific. We will leave on one side in this article the interests that France had in China—a problem which is even more complex than that of the Pacific, but which must not be overlooked, even from the point of view of the questions in the Pacific. We will not touch, either, on the possessions which lie in the direction of the Indian Ocean—that is to say, Madagascar, Réunion, Djibouti, and the Indian Settlements. Having given this brief description, let us now examine the situation of the Pacific possessions in the present crisis in international policy.

The first of the colonies which declared itself for General de Gaulle was the New Hebrides. This announcement was made on August 10. M. Henri Sautot, French Resident Commissioner, who jointly with the British High Commissioner administers the New Hebrides, sent a cable to General de Gaulle, in which he said :

“The French population of the New Hebrides, which for some forty years has worked in this country under the condominium side by side with our English friends, whom it has thus learnt to appreciate and to love, begs you to accept the solemn declaration as a binding undertaking to fight with you until the final victory.”

Although the New Hebrides is, as the Press pointed out at the time, a relatively small French possession, its decision was recognized at once as being of the greatest importance, for it set an outstanding example to other parts of the French Empire.

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As early as June 26th the population of the island of Tahiti had sent a telegram to President Lebrun insisting on its determination to continue the struggle, and it was by means of a plebiscite that the final decision to stand firm was made. The poll taken in the islands of Tahiti, Morea, and Paumotu resulted in 5,564 votes being recorded for General de Gaulle as against 18 for the Vichy Government. The Governor was deposed and the administration of the island placed in the hands of a provisional committee composed of three members of the Privy Council. They asked General de Gaulle to nominate a new Governor. General de Gaulle confirmed the Provisional Government and appointed a

Governor in agreement with the wishes of the inhabitants and of the Pacific Commissioner. This nomination was made known on September 4, 1940. Mr. Fraser, Prime Minister of New Zealand, sent a telegram to Tahiti on behalf of the Government, congratulating the French South Sea Islands on their conduct and on this new proof of the solidarity of Free Frenchmen with the peoples of the British Commonwealth.

During the interval which elapsed between these two events Equatorial Africa began to reveal itself in favour of General de Gaulle through the Government of the Chad. On August 27 the British Prime Minister made a public declaration by means of a letter to the Press, in the following terms :

"MY DEAR GENERAL DE GAULLE,

"In pursuance of the various statements made on behalf of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom on the subject of economic assistance to French Colonial territories, and upon the occasion of the declaration of the Chad Territory to adhere to the cause of the Allies, I wish to assure you on behalf of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom :

"1. That until such time as an independent and constitutional authority has been re-established on free French soil we shall do everything in our power to maintain the economic stability of all French oversea territories, provided they stand by the Alliance.

"2. That so long as our pathway to victory is not impeded, we are ready to foster trade and help the administration of those parts of the great French Empire which are now cut off from captive France.

"These assurances apply with even greater force to those territories which rally to you as leader of all Free Frenchmen in support of the Allied Cause. Therefore, subject to the needs of our own war effort, we are prepared to extend economic assistance on a scale similar to that which we should apply in comparable circumstances to the colonies of the British Empire. Plans are now being worked out for making such assistance rapidly effective.

"Yours sincerely,

"(Signed) WINSTON CHURCHILL."

This declaration, revealing the economic solidarity of Great Britain and the Free French Forces, definitely influenced many parts of the Empire. Following hard on the administrative and political agreements of August 7, it is an important element in the relations of the Free Forces with His Majesty's Government in the imperial sphere.

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The situation in New Caledonia is still indefinite as I write.* Numerous and successive demonstrations took place in favour of resistance immediately after the armistice, especially on the anniversary of July 14. A wreath was placed on the war memorial by ex-Service men and a large section of the population. The English and French flags were carried at the head of the pro-

* New Caledonia has since joined General de Gaulle.

cession, and in front of the memorial the young people of Caledonia, in an address, thanked the ex-Service men of the war of 1914-1918, "as well as the French population," for having joined with them on this day of mourning, July 14, 1940. "We are taking advantage of this occasion," continued the address, "to ask you to join us in making an orderly demonstration outside the British Consulate. We wish in this way to show Great Britain our desire to continue the struggle at her side to the fullest measure of our ability." The address closed with an appeal to General de Gaulle, Supreme Chief of the Free French Armies.

These demonstrations were reported in the local Press, and the address was given to Radio Pacifique to be broadcast. The General Council met and passed a resolution to send a message to General de Gaulle. Next it was learnt on September 3 from journalists arriving in Auckland, New Zealand, on the American Clipper that the General Council of the island had obliged the Governor to resign. Then, as the Vichy Government had appointed the military commander Governor, the whole Council resigned. At the same time, said the Press, the Councillors demanded a General Election, and it will doubtless be by means of a sort of plebiscite that we shall have news of the opinion of the local population. As early as the month of July economic contacts had been established with Australia in order to carry on the trade in chrome and nickel.

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The situation in Indo-China is much more complicated and, it must be admitted, somewhat mysterious.* At the time of the announcement of the armistice General Catroux, Governor-General of Indo-China, gave the impression that he wished to continue resistance. It must not be forgotten, however, that the Vichy Foreign Minister, M. Baudouin, is Director-General of the Bank of Indo-China. It is therefore probable that the Vichy Government is anxious to keep a hand on the colony. But Japanese ambitions were not long in making an appearance. A complicated game is thus being played between the Germans, the French of Vichy, and the Japanese. The Government of Vichy withdrew this great soldier of Indo-China (he has now joined General de Gaulle) and appointed Vice-Admiral Decoux in his place. Vice-Admiral Decoux at once found himself faced with important Japanese demands; he allowed, according to the latest indications, a Japanese mission to inspect the Chinese frontier and even, it is said, the passage of troops. He would seem to have refused naval and air bases to the Japanese.

* Since then General Labrousse has joined General de Gaulle, and Japanese have entered Tonkin. Resistance of French troops seems strong.

It has been easy through the Press to see the pernicious influence of the Vichy Government, probably under German pressure. Things seem to have grown worse up to the latest news, when it was said that an engagement took place on the Chinese frontier. According to an article in *The Times* of August 15, 1940, which itself quoted information from a paper of the Dutch East Indies—*Javabode*—opinion in Indo-China is widely divided as regards the attitude to resistance. Saigon would appear to be in favour of continuing the struggle, but the same does not seem to hold good in certain Government circles. It is probable that this situation will become more tense as a result of the Japanese attitude and as the Siamese themselves have, according to an agency telegram, massed troops along part of the French frontier. There is here a situation of extreme gravity, on which it is impossible to make a more definite statement, in the almost complete absence of news that prevails today.

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Besides the moral effect produced by the action of the Pacific colonies in rallying to the cause of resistance, the position of France in the Pacific today gives rise to the following problems (I will dwell on the political side of the question only):

(a) As regards Australia and New Zealand, we have mentioned the contacts now existing between these Dominions and New Caledonia or the New Hebrides. Thus it is that the strength of the fighting forces in the South Pacific has increased.

(b) The United States of America, who have recently obtained advanced bases on the Atlantic seaboard, may endeavour to protect themselves on the Pacific coast in like manner.

(c) Finally, Indo-China gives rise to a great number of problems that we can but enumerate: the problem of the English attitude to Japan, the importance of which has been indicated in a note from the British Government to the Tokyo Government; the problem of the attitude of the United States to Japan, similarly indicated in a note on the *status quo* in the Pacific; the problem of Germano-Japanese relations;* the problem of the relations of the Vichy Government with the Government of Indo-China; the problem of the Indo-Chinese attitude to China; the Russian problem; the problem of the Siamese entry into international politics, which had been prepared over a long period and has assumed special significance from its racial aspect and the adoption of the term "Tai" to define it.

I will limit myself to this series of questions.

It is, nevertheless, clear that the position of France in the Pacific is of primary importance for the solution of the great question of

* Since, Japan has signed a pact with the Axis.

the hour, which is the problem of the war. On the resistance or passivity of Indo-China depends the attitude of great States which have not already taken sides in the conflict, perhaps even their entry into the war. The rallying in the early days of various little islands in the Pacific to the Free Forces aroused some smiles on account of their small size. But the movement which they had the honour and courage to begin, if followed up to the end in the French Empire, can entirely change the course and outcome of the final victory.

WAR THE STABILIZER OF THE DUTCH EMPIRE

BY DR. M. VAN BLANKENSTEIN

No one yet knows what consequences this war will have for Eastern Asia generally and for the Netherlands East Indies in particular. Dangers are threatening this territory, not from inside, however. Up till now the war has acted as a powerful stabilizer. Judging from present-day appearances, it seems that a Dutch imperialism is taking shape among the natives of Indonesia. This is partly due to the unusual construction of the kingdom of the Netherlands—which has at the moment 79,000,000 inhabitants—with a central Government formed by a small Power.

About twelve years ago, when the nationalistic and seemingly anti-Dutch political movements of various types reached their zenith, Javanese non-co-operators, after long and lively discussions, told me: "We have nothing against a Netherlands empire. We admit that we need Western education and Western advice. Holland is certainly very useful for this purpose, because it is a small Power, without the aspirations which Great Powers entertain, and she can fulfil our requirements. But we would like to see this empire differently grouped, more in accordance with the actual size and significance of the composing parts. We want to have our say in the rights of the kingdom according to the importance of our peoples. Then we will welcome the Netherlands as a source of intellectual and technical power, as an agency and *pied-à-terre* for the kingdom in Europe, as a place in Europe where we possess citizens' rights when we visit the Western Hemisphere." The Javanese intellectuals who spoke thus—doctors, lawyers—themselves knew that they formulated impossible things. But they indicated by exaggerating the direction for the development they desired. They were not inwardly averse to the relationship with the Netherlands. It often amused me, when Belgium was mentioned, how often they proclaimed their militant pro-Flemish opinions, the language of the Flemings, Dutch, being their second mother-tongue, the *lingua franca*, not of the people, but of the intellectuals in the Netherlands East Indies. In many strongly nationalistic households where the parents are of different origin—Javanese and Malayan, for instance—Dutch was and is spoken; and likewise in families living in towns outside the country where their own language is spoken.

The Japanese danger had already brought about an extensive

consolidation in the Dutch East Indies. At first many an Indonesian nationalist did not repulse the Japanese overtures. Some of them even accepted invitations from the Japanese Government to make so-called "educational" tours to Japan, and others, encouraged by Tokyo, sent their sons to Japanese instead of to the Dutch universities. This did not last long, however. The Japanese action against China put an end to this. The whole population of the East Indian archipelago, as far as it followed world events, began to feel fear of Japan. The Indonesians never respected the Japanese. The type of Japanese whose acquaintance he had made was responsible for this.

Later, however, when large Japanese trading concerns and shipping firms established important establishments in the large trading towns, and one saw quite a different aspect of the Japanese, this attitude gradually disappeared. But he was certainly never considered desirable as a ruler. In that respect they infinitely preferred the Dutch. The population attached itself more consciously than before to the Dutch sovereignty. Chinese influence assisted in this. There is a centuries-old, mostly rich or well-to-do Chinese population in the Dutch East Indies. Besides this, younger generations have settled there, and they also possess much wealth and economic power. The Chinese in the Dutch East Indies number, perhaps, 1,000,000 all told.

Their co-operation with the Dutch has always been very good. There was a time, however, when these relations were not so smooth. This was when the native nationalistic movement reared its head at the beginning of this century. Many Chinese and Eurasians of Dutch nationality at that time thought it to their advantage to support this movement. Should this movement to make the Dutch East Indies independent succeed, then, so they expected, the Javanese and the Malaysians would not be in a position to look after their own affairs, and a golden opportunity would arise for the Western-educated Eurasians and for the economically gifted Chinese, who, as sons of the land, chose the right side in time. It soon appeared, however, how foolish this idea was. The new national movement did not leave any doubts in the minds of its followers that it did not intend to be content with simply a change of masters. The Chinese realized that their salvation lay in the hands of the balancing Dutch rule, and not with these Indonesian nationalists.

The revolutionary trend in the Chinese world itself also assisted in this realization. The old, rich, and conservative Chinese were shocked at the new paths which the younger generation was striking. They felt themselves secure under the European rule, the protector of the basic conception of the rights in the East Indies. The younger generation, however, received

much moral authority through Chinese nationalism. This power, together with revolutionary terrorism, greatly weakened the position of the conservative Chinese in their own community. Their authority became uncertain, and they found themselves in a false position.

In the days of the rise of the Communist movement among the Indonesians, which led to the 1926-1927 riots in Java and the Malayan countries, the Communistic agitation—radiated from Canton—formed a danger which made an extensive organization of political supervision necessary. This had already improved under the influence of the events in Manchuria, and, further, through the stabilization of the situation in China itself under Chang Kai-Shek. In the long run Young China in the Dutch East Indies would range itself on the side of those native nationalists who see in the Dutch rule a safeguard against the Japanese threat. The relations between the Young Chinese and the Dutch authorities have steadily improved.

At this stage the totalitarian danger loomed up. Both the Indonesian nationalists and the Young Chinese took sides with firm determination. Both groups now see their ideal in democracy. The Indonesian nationalists have continually demanded democratic rights. I will not express an opinion as to the extent to which this will succeed in such an excessively divergent world as the Netherlands East Indies.

They were even prepared to admit their difficulties to a certain extent. "If we never express definite requirements, however, we will never achieve anything," was always their defence. They held the Dutch responsible for the authoritative character of the administrative organizations throughout the archipelago, and also for the feudal institutions and customs which still existed in most of their own world. The anti-democratic movements in Europe were for them aggressive movements; they saw this all the more clearly, as in their own world the most reactionary European elements seemed the most accessible for this Middle European political disease. Young Indonesia—or shall we call it "New"?—believes in democracy.

For the Chinese, Germany and Italy were the natural friends of the Japanese, and, as their behaviour in Europe was equivalent to that of the Japanese in Eastern Asia, their deepest sympathy lay with the threatened peoples.

Then came war and the German invasion of the Netherlands. The Netherlands East Indies immediately felt themselves threatened. This also quickly cured those European elements who were infected by Nazism. A unity came about in the Netherlands East Indies the like of which had never previously existed. The population seemed to be electrified. Europeans and

Indonesians vied with each other in showing their sympathy for the Motherland. Demonstrations, collections, registration for voluntary war service, embraced the whole population. All opposition seemed to have melted away. Remarkably large sums of money were also collected by the natives. It was "the man in the street" who demanded the decision to offer fifty-eight planes to the R.A.F. He had to reckon with danger to himself. But the Netherlands, the centre of the kingdom, must first be defended.

A real revolution took place in the Dutch East Indies. Years ago the Indonesian nationalists demanded conscription "for the purpose of being able to assist in the defence of their land," as they said. Conscription, however, remained limited to the Dutch. One did not want to put weapons at the disposal of those Indonesians who asked for them. The professional army, though, consisted, for a large part, of native troops. Native officers were not very numerous, but exist they did. After the outbreak of war a Commission was formed for the purpose of examining the problem of conscription for Indonesians and other natives of the archipelago who are native subjects. This Commission is working very efficiently, and all opposition has disappeared. Natives and Chinese have offered their services as "Home Guards," and they have already commenced their training.

The political development of the Indies in the direction of a much more independent position in the kingdom is also a subject for serious discussion. The Dutch community suddenly seems much more compliant. However, there is not much prospect that a proposal to form a "supreme council," which would look after all the affairs of the kingdom, will be adopted.

The political events in themselves are not so impressive as the spontaneous demonstrations of solidarity from Indonesian circles.

Dr. Tjipto, one of the first nationalists in Java, who enjoyed much Dutch sympathy till he committed himself because he was deeply involved in the rising of 1926, and who ever since has been living in *custodia honesta* on the Isle of Banda, where he received the allowance of a higher official for his existence, and who preserved a sullen disposition for all those thirteen years, sent a cable to the Governor-General shortly after Holland was overrun, in which he declared his allegiance to the Dutch Government.

The sixtieth birthday of Her Majesty Queen Wilhelmina on August 31 was marked in a special degree by many spontaneous demonstrations of allegiance all over the archipelago. In Batavia a procession took place which took nearly three hours to pass. Very impressive indeed were the cables of congratulations which were sent to the London weekly of the Dutchmen still free, *Free Netherlands*.

All the cables that were received expressed in striking terms the strong feelings of allegiance to Queen and Empire.

And these cables came not only from Javanese Princes and regents, but also from the political leaders of the Javanese and Malayan communities; from the representatives of the Chinese, conservatives and radicals alike; and, last but not least, from the leader of the Arabic world in the Dutch East Indies.

Most remarkable, no doubt, was the message from a well-known Malayan nationalist, Hadji Agoes Salim, the militant leader of the Pan-Islamist organization "Sarikat Islam." He was not regarded as a friend of Dutch rule, not even when he was a Civil Servant or a member of the committee of the "Volksraad." When he resigned this post, he showed a strong spirit of non-co-operation. From him one did not expect to receive such a message, even less than from the warm-hearted but embittered Dr. Tjipto.

However, he sent the following cable: "Those who say that Her Majesty Queen Wilhelmina is now in exile only see the Netherlands as a small country by the North Sea, which is now occupied by the enemy. Queen Wilhelmina had to leave the Netherlands in order to safeguard her empire of more than 70,000,000 inhabitants." He thus attacked the so-called "narrow Netherlanders," and he showed himself a supporter of the unity of the kingdom under Queen Wilhelmina.

The Indonesians were already well on the way to realizing the significance which the unity of the Netherlands Empire, at any rate for the time being, held for them. Their struggle was especially directed to obtaining more rights in that kingdom. They did not wish to be ruled so absolutely from the Netherlands, and they strove to achieve a different construction of their own universe. The "Volksraad" (People's Council) at Batavia was slowly developing from an advisory body with Parliamentary methods to a real Parliament. The tempo of all these things will probably be accelerated now, as the Dutch, both in Holland and in the East Indies, have also learned their lesson from these events. Increased self-confidence will give them greater energy to progress. The unity of the kingdom, which has been tested in adversity and not found wanting in solidarity, will certainly simplify this development.

At Soerabaya a training institute has been established for naval officers from the Dutch East Indies. The various institutes offering university education have been extended according to existing plans, but now still further progress will be made in this direction. The preparation for industrializing over-populated Java has been accelerated. All these things are not new, but today they hold a new significance.

A somewhat childish antipathy to the name "Indonesia" existed among the Dutch community in the Netherlands Indies. About sixty years ago this name was used for the whole archipelago by the famous Dutch Orientalist, Professor H. Kern.

This was a foolish opposition, because it gave a perfectly innocent name the meaning of a war-cry. This opposition has now been abandoned.

Both sides have learnt much, and the Netherlands Empire has never been such a living force as it is now. In all her suffering Queen Wilhelmina can record this with pride, as a noble result achieved during her forty-two years' reign.

ANGLO-EGYPTIAN FRIENDSHIP

A BROADCAST ADDRESS BY THE EGYPTIAN AMBASSADOR*

I HAVE been invited today to say a few words on the occasion of the anniversary of the signing of the treaty of alliance between Egypt and Great Britain, which took place on this day in the year 1936. This invitation I have gladly accepted; for the treaty is an instrument for peace and understanding, and a means to co-operation between two peoples, to whom events during long years of the past had occasioned a certain difference of viewpoints. In the end, however, the leaders of opinion in both countries mutually resolved to work for the realization of the interests common to them both and for co-operation in preserving and extending these interests, as well as for the attainment of the high ideals which animate the hearts of both peoples.

This is not the place to go over again the long political struggle which preceded this treaty, a struggle over which a veil has been drawn by the spirit of co-operation and friendship realized by the treaty. The two parties have done well in forgetting those events and in pushing forward for the strengthening of their alliance and the augmenting of their bonds of friendship and co-operation. Since these events are now past history, I will content myself with referring to them in but a few words, so that my hearers may be able to appreciate the importance of this treaty and the value of the common benefits it has conferred on both countries.

In the year 1882 an internal revolt broke out in Egypt which led to British intervention. There followed a period in which certain differences grew up between the statesmen of both peoples. Then certain Egyptians came forward and reminded the British of their promises to withdraw from the country and to replace rancour and disagreement by concord and understanding. It is noteworthy that these men did not make their case by stirring up enmity against the British; their efforts were wholly directed towards convincing the British as to the necessity of reaching an understanding with the Egyptians and of substituting for hostility and discord the bonds of friendship and accord. However their methods may have differed in accordance with circumstances and personalities, they were all marked by a single characteristic, which always emerged throughout the long evolution of this historical movement—namely, an appreciation of the virtues of both peoples and a sense of mutual respect. The first in the field

* August 26, 1940.

in this movement were Mustafa Kamil and Mohammed Farid. Then came the last Great War. Egypt at that time was in a curious position; while legally subject to the influence of the Sublime Porte, she was actually occupied by British troops. The Turks joined the enemies of Great Britain, who then announced the separation of Egypt from Turkey and proclaimed a protectorate over Egypt as a temporary measure necessitated by the exigencies of war, to disappear when the war ended. During the last war Egypt did not fail to direct her policy, as she has ever been known to do, with a due appreciation of her duties and interests.

The war was hardly over when other Egyptians, among them Saad Zaghlul, Ali Sharawi, and Abdul Aziz Fahmi, came forward to demand of Great Britain that the protectorate should be ended and that other bonds should be forged, based on free and friendly co-operation between the two countries, a co-operation which would preserve their mutual interests. They constantly reminded Great Britain of her promise that the protectorate was merely a temporary necessity. This was the beginning of a new phase of the Egyptian political movement, which now took the form of persistent demands for the realization of the country's claims. Justice compels us to recall in this connection those men whose names, whatever their differences of party loyalty, will always be associated with the recent history of the Egyptian movement.

Thereafter the two parties continued in a state of constant political struggle; but underneath it all there still remained that foundation of mutual respect and acknowledgment of community of interests between the two countries and of the necessity for co-operation and mutual succour. Finally, in the year 1936 the British Government intimated to his late Majesty King Fouad I. their willingness to enter into conversations with the Egyptian Government with a view to reaching an agreement upon a treaty between Egypt and Great Britain. This news was greeted with universal satisfaction, described at that time by the Prime Minister of Egypt, Ali Maher Pasha, in an address to Sir Miles Lampson, in the following words: "I find it my duty and at the same time my pleasure to express the satisfaction with which this excellent decision on the part of the British Government has been greeted, both by our beloved King and by his Government and people."

There followed the composition of the National Front, and on February 13, 1936, a decree was promulgated appointing a committee charged with the task of conducting the negotiations and defining its task. The negotiations themselves proceeded in a happy atmosphere of good understanding, and finally resulted in the present treaty, which laid the foundations for a new age of political connections between the two countries and opened before

the leaders of the two nations a wide vista of work for the augmenting of the bonds of friendship and co-operation. It would not be possible to express this fact more eloquently than in the words of the preamble to the treaty, which speaks in the names of Their Majesties the Kings of Egypt and Great Britain. In this passage Their Majesties declare that—

“Being anxious to consolidate the friendship and the relations of good understanding between them and to co-operate in the execution of their international obligations in preserving the peace of the world;

“And considering that these objects can best be achieved by the conclusion of a treaty of friendship and alliance, which in their common interest will provide for effective co-operation in preserving peace and ensuring the defence of their respective territories, and shall govern their mutual relations in the future. . . .”

This is not the place to discuss the details of this treaty. Suffice it to say that it is an alliance on the part of the two contracting parties, the intention of which is to strengthen the friendship and friendly understanding and to guarantee the good relationships existing between the two countries. In this way it is an excellent model of the kind of understanding between nations which can be achieved when based on a true perception of mutual interests and ideals.

In this connection it is interesting to refer to the condition of the treaty so far as it affects the assistance each party is required to afford the other in the event of war. I may say that experience has proved how soundly the treaty was constructed and how constant is the resolve of both contracting parties to fulfil it sincerely.

Both parties are now co-operating loyally in defence of their common interest.

(Translated from the Arabic text by Dr. A. J. Arberry.)

THE FAITHS OF ASIA *v.* THE NAZI CREED*

BY THE MARQUESS OF ZETLAND

FOUR years ago at a reception at Lancaster House it was my privilege to welcome on behalf of the Government those who were attending the first gathering of the World Congress of Faiths. We meet today in very different and far graver circumstances, for we find ourselves in the midst of a crisis in the affairs of men greater, surely, than any recorded in the pages of history. Let me touch briefly on the events leading up to it.

The first forty years of the present century have witnessed two outstanding developments—a tremendous leap forward in scientific discovery particularly in the domain of physics, and a catastrophic increase in the extent and the destructiveness of war. On the material plane the century has, indeed, been productive of spectacular progress. The perfecting of the internal combustion engine alone has, within the lifetime of a single generation, brought about a revolutionary change even in the daily life of the individual. It has increased immeasurably his freedom and his speed of movement. Simultaneously the improvement in the transmission and reception of sound by wireless apparatus has multiplied manifold his awareness of events in all parts of the world, while the cinematograph provides him with ocular demonstration of events of which he thus hears. These and other inventions have placed in the hands of highly organized communities an immense power both for good and for evil. On the assumption that man's moral and spiritual growth had kept pace with his advance on the material plane, one would have supposed that these achievements of science would have furthered the cause of that fellowship which is the particular goal which the World Congress of Faiths has set before itself; yet far from this being the case, there can never, surely, have been a time when racial and even religious animosities were so fierce or so widespread, and we are inevitably driven to the conclusion, therefore, that any such assumption must be ill-founded. In Europe and in Asia alike the teaching of the great Masters—Jesus Christ and Gautama Buddha—that men should love one another is forgotten or cast aside, and in its place we have the teaching of crazy ethical iconoclasts such as Nietzsche giving rise to an arrogance of race which is the very antithesis of the ideal of fellowship which, as I have said, is the

* Notes of an address from the Chair at the opening session of the World Congress of Faiths in London, July 5, 1940.

keystone of the arch which the World Congress of Faiths is seeking to build.

Let us examine briefly the doctrine of the Totalitarian State as exemplified by Germany. Under it the altruism of Christianity is ousted by a crude and sinister egotism; a will to power is proclaimed as the guiding principle of human conduct; all freedom not of action only but of thought also is denied to the individual, while God as the object of worship is supplanted by the State. This interpretation of the purpose of life upon this planet has been stridently proclaimed by a whole galaxy of German writers in many walks of life, of whom not the least was Nietzsche with his central conception of the superman. The names of many others will no doubt occur to you—Clausewitz, Niebuhr and Ranke, Mommsen and Treitschke, Julius Von Hartmann and Bernhardt are but examples. The core of the belief which these men have promulgated is the purely pagan doctrine that might is right. They have accepted as the law of human life the law of nature which runs in the jungle, thus supporting their teaching by the argument which a quarter of a century ago was aptly characterized by the late Lord Cromer, with remarkable prevision of things to come, as “misapplied Darwinism.” In the animal world, as he proceeded to point out, beasts that prey upon one another in order to live are not restrained from doing so by any moral or intellectual scruple, and it is only if you ignore the fundamental difference between the animal kingdom and man—namely, the absence in the one case and the presence in the other case of intelligence and a highly developed moral sense—that it is possible to accept the validity of the doctrine that might is right.

It was upon this fundamental fallacy that the architects of the modern Totalitarian State proceeded to build; it was with the aid of the same fallacy that they sought to undermine the moral standard which, whether it be held to have originated in the groves of the ancient kingdom of Magadha where Gautama Buddha taught, or in the porch of the Stoics, or in the stable of Bethlehem, has for more than two thousand years been generally accepted alike by those who believe and those who discard its divine origin, as the basis of all civilized society. It is the supreme tragedy of the twentieth century that within the confines of Germany itself at any rate their efforts have met with so disastrous a measure of success. It was a necessary assumption of the doctrine as held by the Germans, imbued as they are with an almost unbelievable degree of racial arrogance, based on Nietzsche's conception of the superman and fostered by the neurotic egotism of Hitler and his associates, not only that Germans cannot prosper without the extinction of other peoples but also that the survival of the Teuton is a necessity dictated in the general interests of

civilization itself. The firstfruits of this fantastic belief are to be seen in the sadistic persecution of the Jews which shocked the civilized world some eighteen months ago, and in the subjection of the peoples of all the lands overrun by the German military machine—Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium and now France—to the oppression of that most hateful of all tyrannies, the rule of the Gestapo.

Very well, then, the trend in the direction of brutality of which Sir Francis Younghusband has spoken in his message printed on the summons to this gathering is plain enough. How is it to be countered and man's onward march set towards humanity once more? The answer is suggested by the subject for discussion at this Congress. What we seek and what we must find, if the menace which broods like some poisonous miasma over the world is to be dispelled, is a common spiritual basis for international order. And if we are to be successful in our search we must concentrate upon, and bring to the surface, the fundamental unity which lies at the core of all religion. Intolerance has unhappily proved too often to be a characteristic of specific creeds; religious fanaticism the cause of war. It is not without significance that men who, in the course of their official careers have been brought into contact with rival Faiths, have tended to lay stress upon the moral code associated with a particular creed rather than upon the dogma attaching to it. The late Lord Cromer provided us with an example. Profoundly as he disagreed with the whole philosophy of Nietzsche, there was one belief which he undoubtedly shared with him—namely, that it was not the dogma which at first won acceptance for the morality of Christianity but the morality which won acceptance for the dogma. The mind of another Englishman who was brought into contact with the adherents of divers Faiths, the late Lord Curzon, moved on similar lines. His ponderings led him to the conclusion that the truth enshrined in the religions of mankind was relative and not absolute, that religion must necessarily take a form suited to the temperament and stage of development of the worshipper. For himself the truth which lay at the root of all religions presented itself as the existence of an all-pervading spirit which, for reasons instinct with divine purpose, implanted in man as distinct from the animal creation the sense of right and wrong. To this conception all creeds, dogmas and formulas were in his view subordinate; in its light sacraments and ceremonies became mere forms, the Holy Scriptures a highly idealized branch of human literature.* And, finally, let me remind you of the conclusion reached by an Indian thinker of deeply religious instincts, Keshub

* This statement of belief was set forth in a letter to Sir Francis Younghusband, dated January 23, 1914.

Chandra Sen, not only that there was truth in all religions but that all religions were true.

It is this spirit of religious toleration and unity upon the part of the adherents of all creeds of which there is so vital a need today. For the struggle is not so much a conflict between one people and another as between civilization on the one side and barbarism on the other; between freedom and servitude; between the preservation of spiritual and moral values and a catastrophic disintegration of the whole moral order of the world. In such a struggle there is no room for those religious divisions which hamper and impose limitations upon the spiritual and moral force of mankind. It is one of the tragedies of the time that in such countries as Ireland, Palestine and India, to take outstanding examples, the sanction of religion is still claimed for political and economic animosities which militate against that spirit of fellowship amongst all men of good-will which is so essential a requisite in the crisis through which the world is now passing. There can be no doubt on which side in this conflict stand Protestant and Catholic, Arab and Jew, Muslim and Hindu. What does not yet seem to be fully realized is that that for which every religion stands is being ruthlessly assailed and that sectarian quarrels seriously weaken the power of defence which it is the supreme interest of all to promote.

I have dwelt upon the nature and the severity of the struggle. Let me conclude by reminding you that victory is not an end in itself. I have little doubt, indeed, that in the course of the proceedings at this Conference it will be made abundantly clear that the task with which humanity is faced will not have been completed with the termination of the conflict, and that if any tolerable new world order is to emerge from it, it must rest not on the shifting sands of mere material loss and gain but on the rock provided by the common spiritual heritage of mankind.

THE SPIRITUAL BASIS OF INTERNATIONAL ORDER*

I

ADDRESS BY HIS EXCELLENCY QUO TAI-CHI
(Chinese Ambassador in London)

I FELT the reluctance of conscious inability along with the eagerness of complete endorsement when I received the invitation to speak briefly at this inaugural meeting of the World Congress of Faiths. But I recalled the dictum of Montaigne, "In unimpeded talk with sincere persons of what quality soever the flower, the fruit, of mind is in life-giving contact with its root." And I took further heart—as who would not!—from the subject set for today's discussion, "The Common Spiritual Basis for International Order." I feel humble enough in the contemplation of such a subject, as I know we all do by the very nature of things. I feel humble enough appearing now with so much weightier expounders of spiritual bases in our experience. I have never felt more spiritually sure and yet less spiritually assertive in all my life. But I can say two things and then sit down.

I am bound to confess that multiplicity of faiths has never confounded me so much as the claim laid upon belief by the precision of each single dogma and the exclusiveness of each single creed. Yet surely in these days we feel the sweep of universals, the utmost pulsing of being, that reaches deeper and higher than ethics and morals and gives us the sense of our affinity with the utmost surge of happening.

"We can hear in their changes a sound as the conscience of consonant spheres,

We can see through the years flowing round us the law lying under the years."

Stretched upon the rack of agonizing material events as we all are, and as my country and my countrymen have been for longer than any other and any others, the material agonies do not match the agonies of the spirit that even very ordinary men have been brought to feel. We are anguished to discover what it is in each of us, in our individuality, in our race, in all other individualities, in all other races, in our period and in the recurrent motives of history, that has brought our civilization to this pass. We are caught, we feel ourselves trapped; but I believe that we are also caught up, that mankind is being brought to a tremendous reassertion of a hymn of man, that the democratic nineteenth century is

* These are addresses delivered at the World Congress of Faiths in London, July, 1940.

not on the way to the dust-heap but is on the way to apotheosis, that common man is nearer to realization of his idealistic possibilities than ever before, that revulsion from this disaster, this betrayal, is sure and near. That is my first act of faith in a common basis for international order. It is in this deep-set conviction against all malignant and militant obscurantism and all limitations in defining democracy, political, social and spiritual, that one can say:

“He hath sight of the secret of seasons, the roots of the years and the fruits;
His soul is at one with the reason of things that is sap to the roots.”

For my second act of faith I would plead that this sense of the high calling of mankind and its identification with all the purposes of time and the timeless universe that constitutes the religion of democracy shall be set on its irresistible course with no omission of any man anywhere. To leave out any is to lack all. So I would call on the world—if so great a phrase be not impudent—to remember the declaration of Confucius that “Within the Four Seas”—which for him was the equivalent of what in our time we call the Seven Seas—“all men are brothers.” I would offer you his creed of the great commonwealth from *Li Chi*, Book IV:

“When the Great Principle prevails the world is constituted as a great commonwealth. Men of talent and virtue are chosen and appointed to office. Good faith is observed and peace cultivated. Thus men do not love only their parents, nor treat as sons only their own children. Provision is made for the aged till death; employment is assured to the able-bodied and education to the young. Kindness and compassion are shown to widows, orphans, the childless and the disabled, so that all are well provided for. Each man has his task and each woman her place. Unwilling to see wealth and resources abandoned and undeveloped, they do not insist on keeping them merely for self-gratification. Disliking idleness, they labour, but not necessarily with a view to their personal advantage. In this way selfish schemings are repressed. Robbers, filchers and rebellious traitors do not exist. Hence the outer doors remain open and are never shut. This is the great commonwealth.”

That is the nearest to dogma and creed that I can go in any personal declaration of faith, but I believe it partakes of all the outermost religious appeals and shares the mighty incessant pulses not only of this world and this life, not only of mankind, but of that centre of being that mankind has never yet been able to—and perhaps never will be able to—probe completely.

By the sacrificial love of common humanity and humanity in common embodied in Jesus, the broad sense of unity in all Being

taught us by Buddha, the core of hard ethical and humanistic insight we have from Confucius, the dark fire of Moses, and the intensity of militant determination that Mahomet gave to religion and morals, we can assure ourselves a parliament of this whole world and a kinship with all worlds and all time in a moral universe.

II

ADDRESS BY A. B. PANDYA

(Abridged)

I ACCEPTED with great hesitation the invitation of your Chairman to speak at the Annual Meeting of this Congress. I hoped, however, that in dealing with this subject I should find ample inspiration, guidance and material in the record of the extraordinary work done in this direction by H.H. the late Maharaja of Baroda. I have been more than repaid in this hope.

Among the contributors to the strength and prestige of this movement, I have no doubt that you regard the late Maharaja as the most shining example. Not only did he furnish the philosophical background for such a movement, but put in practice what he preached, necessarily limited to the domain over which he ruled with so much wisdom and vision. He was "Rajarshi," meaning a royal sage.

Before I deal with what has been done in Baroda State towards religious co-operation and understanding I would refer to the great landmark in the history of India, perhaps in the history of the world, when that great Queen, Victoria, issued the famous proclamation of 1858: "Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose any of our convictions on any of our subjects. We declare it to be our royal will and pleasure that none be in anywise favoured, none molested, or disquieted by reason of their religious faith or observances, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law; and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects on pain of our highest displeasure."

Those memorable words ring as true today as eighty years ago. They gave to a large part of the world a new charter of religious freedom and a new outlook on politics and art of government. They proclaimed once again the great truth of human equality and brotherhood and religious toleration. It flashed forth in great brilliance and touched the imagination of all.

I am proud to be able to say here today that what could have

been done elsewhere and has been left undone was done, as far as in him lay, by the late Maharaja with an unerring vision. As in the form of political government and economic development of India, so also in the realm of religious toleration he has been an outstanding pioneer. Take, for example, the case of untouchability. Long before it became a burning question in British India the Maharaja had issued orders not to recognize untouchability in all matters concerning the administration. Coming back, however, to the main question of religious tolerance, I find that in 1903, while addressing the Islamia College at Lahore, His late Highness said: "My interests are not limited to one province or one community. I do not consider them separately. . . . Diversity of religion makes no difference to me when considering the encouragement of useful objects," and went on to describe what was being done in his State. "In my service there are many professing Islam who have distinguished themselves as civil servants. There have been Muslims who have fought battles and shed their blood for the House of Baroda. We have paid them, not in empty words, but by granting them positions of dignity and trust and giving them emoluments. It is not in 1903 that the principle of unity between Hindus and Muslims has been recognized. It has existed for a long time. . . . In religion we may differ, but with the world advancing in its knowledge of scientific truths and progressing materially it is strange that we should depend only on religion for agreement or difference. Because we differ in religion it does not follow that we must oppose one another from birth to death. We are children of the same God and should live as brethren."

At about the same time, and in succeeding years, I well remember the days when distinguished preachers of different faiths and sects were invited by the Maharaja to give discourses, which were open to the public. I believe it was in 1912 that a chair of comparative religion was established in the Baroda College and an Englishman was appointed to it.

We have an old tradition in Baroda of official participation in the Tazia procession. The State provides a Tazia at its own expense, which is naturally the most expensive in the town, and on the last day there is a procession to the immersion lake in which the Maharaja, the military and all high officials participate. It becomes a State function. Another example of religious understanding and tolerance comes from my own experience and has been fixed indelibly in my mind. In Baroda two rows of houses, one inhabited by Muslims and another by strictly vegetarian Hindus, had a common backyard separated by a low hedge, which did not bar the view from one another. Those who know Gujarati Hindus and their sensitiveness to killing and to anything

killed for food, will realize how extraordinary the understanding and good-neighbourly feeling the Muslims showed when not once was the killing done or the meat exposed in the backyard. The example might appear to be a trivial one, but it contrasts with the action of those who always talk so much about their strict rights and less about their obligations to their brothers. It was an answer to the hymn of hate now more in vogue than ever. What must we do to restore this good neighbourliness?

Of recent years and as a direct inspiration from His Highness's efforts, Muslims who celebrate the Prophet's birthday anniversary invite their Hindu friends and have the pleasure of seeing them attend year by year in ever increasing numbers. From the newspaper reports I have received I find that this year's celebrations took place in the large civic hall. The meeting was presided over by a prominent Hindu and this year's attendance was even larger than on previous occasions. I had the privilege of attending two such functions myself. Everyone stood respectfully when the Tilavat of Quran e Shariff was recited. Speakers of the two communities spoke on the essential characteristics of Islam with special emphasis on its basic principle of the brotherhood of man, its democratic ideals and peace. These are the keystones of the edifice of Islam. We searched and found the basis of a common understanding without trying to find fault or to start unseemly controversies about points of superiority of the one over the other. We have so much to learn from all that we cannot afford to waste time on idle discussions. Common platforms, such as I have described, are the only answers to hate-makers who, for reasons which have nothing to do with religious teachings and beliefs, accentuate differences which on closer examination do not exist or which, if they do exist, are only transient and unimportant. This movement is gathering strength. Is it too much to hope that not a single town in India will be without its common platform?

When His Highness declared the Hall of Fame (Kirti Mandir) open in 1936, he said "it should be dedicated as a meeting-place for men of all religions and creeds where we may gather in amity and unity of purpose to seek truth and apply it as best we may to the service of humanity. We are living in an age when religion has become a by-word for discord and strife and exploitation. Instead of bringing peace and harmony, solace and comfort, religion today is responsible for much unhappiness and intolerance. Sacred character and high principle forgotten, religion has been made a weapon in the struggle for political and economic supremacy."

In another place His Highness has stated that toleration in religion and religious beliefs is not enough. It is only a negative attitude. "What we need is religious co-operation, for toleration

without understanding is a blind alley, whereas of co-operation understanding is born." He goes on to say: "It is not the search for a new religion that I urge you to turn your thoughts and activities but to a reassessment of human values and the discovery of an impetus and inspiration to unselfish and moral living, to energy and zeal. If religion is to be an incentive and an inspiration we need redefinition and restatement. Can we not recall and reincarnate the old ideal of the empire of righteousness and truth? Cannot we recapture the spirit of the four Ashrams and the Nishkama Karma (action without personal greed or even desire) and apply it to the Industrial Age? We sorely need the spirit in our search for religious and ethical truth, for truth is truth wherever we find it. Let us seek truth wherever it may be found—in Athens or Jerusalem, in Benares or Mecca, in the literature, language and thought of all centuries."

"All religions are the common wealth and common property of mankind. Freely and frankly we should seek inspiration from all of them."

There are many ways in which active religious co-operation can be carried out. It is not my purpose to enumerate them here nor to suggest a full programme. We may have a common platform for all religions wherever men of different faith are to be found. We may exchange benefits of institutions and funds from one faith to another. For instance, Hindus may award scholarships to Muslim students and *vice versa* to study and understand their respective religions. Such help may with great benefit be extended to secular education. Our communal universities and schools (if they must exist) may evolve a scheme for exchange of teachers and even pupils. We have in the existence of so many Christian colleges in India, where differences of religion are not accentuated, a fine example of Christian charity and help without benefit of counting converted heads. I discovered that active measures for inter-faith co-operation have been adopted in America by private associations, the objects of one of which has been so well expressed in the following words: "To promote justice, amity and understanding and co-operation among Jews, Catholics and Protestants in the United States and to analyse, moderate and finally eliminate intergroup prejudices which disfigure and distort religious business, social and political relations with a view to the establishment of a social order in which the religious ideas of brotherhood and justice shall become the standards of human relationships." With a little alteration this can state the objects we have in view.

There is going on now a struggle between the possibilities of a well-ordered balanced life on the one hand and death, destruction and domination on the other. Its consequences cannot but

be universal and call for an imaginative rally to the men of different faiths and creeds, believing as they all do and are taught to believe in the fundamental unity and brotherhood of men, to join in the defence not of particularist interests but of their ancient and common heritage of individual freedom. Such a call has still to be heard. Humanity has more to gain from a victory of Great Britain than from the victories of fresh sets of barbarians, no matter where they come from.

Therefore, to those of us who believe in the infinite wisdom and justice of God, the following words from the Geeta have a heartening and reassuring meaning: "Whenever there is decay of righteousness, O Bharata, and there is exaltation of unrighteousness, then I myself come forth; for the protection of the good, for the destruction of evil-doers, for the sake of firmly establishing righteousness I am born from age to age."

May your deliberations lead to a better understanding among men of different religions, caste, creed and colour.

III

ADDRESS BY A. YUSUF ALI

(Abridged)

INTERNATIONAL order implies mutual understanding as between groups of men. Such understanding is usually described as political. But can we so sharply distinguish political from moral and spiritual order? And can we think of groups of men without having in our minds individual men? Let us try to follow out these two lines of thought.

There is such a thing as group mentality. But it arises from the mutual association of individuals. Such association is bound to take its form and colour from the individuals composing it. They may, for reasons of convenience, describe some of their activities as social, some as political; some of their standards as moral, some as spiritual. But all these strands are closely intertwined. If you look at them from the point of view of the State, they may appear as political and very prominently visible on the surface. In everyday social intercourse they may seem to be governed by social or moral forces, which are always below the political strands. But it is the spiritual strands that are the foundation of all understanding. Even if people are unconscious of them they are there all the same, influencing thought, feeling, conduct, and life. Co-ordination is necessary in the lives of communities as it is in the lives of individuals. No community is self-sufficient.

Even in personal matters no man is sufficient to himself. He

must consider and consult his family, his social circle, his community, and so on in enlarging circles, until they embrace not only all humanity but a spiritual world even wider than that of humanity. Foolish men may try to ignore God, but the silent voice of God is the basis of all order and law, and the communion with God brings to man's consciousness that great world of spiritual reality.

Islam makes no sharp distinction between the human and the divine. The Koran (xlii. 38) mentions three essentials for "those who believe and put their trust in God." They are: (1) to hearken to God, which means to obey God's law; (2) to maintain regular communion with God by prayer; and (3) to conduct all affairs by mutual consultation among men.

Material order among men is based on material facts, moral standards, and spiritual vision. The most fundamental and most lasting is the spiritual vision. It is indeed true that without spiritual vision "the people perish." But have not different souls different visions? Yes, but integrity and subjective truth are the test, not uniformity. The vision of the human world shows as many planets and stars and constellations as there are in the world which we see above us at night. If we have not the power to see them all, we can use other people's power to help us. But that requires trust and confidence. Quarrelling will not help. Look for a common spiritual basis and there will be order and understanding.

If I may quote from my *Message of Islam* (S. 62), "God's care for His creatures is universal. His revelation is for all—ignorant and lowly, as well as learned and high-placed—now and for ever. None can arrogantly claim exclusive possession of God's gifts. If they do, search their hearts within; they are afraid of judgment and death."

Those who are not so afraid rejoice that there are others seeking the light; and if they catch rays other than their own their faith and hope are strengthened in ever-widening circles.

IV

ADDRESS BY THE CHIEF RABBI

I GLADLY welcome the opportunity to express my deep conviction that, without such a common spiritual basis as "The Common Spiritual Basis for International Order," we shall all be labouring in vain, and will only be creating worse confusion, whether it be in the arena of the national or of the international life.

Now, what shall that common spiritual basis be? Before

answering this question I would remind you of words written hardly a decade ago by the philosopher Oswald Spengler :

“Western civilization is dying and is sure to disappear, not only within a few centuries, but within a few generations. With tearing leaps the rolling stone is approaching the abyss.”

Events soon proved that Spengler had, if anything, underrated the danger. For within two or three years of his writing those words a new ideology triumphed in Germany by defiantly challenging the foundation-pillar on which the national and international order of all Western peoples had hitherto rested. I mean reverence for human personality; which reverence, when translated into political language, means the liberty, justice and respect for the humanity of every human being *qua* human being. The naked brutality of the Nazi religion is best seen in the Reich's treatment of its Jewish population. It is denied human rights. It is placed beyond the pale of law and pity, and its life wherever the swastika flies has become a nightmare. In 1938 the American Ambassador at Berlin wrote : “An entire race is being broken by methodical torture. Never in modern times has a sovereign power so savagely or so deliberately transgressed every tradition of culture and humanity.”

Men of light and leading everywhere immediately sensed the mortal danger that had arisen for all the moral values of civilization; nay, for the very life of all free peoples in this savage assault on freedom, justice and human dignity. Unfortunately the Governments of these free peoples did not openly share the view of those leaders of public opinion. Not one of the Governments had the courage to break off diplomatic relations with the Nazi power; although some of these Governments did at one time break off diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia when it attacked *property*. Like the pro-slavery leaders in Abraham Lincoln's day, they thought that Europe might well remain half-slave and half-free; forgetting Lowell's burning lines, “Mankind is one in spirit,” “In the gain or loss of one race all the rest have equal gain or shame.” This fundamental truth of the sacredness of the human spirit, enunciated eighty years ago and more, is re-stated from another angle in the words of Mr. Walter Lippman quoted in *The Times* this morning : “The muddle of the democracies comes from the gradually accelerated destruction of all convictions about the nature of man and his destiny.”

What of the future?

The World Congress of Faiths, together with all men of goodwill, has undertaken to open our eyes to the fact that, after Armageddon shall have shattered the heathen idols of Nazidom and vindicated the cause of freedom, we shall still be confronted by the tremendous task of spiritual reconstruction. From what

has been said so far, it is clear that the beginning of such reconstruction must be to put a stop to the destruction of all convictions about the nature of man, and this be followed by the restoration of absolute loyalty towards the sacred heritage of man—decency, kindness and justice; or, in a word, *the world-wide revival of reverence for the infinite worth of each and every human soul.*

It is, I repeat, a tremendous task; but the very vastness of the tragedy which has overwhelmed the nations may hasten that spiritual reconstruction. Old Jewish books bring a wondrous legend of a second deluge—a Deluge of Fire. In anticipation of it, the children of men were bidden to write the story of man and the laws of righteousness on tables of clay, as these would only become the more enduring in a Deluge of Fire. We, today, are in the midst of such a fire-deluge dreamt of by the ancients. It is Britain's inflexible resolve that the freedom of man within the State and the rule of righteousness as between nation and nation shall emerge stronger than ever from this dread conflagration; that, instead of the laws of freedom and righteousness being written, as it were, on mere tables of clay, bendable and effaceable at the will of any dictator, they remain henceforth unassailable by barbarism, tyranny or inhumanity.

All good men and true the world over fervently pray that that resolve be crowned with victory and fulfilment.

TALES OF MY GRANDFATHER

BY JOHN KAVANAGH

In Two Parts

PART I

IN the month of May, 1888, a small white boy, at the mature age of six years and eight months, after one night spent among the entirely unappreciated Oriental splendours, including baths h. and c., of the Taj Hotel, might have been seen, under due adult escort, and accompanied by a sister smaller than himself, to take ship on the quay at Bombay aboard a tender of remarkable ugliness and grime, and so in due course to reach the forbidding, perpendicular rusty black side of the liner *Jumna*, a vessel propelled partly by the asthmatic efforts of two large, upright cylinders boxed in with teak, partly, under favourable directions of the wind, by two repellent fore-and-aft sails, soot-grimed, depressing, and, at the moment, closely clewed up, as was, indeed, their due right, conferred upon them by their obsolescence.

Thus, with the help of wind and steam, we bounded at an average nine knots across the boisterous blue-black Indian Ocean, and crawled up the hundred-hours' Terror of the Red Sea, during which time none knew at what moment the uncharted coral would crash through her flimsy bottom, and the cut-throat dhows be round, like wolves round a dying cow, and help no nearer than three hundred miles, and no means of reaching and summoning even that. Pirates were no myth in the Red Sea in 1888! Then came the flat, sandy calm of the Canal, with the science of electricity, in so far as it might concern searchlights, sufficiently advanced to enable night as well as day steaming. Then Port Said, its bum-boats, its Turkish delight, its naked boy divers. The Mediterranean, like a temperamental *prima donna*. Gibraltar, which we British have been losing for close on two and a half centuries. The Bay, relatively calm. The delight of a school of porpoises, circling our nine knots for hours. And, finally, Liverpool. A vernal (nay, nay, I said not "avernal") town. May still, or early June. The queenly lass, her basket dripping over with wet spring flowers, and her nose dampish, too.

And thence by the magic of steam to Edinburgh, and to Morningside and my grandfather's stately house, and my grandfather, to a boy rising seven, big, huge, gigantic, six feet four, and broad in proportion, and big in body, apt to go roaring about the house, as became a retired officer of Her Majesty's Bombay army.

"Where are my spectacles?"—the said spectacles all the time perched impishly on his gigantic forehead.

That my grandfather was a great man few who knew him closely would deny; that he was a very great man is my own personal belief. I consider that the parables of our Lord Jesus Christ may have, and sometimes do have, applications many, and remarkably different from, those interpretations which have satisfied the orthodox faithful; and my thought goes for the moment to the story of the Sower who went forth to sow. It seems to me that the Holy Spirit of God uses many such sowers (and, indeed, the Devil, on his part, many sowers also!). But, leaving out the Devil's instruments, I wish to make clear that, among our great men, the seed of the Divine inspiration, which we call genius, is always the same seed, but that the nature and abundance of its fruitage depend, first, on the character of the sower, and, secondly, upon the nature of the soil.

Now, in the case of the soil—that is, the heredity, antecedents, upbringing, environment, opportunities, accidental circumstances, and so forth, of the genius, and the corresponding conditions in his audience—we seem to lie wholly, or almost so, in the arms of chance. Many there are whose message to the world was, humanly speaking, never delivered, or mutilated out of recognition, or delivered many centuries late, or duly received and scorned and mocked at, or even used for purposes wholly opposite to those for which it was designed. I do not think that my grandfather was ever one of those.

He was a man of his times, looking not greatly into the past, nor far into the future. The causes which he befriended lay close to his hand. Destiny called upon him to be neither prophet nor martyr. His wars were the wars of the regular soldier; never was he liable to be hanged as a guerilla, or shot as a spy, and his pay warrant came to him regularly on the first of each month.

Nevertheless, it was said of him once, by one qualified to speak, that he would have made a great Trappist. And that is true. Possibly, after all, it was the opportunity that was lacking! Can it be that he also was of those who had great possessions?

Lieut.-Colonel Sir David Davidson, K.C.B., my mother's father and the subject of this brief biographical memoir, dealing principally with the Indian portion of his long life—a matter of twenty or twenty-one out of eighty-eight years—was born at Haddington in 1811, and left England for India in December, 1827. After a somewhat prolonged voyage, he reached Bombay towards the end of June, 1828, landing at the Apollo Bunder with Fortunatus's wand, in the shape of an Honourable East India Company's cadetship, in his pocket.

In order to introduce to the readers of the *ASIATIC REVIEW* this

extremely interesting, although almost unknown, personality, I cannot, perhaps, do better than quote the following letter, printed by *The Times* in its issue of May 31, 1937:

"The recent passing onward of Captain Lattey, so long and honourably associated with the Volunteer movement and with the application of telescopic sights to rifles, recalls the fact that, so far as is known, the originator of this process was my maternal grandfather, Lieut.-Colonel Sir David Davidson, one of the first founders of the Queen's City of Edinburgh Rifle Volunteer Brigade. Sir David entered the Honourable East India Company's service 110 years ago, in 1827; and his *Memories of a Long Life*, published in 1890, show that as early as 1832 he was already experimenting with his telescopic sight, which he perfected a few years later. A curious feature of Sir David's experiments was that, following on, and ancillary to, the main invention came his introduction into practical ballistics of the elongated or, as he called it, the cannellured bullet, many years before it became used on the continent of Europe; for Sir David found that to perfect his telescopic sight it had become urgently necessary that the path of the projectile should be at least approximately as trustworthy as the marksman's aim! This, of course, was not possible with the spherical ball, owing to its insufficiency of gyroscopic balance and control.

"Telescopic sighted rifles of Sir David's design were employed with deadly effect by both sides in the American Civil War. On the authority of a distinguished Northern General, speaking to Sir Robert Lowe, they are even stated to have silenced, and kept silent, a Confederate battery for twenty days. 'When it was subsequently captured, they found about fifty . . . killed, chiefly by shots in the head and shoulders, and this at a distance of 1,100 yards.' " An almost incredible distance for aimed and effective rifle shooting seventy-five years ago.

It used to be said that the mightiest slayer of men known to history was Sir Hiram Maxim, inventor of the maxim gun, and grandparent, so to speak, of its innumerable modern offspring, but without David Davidson's stream-lined, gyroscopically controlled projectile there could have been no maxim gun, with its lethal progeny of pom-poms, Lewis guns, Bren guns, Tommy guns, all chattering death at so many times a minute; there could also have been no modern rifles; and without David Davidson's telescopic sight there could have been no modern big guns that hit at ten miles with proportionately the same accuracy with which a modern rifle will hit at a thousand yards.

And peaceful, God-fearing, sport-loving David Davidson was using his stream-lined, gyroscopically controlled projectiles on tiger and on deer in India, and was directing his aim with the

deadliest effect, by means of his telescopic sight, full fifteen years before these servants, I think we may call them, of Hindu Yama, the dreaded god of death, ever reached Europe. If Sir Hiram has slain his hundreds of thousands, then Sir David has slain his tens of millions. Such is the fun and sport which the immortal gods make at times with the thoughts and dreams of men! But although the irony, the *εἰρωνεία*, of the gods is oft-times shuddersome enough, both in itself and in its implications, the immortals can also be merciful with a mercy that seems sometimes in its utter gentleness like the "still small voice" of Horeb, almost more terrifying than the thunders and the earthquakes of their wrath. And so it was with my grandfather, for in the spring of 1900 he died quietly at his Scottish home, and for some time before that he had, by blindness and deafness, been largely cut off from the affairs of the world.

It followed, therefore, that for him his twin inventions were almost exclusively beneficent forces, which drew, as it were, a ring fence round the White civilization, a protective barrier that neither dangerous wild beast, nor lurking savage, nor fanatical barbarian could hope to overpass, and under whose progressively mild safeguarding it would be possible increasingly to proffer to less-favoured countries and peoples the linked benefits of enlightened material tutelage, coupled with infallible scriptural guidance, until, to quote one of his most favourite among prophetic texts, "The earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea."

"Felix opportunitate mortis." Among the countless legions of the dead, to whom other than the subject of this memoir could these Roman words of epitaph be more suitably, more, as it were, inevitably applied? Not for him to know that last Twilight of the White Gods, as foretold in the Scandinavian Eddas, when the Fenris wolf should be released and the Midgard serpent, which alone holds together the diverse sections of our planet, should awaken from agelong slumber to loosen its ninefold coils, and to shake the earth and sky until the very stars should drop like windfall figs. These terms are symbolic, but symbolic in the higher mathematical sense; for are not the stars dropping upon us from the skies, as the prophets of the Eddas foresaw? And who today would wish to be the man who had given to the children of the White races these two deadly toys—the gyroscopically controlled projectile, and the telescopic sight for rendering ten times more deadly the projectile thus controlled?

By God's mercy the knowledge of these things was spared my grandfather.

And now let us return to Apollo Bunder and to bewildered but sturdy sixteen-year-old David Davidson standing square-footed

thereon, apparently helpless, but by no means unarmed, seeing that, in addition to the all-powerful Fortunatus cadetship, of which we have already spoken, we may also say, "and then there were certain letters of introduction to the Governor of Bombay and other bigwigs . . . and without these letters I was on no account to start." We may be sure that these letters lay safely ensconced, together with the all-important warrant and a bandanna handkerchief, in one or other of the capacious pockets of David's good, strong, Haddington-made Scots frieze coat, for, after creeping into a palanquin, "I went, under the escort of Captain Mason, to report my arrival to the Adjutant-General and Fort-Major; and I cannot say that our journey through the narrow streets and stifling odours, so peculiarly Oriental, gave me a pleasing impression of the land of my future sojourn."

The rain was pouring down in monsoon fury. The Bombay of David's earliest acquaintance contained neither railway station nor hotel. The splendid G.I.P. terminal slept still in the bosom of its unborn creator, and the Taj Hotel remained then and for yet many lustres an unrealized, pseudo-Oriental dream; moreover, at midsummer in the steaming ministrations of the monsoon the city smelt, with a stench that rose mightily to heaven, but David was not without his letters of introduction, and these carefully written spells straightway translated him, as by jinn-borne rug, to sea-beaten Colabah.

"Colabah is a long and narrow island, with a lighthouse at the farther end, and my host's house was somewhere near the middle. It had, of course, the usual verandahs all round, and plenty of openings for air and the sea breeze. . . . When I started for it in a palanquin, with the doors closed on account of the torrent of rain, the water on the causeway was up to the bearers' knees, and the sensation of water overhead, and the splashing of water nearly up to the bottom of the palanquin, was new and curious." New and curious, also, were, without doubt, the dining habits of the community. "After the usual courses, and before the sweets, came the inevitable rice and curry, and the chief beverage, both during and after dinner, was Hodson's Indian ale, a very heady article." There were Giants in those days, but I do not suppose that, from the Insurance point of view, they were extremely good lives! Nor, possibly, from Lord Horder's, the best of livers! Nevertheless, quite a number of them, David Davidson included, passed the eighty mark; David himself, in fact, coming well in view of the nineties, but David left India just this side of forty; and that means much.

Another small vignette, which will appeal to many. "When I retired to bed under mosquito curtains . . . in the morning I awoke to the consciousness that I had been severely bitten, and,

on examining the curtains, I detected a small hole in one corner, through which the mosquitoes . . . were bundling, like the audience of a theatre on fire. I took my revenge by administering a fillip with my finger to as many as had not effected their escape."

So much for our giant-killer David during his first day and night on the Great Indian Peninsula!

It was the custom for heroes of ancient days to make their appearance upon this earth in various singular, not to say miraculous, ways. Thus the infant Arthur rode into some Cornish beach on the crest of a great wave, others were born from the eggs of magic swans, and so on. My grandfather can claim no such supernatural birth. His father was Henry Davidson, a Haddington lawyer and man of affairs, his mother Mary Chisholm. His family circumstances were plain middle class, and comfortable, without pretensions. But although David Davidson's birth was accompanied by the discovery of no new planet, by the sweeping in of no new imperial comet, his early infancy did give rise to one incident sufficiently uncommon to deserve its place in this brief memoir. I will quote his own words.

"My father possessed a monkey, the history of whose tricks afforded endless amusement to us children in after-years. When I was an unconscious baby, this same monkey, taking advantage of a short absence of the nurse, lifted me out of the cradle and was very busy stuffing me with pap, when the nurse returned and with a shriek communicated her alarm to the whole household; for every attempt to relieve Mr. Jacko of his assumed services was only answered by a grin and threatened resistance. At last my father appeared, and, after some coaxing, Jacko was induced to relinquish his charge.

"I never was distinguished at my lessons. . . . A great friend of my father's, Captain Stewart, who had made a considerable fortune in command of a ship in the Indian trade, was at that time a frequent visitor at our house, the inmates of which he alarmed by sleeping without a nightcap and with the windows open. He took a special interest in me, and one day he asked me how I stood in my class. With a little hesitation I replied: 'Second dux' (second in class). The same answer having been frequently given to the same question, it occurred to the Captain to ask: 'But, Davie, how many are there in your class?' I replied: 'Weel, there's just anither wee lassie and mysel'.' When I was advanced into a larger class the Captain said one day quizzically: 'Well, Davie, are you dults [booby]?' 'No, I'm no' just dults, but I'm very nearhand it.'"

But David was very far from being a fool. It was much more the barbarous system of teaching, than the boy, who was at fault.

"My school days were during the Reign of Terror, or, in other words, during the Reign of Tawse. This instrument of torture, a thick leathern strap, with two-thirds of its length divided into four or five thongs, hung over the teacher's left shoulder, the thongs, with their tips hardened in the fire, dangling down his back, the loop at the other end lying conveniently ready for the hand. . . . Sometimes it was whispered, 'The maister's got on his angry coat this morning,' which added in no small measure to the dismay. The effect of the system was that, while the dull, lazy boys got their deserts, the dull, studious boys were unduly punished. Besides, it tended greatly to foster a savage spirit in the teacher. . . . He is the best instructor of the young who makes the most of the material on which he has to work, whether it be good, bad, or indifferent. . . . I cannot but think that if those who had formed one class at school could be drawn up together in after years in the order in which they had made most progress during life, the result would be curious. Some who were at the bottom of the class would rank first as to success in the world." Nevertheless, David gained a very sound grounding in mathematics, which stood him in good stead in several branches of endeavour in his future life.

Not that David's activities were all confined to quadratic equations and the earlier chapters of *De Bello Gallico*. There was a visit paid to Robert Burns's elder brother, Gilbert, of whom he gives the following thumbnail portrait: "He had a splendid head, with high forehead and 'lyart haffets thin and bare.' The lower part of his face was less refined than that of his brother, the mouth larger, and the chin well developed, indicating stronger moral qualities."

There were also trips on horseback or by carriage, such as the following: "The drive from Berwick to Adderstone was delightful, the sea on one side, and Holy Isle and a fair landscape on the other. We were welcomed at Adderstone. . . . The old house, described by Besant, has given way to a modern construction, but Bamborough Castle stands on, or, rather, hangs over, the cliff . . . much as it was centuries ago. In the interior we were shown a well of great depth, dug out of the living rock. . . . A frame holding a candle at each of its four angles was slowly lowered. As we watched it, the four lights, like the four stars of the Southern Cross, grew more and more dim, and drew nearer to each other till they almost merged into one."

And there was a quantity of mixed shooting, partly with "a very light single-barrelled flint gun," which fired both shot and ball, but more than a little with a crossbow "of peculiar and novel construction, from which I could shoot leaden bullets with singular precision." David appears always to have been a first-

class shot with whatever weapon, whether of precision or otherwise. On occasion he was not above turning poacher, and not without the cognizance and presumably, therefore, accessoryship of his father, the respected Haddington lawyer. "One day my father, happening to see me with my gun in my hand, asked me to let him see me shoot a rabbit. So we put our pointer Till into one of these thick double-hedge fences, and before we had gone many yards a rabbit bounded out and was doubled up. A few steps farther on something very like a rabbit rushed along between the double hedges, and, as it crossed a slight opening, was knocked over. It proved a hare! Well, thought my father, that was a very natural mistake. Farther on Till made a dead point; when with a whirr that made my heart jump, something with a glittering green neck, golden body, and long taper tail, rose like a rocket from the thickest of the cover! . . . My father looked at me, and I at him, and then at the gun. 'David, my man, do you mean to say you took that for a rabbit?'"

But shortly after this came the East India cadetship, and so we return once more to Colabah and our "long David," who, before reaching Bombay, had already outgrown his suits of white clothes, which at that period were the usual dress when out of uniform.

And so it came to pass in due course that our "long David," now six feet one and ultimately to grow six feet four, and broad in proportion, with long legs, so that when later on, as was his daily custom, he went striding down Princes Street, folks turned to stare after him, our long David was ordered to Poona, with a batch of cadets, under charge of Lieutenant Aston. The safe arrival of such a batch or gang seems to have been something of a miracle, for my grandfather remarks: "With so many young fellows under his charge, Lieutenant Aston had a difficult duty to perform, but, except that a fight was got up between two of their ponies, whereby one was kicked down a steep descent, and got a good deal injured, nothing serious occurred. We reached Poona on the third day, having passed through some of the most beautiful scenery I had ever beheld."

Once he reached Poona, David seems to have been left much to his own devices for a matter of six months or more, such military duties as he was given being more or less nominal. "Poona I found to be a delightful residence in the monsoon. It was the resort of all who could find it convenient to live there during that season, and was the scene of uninterrupted gaiety. Of that, however, I saw little. . . . In the afternoon the bands played on the open plain round which the lines circled, and all the fashionables gathered there. I was struck with the old-fashioned dress of the ladies, which seemed years behind that at home, and even the carriages had a very antiquated appearance. . . . Poona was very

hot in the hot season, and at that time Mahableshtar had just been discovered as a sanatorium. I remember the Governor and his staff dining with Mr. Dunlop just after they returned from exploring it."

After a prolonged and no doubt somewhat dull period of waiting, my grandfather found himself put in orders to join the 18th Regiment of Native Infantry at Asseergurh. The journey to this station was broken at several places of interest in Hyderabad, such as Aurangabad, Daulatabad, Ellora, and Ajanta. At Aurangabad David Davidson and his companions were shown Aurangzebe's palace and his hall of justice. They were also shown the tomb which he erected over his favourite daughter. "It is a very beautiful building, but now in a dilapidated state. The gate by which we entered the garden is very lofty and of wrought brass, cut with an open-work pattern like a Chinese fan. Inside there is a fine saloon, in the centre of which, screened off by a high marble railing of the most beautiful fretwork, is the grave itself."

My grandfather was strongly impressed by the caves at Ellora. He says: "The finest of the whole . . . is a magnificent temple formed of a single stone detached from the hill, so that it stands in a courtyard upwards of 150 yards in depth. The temple itself covers nearly half an acre of ground. Its base is supported on elephants, and it is completely covered with the most beautiful carved work." He speaks also of the caves at Ajanta, but in a somewhat perfunctory manner, showing clearly that in his day the supreme artistic value of the amazing wall-paintings had not yet been recognized. In fact, his principal reference is to the holes for the picket pegs of Wellesley's horses, which had been driven into the chunam floor of one of the caves at the time of the Battle of Assaye, and which are today, unfortunately, still only too plainly visible.

As a kind of footnote to David Davidson's journey through this portion of Hyderabad, I might state that he adds: "The Nizam's officers were very kind to us, and we frequently dined at their mess."

Asseergurh appears to have been one of those natural fortresses which abound in Central India. "Having reported our approach, we started in the afternoon of the next day, and as we neared the fort we were met by two officers, who had come to show the griffins (tenderfeet!) how to ride up the hill, which was rather a difficult matter with horses unaccustomed to twist round narrow, zigzag approaches, and to clamber up steep, half-broken stairs. But we felt we were bound to follow, and, passing through a succession of gates, we soon entered the fortress." There was a positive overplus of devices, due to nature assisted by art, for making the invader feel thoroughly at home, which it is, perhaps,

not necessary to describe in detail; for the curious feature of these somewhat numerous hill forts is at once their apparent impregnability and the amazing ease with which they are usually finally captured; but the writer speaks as an outsider and not as a military expert. After all, as Philip of Macedon said, "No fortress is impregnable to which can ascend an ass laden with gold!" and one may, perhaps, be justified in assuming that the Fifth Column was not left to National Socialist ingenuity to invent, but flourished also in India many centuries since.

Conditions at Asseergurh appear to have been rather primitive, but they seem also, from a military point of view, to have been very easy-going, allowing of plenty of leisure and leave for sport. David Davidson writes: "Captain Hurle, like the good and wise commanding officer he was, after our drill and inspection were over, took almost all the duty on himself, and let as many as liked go into the jungles; believing, with Sir John Malcolm, that the best sportsmen made always the best officers."

There is also an interesting description of the mess arrangements: "In these primitive times we did our messing on very economical principles. We had no flash kit, merely the tables and dishes to serve the dinner on, the rest being constituted 'camp fashion.' When the first bugle for mess sounded, a number of servants might have been seen making their way into the mess bungalow equipped as follows: A chair on his head, in one hand a large bundle containing plates, tumbler, wineglass, two muffineers, knives, forks, spoons, and, if the master could afford it, a bottle of Hodson's beer. The other arm not only supported the chair, but carried a *cooza*, or porous earthen vessel of water. These were arranged at his master's accustomed place at table. . . . The fare was very simple—mutton, fowls, and rarely beef, and, of course, rice and curry, with some simple pudding. It was only on guest nights that we had 'Europe articles,' in the shape of tinned salmon and preserved fruits, which retained little of their original flavour, but were prized for their home associations."

But if the messing arrangements at Asseergurh were, perhaps, only too reminiscent of similar arrangements at "Messpot" in, shall we say 1917? the big-game sport was such as today would tax the most hospitable resources of Hyderabad, Mysore, or Cooch Behar, even for the entertainment of Viceroy or of royalty itself. Let us listen to David Davidson. "There was a range not far distant, called the Boree range. . . . The hills had tableland, up towards which ran a succession of ravines, generally terminating, as they merged into the flatter ground, in rocky, precipitous heights. . . . We posted ourselves along the sides and at the head of these ravines, while the Bheels, with tom-toms and other

noisy instruments, beat up towards us. We never knew what game would be started, whether tiger, bear, or panther; but, whatever it was, we were prepared to give it a warm reception. Once, when I was watching with the little gun at the edge of a rocky height, a tail swept across a foot or two below me and made my heart jump, but it proved only the tail of a huge monkey. Most of us were raw hands, but we improved by practice." There follows a very exciting account of something in the nature of a pitched battle with a panther, too long to quote, which ends up: "All this was no doubt rather clumsy work, but it must be remembered that we were young hands, indifferently armed with single-barrelled flints." *Eheu fugaces!* When will humanity learn that rivers and cataracts of first-class sport are only compatible with "young hands, indifferently armed with single-barrelled flints"? Or, of course, their equivalents! In many fields! And the youth may be, and very often is, of the mind and spirit rather than of the flesh.

My grandfather relates two remarkable examples of premonitory dreams, which possess the advantage that they were given him by a Major Bagnold, a personal friend of many years, and a man of unimpeachable integrity. He was not a man at all likely to be carried away by an excited imagination.

"On the first occasion he dreamt he was at home, traversing the well-remembered streets, but he was struck with the fact that all the houses were shut up as if it were early in the morning. At last he came to his uncle's house, and all the shutters were closed. The door was opened by the well-known butler, who, with a grave face, said: 'Oh, Master Michael, you are just too late; your uncle died at two this morning.' In the course of a few months he heard of his uncle's death, as nearly as he could calculate, on the very day, and certainly at the hour, mentioned by the servant."

The second dream was as follows: "One morning he dreamt that his brother, who was an officer in the Bengal army, came to his bedside in a riding-dress, with boots and spurs, and a riding-whip under his arm, and said distinctly: 'Good-bye, Mike; I'm off.' In this instance he made a note of the circumstance, carefully dated. In due course he heard of the death of his brother from the effects of a fall from his horse on that very morning."

It seems to me that before we leave Asseergurh mention should be made of another of its inhabitants. This was a female spotted deer named Nancy. "She belonged nominally to Dr. Ross, our surgeon, but she was really 'La Fille du Regiment.' . . . When we were encamped below it was an almost everyday sight, Nancy emerging from a tent pursued by a servant, she munching as she went along a cake of soap cribbed from the owner's wash-

hand stand, and the soapsuds streaming in white lines from her mouth. Dr. Ross's servant, who spoke through his nose, would sometimes complain: 'Miss Nancy will not take her toast, sir!' And no wonder, as she probably had just consumed a cake or two of Brown Windsor. Paper was also one of her favourite eatables, and it was fun, on one occasion, to see the doctor in hot pursuit and Nancy eating as she ran, inch by inch, a half-read Europe letter he had left for a moment on the table. Nancy regularly attended parade, and especially when we were firing blank cartridge; and as the volleys were being fired by companies from right to left, Nancy would run along within twenty yards of the front, picking up and eating the paper of the cartridges, and she seemed to enjoy the flavour of the consumed powder. When we were up in the fortress, she derived pleasure in being pursued by a pack consisting of all the dogs in the place, bounding over the low walls and occasionally waiting until her pursuers had regained a little of the ground they had lost in the chase, to start off again with fresh vigour. She often appeared with her face blackened, the evident result of getting her head into the sepoy's cooking-pots as dinner was preparing in the lines."

From Asseergurh the regiment was moved to Malligaum. And here David Davidson renewed his experiments with rifle bullets. Not without success, for, "When I came home from India in 1848, I was describing this bullet to Mr. Troughton, the optician, when he called his brother and said: 'Tom, here is a singular thing. You know Mr. Lovel, the Superintendent of Small Arms, has been sent to the Continent to inquire about a new elongated bullet invented there, and here is a gentleman who has been using them in India for fifteen years!'"

(To be continued.)

INTELLECTUAL INDIA

BY RANJEE G. SHAHANI

THE PROBLEM OF INDIA. By K. S. Shelvankar. (A Penguin Special.) 6d. net.

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL ATTITUDE OF THE EARLY BUDDHIST PHILOSOPHY. By Anagarika B. Govinda. (*Patna University.*)

THE ŚILAPPADIKĀRAM, OR THE LAY OF THE ANKLET. Translated and annotated by V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar. (*Oxford University Press.*) 22s. 6d. net.

TRI SINHALA. By P. E. Pieris. (*Heffer.*) 7s. 6d. net.

SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS LIFE IN THE GRIHYA-SŪTRAS. By V. M. Apte. (Bombay: *Taraporevala.*) Rs. 4.

A writer, Mr. Eric Gillet, affirmed some five or six years ago that Indians were utterly unable to use the English language with any sensitive understanding. On what evidence this sweeping verdict was based it is difficult to say. The fact, on the contrary, is that more Indians have mastered the difficult and wayward English speech than we can really count. Indeed, there are few or no examples in the history of the world of a people who have employed an alien tongue with such idiomatic ease and nervous precision as Indians habitually display when handling English. How man Britons, it may be asked, can write French even tolerably well? Very, very few indeed. But some Indians have used English *creatively*, which is more than can be said of most British or American authors in relation to other tongues. "Beauty of tone," A. E. once told me, "is the highest quality in literature. Only about a dozen British authors can be said to possess it." He named them for my benefit, and among them was an Indian! I mentioned this startling fact to Havelock Ellis, and he agreed.

The conquest of English by Indians is a chapter in literary inquiry that no one seems to have written or thought of writing. It might form the subject-matter of a first-rate thesis. But let that pass. I will only say that the Indian branch of English literature is putting forth finer and finer leafage. It will be part of my function to present to the reader such blooms as happen to fall into my lap.

By "literature" I do not mean merely *belles-lettres*. What I have in mind is the total creative effort as expressed in words. Of course, there is intense and intensive activity in the various vernaculars of India, but this is a task for a team of experts, not

for one individual critic. In any case, I am not qualified to undertake it. Books in English, written by Indians, will be my province.

* * * * *

Dr. Shelvankar's *The Problem of India* is extremely well written, and it raises more important problems than the author is really aware of. It is a curious book, fine in some ways and rather banal in others. He possesses an attractive style—simple, clear, cogent. He has also a good grasp of facts, and marshals them with much skill. But these and other qualities are negatived by his curious temper and vision. He is one of those numerous Indian writers who attempt thinking and then suddenly take an emotional leap, which undoes all their thinking. He makes a brave beginning.

"Books on political subjects," he writes in the Author's Note, "are invariably *pro* or *anti* something. This is no exception. It is not, however, '*pro*-British' and '*anti*-Indian,' or *vice versa*. Readers will find the views expressed here agreeable or provocative to them, regardless of their nationality. As for the facts, I have endeavoured to state them without evasion and after a careful study of the relevant authorities. I may be allowed to say that things I am consciously *pro* are food and freedom for the millions who are today deprived of them; by the same token, the only things I am *anti* are the systems and institutions which appear to be the cause of such deprivation, whether they are Indian, or British, or Indian *and* British in character."

Excellent! But the taste of the pudding lies in the eating. What do we find when we have carefully gone through the book? Instead of the impartiality promised us, there is a persistent effort made to discredit the British in the eyes of the world. Dr. Shelvankar is too acute to do this crudely—by downright vituperation; he is more subtle; he selects just those facts that go to indict the British authorities. The other side of the picture—the actual good results Britain has achieved in India—very little about it!

Dr. Shelvankar uses what is known as an undercutting style of criticism. The average reader, whether Eastern or Western, is likely to be misled by him. Here is an example of his technique: Talking of the terrible infant mortality in India, he compares it with that of Britain. Naturally, one is shocked. What a difference! To be sure, the British are monsters to let the little ones in India die like flies on a fly-paper. The case is made out. But Dr. Shelvankar fails to tell us that England and India are not equally progressive, that English girls do not marry at the age of twelve or thirteen, and that English parents do not give their children rice-water to drink, but milk. We see from this that Dr. Shelvankar, like a clever lawyer, bends the evidence all one way. Is it surprising that the British appear as slave-drivers?

Another example of Dr. Shelvankar's technique. He has a chapter entitled "Britain's Fifth Column: The States." Here what he says makes one rub one's eyes. We find nothing but mere assertions and charges without any proof.

"There is a British official called the Resident in every major State, and over the smaller States . . . there is another called the Political Agent. These officers . . . are servants of imperialism. Hardly anything can happen without their acquiescence in the States to which they are assigned. And whatever the legal quibbles involved, in case of serious disagreement, the sovereign potentate, descended though he be from the Sun and the Moon, must and does give way to these gentlemen who, in all probability, are not descended from a planet at all, but from a British bourgeois family."

Here facts and fancies are inextricably mixed up, like the ingredients in a Christmas pudding. What authority has Dr. Shelvankar for saying that Indian Princes are "under the thumb of a British Resident"? Is he indulging in a popular fallacy? This is sad, especially for one who pretends to present the Indian problem with philosophic detachment. May I take the liberty of recommending to him C. B. Fry's *Life Worth Living*? The chapters on India in that book will open his eyes to his many misapprehensions about the Princes.

I have no space to discuss Dr. Shelvankar's bookish Communism; but I will say that he has been bamboozled. The "Red Paradise" is in reality an "earthly hell." The poverty in the land of the Soviets is not only material, but moral. In that country of imaginary, or, rather, imagined, perfection man is enchained body and soul. The Kolkhozes, or collective farms, are, by the testimony of those who have visited them, something which reminds us of Dostoevsky's *A House of the Dead*. Dr. Shelvankar is as oblivious of the bitter realities as Palinurus, the pilot of *pious Æneas*, was of his navigating duties when, with his dreamy eyes fixed on the starry heavens, he fell headlong into the sea and was drowned.

"O nimium cælo et pelago confisce sereno
Nudus in ignotâ, Palinure, jacebis arenâ!"

* * * * *

The Readership Lectures delivered at the Patna University by Mr. Anagarika B. Govinda, and now published under the forbidding title of *The Psychological Attitude of Early Buddhist Philosophy*, might be overlooked by the general reader on the assumption that they are not meant for him. This would be a pity, for the disclosures are worth meditating on. They are full of wise reflections.

Mr. Govinda writes well, though, I am bound to add, he is not good at propositions. However, it is sheer literary foppery to linger over trifles. The point is that Mr. Govinda is a connoisseur

of ideas. His book is not merely an exposition of Buddhist speculation, but a valuation of certain valuations. This is what distinguishes it from a host of other commentaries or critiques on the same subject. The brief introduction is excellent. Mr. Govinda does well to remove certain commonly accepted errors.

"It has become a fashion to call Buddhism a philosophy pure and simple, or to identify it with one or the other of its branches: psychology and ethics. But Buddhism is something more, otherwise it would have remained merely a matter of æsthetic pleasure for a few *bel esprits*, philosophers, and historians, and—in the most favourable case—the rule of conduct for a small group of puritans. Philosophies and scientific systems of psychology have never been able to exercise a dominating influence on the life of humanity—not because there was something wrong with them as systems, not because they were lacking in truth, but because the truth contained in them was only of theoretical value, born by the brain and not by the heart, thought out by the intellect and not realized in life. Apparently truth alone is not sufficient for exercising a lasting influence on humanity; in order to do that it must be combined with the quality of life."

This is true. European scholars often make the mistake of identifying Buddhism with philosophy pure and simple. But let us pay particular attention to Mr. Govinda's phrase "quality of life." It shows that he is a sensitive and acute critic. Religion is not science. Indeed, rightness or wrongness has nothing to do with the matter. Faith is a beautiful phenomenon in itself, and needs no justification. Perhaps its essence lies in human *feeling*. Where our sense of holiness is satisfied we worship; and all else is a beating of the wings in a void. Life shaped by beauty and goodness—this, this is religion. Words and thoughts, however lovely, are merely a network. Or as Mr. Govinda puts it:

"Abstract truth is like canned food without vitamins. It satisfies our taste and keeps up our body for some time, but we cannot exist on it in the long run. This quality of life is provided to our mind by the religious impulse that urges and guides man towards religion. There is no doubt—the history of Buddhism proves it—that this quality is as strongly present in Buddhism as its philosophical qualities."

Yes, that is so. No proposition can create religious love. Buddhism has gripped the hearts of millions because it has satisfied an immortal longing. It gives us in full measure a sense of holiness. And holiness is a *quality of life*.

"If, therefore, we speak of Buddhist philosophy [says Mr. Govinda], we should be conscious that this is only the theoretic side of Buddhism, not the whole of it. And just as it is impossible to speak about Buddhism as a religion without touching upon the philosophical aspect, in the same way it is impossible to understand Buddhist philosophy without seeing its connection with the religious side. The religious side is the way which has been established by experience (just as a path is formed by the process of walking), the philosophy is the definition of its direction, while the psychology consists in the analysis of the forces and conditions that favour or hinder the progress on that way. But before we consider the direction towards which the way leads, we have to look back from where it came."

This reminds us of Jesus' words: "I am the way, the truth, and the life." The way is what we would today call Psychology. The truth stands for Philosophy. And life is the stream of consciousness that ever makes for goodness. A true religion, then, has a path, a meaning, and a goal. Buddhism has all three. Mr. Govinda has done well to emphasize all this at the very outset of his inquiry. And the inquiry is impressive in its thoroughness. We are told of everything that is worth while in Buddhist meditation. The reader would do well to study this clear, compact, and compelling book. It would widen his horizon.

Here are some reflections that invite thought. Speaking of religions, Mr. Govinda says:

"It is therefore as useless to argue about the differences of religions as to argue about the differences of trees. They are what they are by necessity. Each species has its own standard of perfection, and just those features in which they differ from each other are the elements which form their character, their particular beauty. We may like one type of tree better than the other because its shape pleases our eyes or the taste of its fruits pleases our tongue, but we have no standard of values which would enable us to establish the superiority of one species over the others. Each follows the laws of its own nature and the conditions of its environment. . . . The same holds good for religions. It is their differences that constitute their character and their beauty. Those who try to explain away the differences by calling them misunderstandings or misinterpretations in order to arrive at some abstract unity are like children who pull out the petals of flowers in order to get at the 'real' flower. . . ."

Now this is absolutely correct. It is only perfervid enquirers like Madame Blavatsky and her fanatical followers who would reduce all religions to a chromatic monotone. There is much in common, for example, between Buddhism and Christianity; yet they are not the same in essence. For the Buddha knowing is more important than doing; for Jesus doing includes and transcends knowing. The difference might seem subtle, but it is possible to write a thick philosophical tome about it.

But to quote again from Mr. Govinda:

"We should be careful [he says] not to apply our own religious standards to other religions and still less to the earliest stages of the spiritual life of man. Religion, as we understand it nowadays, is as different from its origins as the present humanity from that of the Stone Age. We are accustomed to identify religion with morality, or with the idea of God, or with a belief in a certain dogma—and yet, all this has nothing to do with the religious attitude of the primitive man. Why? Because he has not yet created or experienced the difference between the inner and the outer world. His religion is not some sort of idealism or 'Sunday morning feeling'; for him religion is a question of life: namely, how to resist and to maintain himself against the unknown powers which surround him, and how to attain security and happiness. These unknown powers are not only the forces of nature, but the enigmatic character of even the simplest things and the uncontrolled psychic forces within himself. . . ."

This needs no comment. What the author says is self-evident. Only, in their search for subtlety, scholars are apt to overlook the obvious. To cite Mr. Govinda once more :

"If anybody were to ask me : 'What is the main element that Buddhism contributed to Indian civilization?' I should answer : 'The *method*.' The Buddha, it seems to me, was the first man who discovered that not the results of our human thinking, not our so-called 'ideas' or opinions (ditthi), beliefs or disbeliefs, in one word our conceptual knowledge—be it in the form of religious dogmas, so-called 'eternal Truths' or in the form of scientific formulas and statements—is what matters, but the *method* behind it. . . . Just as food turns into poison if preserved too long, so also knowledge turns into ignorance or superstition if it has lost its connection with life. Instead of cultivating 'matter-of-fact knowledge,' we should cultivate the power of concentration; instead of producing 'learnedness,' we should preserve our *faculty* to learn and keep our mind open. This is what the Buddha wants, and this is why he refused to bring the world into a system of metaphysical definitions and philosophical speculations. He certainly had very definite ideas about the world and the problems of metaphysics. That he refused to answer certain questions was not due to indifference but was, on the contrary, due to his profound insight into the real nature of things. He did not attain this insight through philosophical speculations and discussions or by mere reasoning and reflection, but by the transformation of consciousness in meditation, and therefore he knew that his experience could not be expressed, imparted by words, or arrived at by logical conclusions, but only by showing the *way*, how to attain, how to develop and cultivate this higher consciousness. . . ."

This is valuable. But I cannot go on copying from Mr. Govinda. I hope I have shown from the selected extracts the value and importance of the book. I can only request the reader to turn to it.

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The gems of Indian thought and feeling that still remain hidden from the gaze of the world are many. This is particularly true of Tamil culture. Translations of the masterpieces are few and, in many cases, not quite reliable. Mr. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar has rendered a real service to literature by turning the *Śilappadikāram* ("The Lay of the Anklet") into literal but readable English. The task is accomplished with commendable success, and the introduction and appendices are a model of their kind. This is very high praise, but it is well deserved.

The epic, as the reader may know, belongs to the second century A.D., and is said to be the work of Ilango-Adigal, a prince of the royal Cera line, who later renounced the throne to become a hermit. The poem has rightly been regarded as one of the masterpieces of Tamil literature. It is sprayed with felicities bright as dewdrops. I shall say a little about these in due course. For the moment it is sufficient to say that the epic deals with "the story of Kovalan, a typical merchant prince of the ancient Tamils,

his passionate love for Madavi, a hetæra of more than Aspasian accomplishments, his murder in Madura on a trumped-up charge of theft, and the terrible vengeance sought from heaven by the bereaved heroine on the Pandyan king." We may add that the heroine, Kannaki, has been sanctified by the Tamil people as the Divine Lady of Chastity, and her worship has been part of the popular religious cult of the land.

It is difficult to speak of the qualities of the poem. These remind us of a night so calm that it seems embalmed. The moon itself is a vision of the Netherworld. A leaf twirling down creates a circle of signs. Then a crescendo of silences. The flesh is transfigured and man becomes one with the entire universe. The subjective and objective factors of experience, so often dissociated in European literature, melt into one another. This is, perhaps, the supreme merit of this epic. It must be read to be appreciated.

Apart from its literary beauties, the poem is a quarry of jewels in another sense. From it can be reconstructed the social, moral, and religious climate of India in the first centuries of the Christian era. The following few facts might interest the reader :

North India remains a mystery to students of ancient history. Of its political condition until A.D. 300 or 350 we know little or nothing. Dr. K. P. Jawaswal, in his excellent *History of India, A.D. 150-350*, has done much to disperse the millennial gloom, but the *Śilappadikāram* is, perhaps, more revealing. It lights up as with a torch what is known as the Dark Age of India.

"It was only under the Guptas [says Mr. Dikshitar] that North India regained its old position of prestige and pre-eminence. During that period, which extended for more than two centuries, there was no towering personality of prowess and valour to meet a strong foe like Senguttuvan (the warrior-king of South India). The whole region was divided into a number of petty principalities over each of which was a chieftain. It is said that there were as many as one thousand chieftains whom Senguttuvan had to encounter single-handed. Though this number is an exaggeration, it demonstrates that there were a good number of small and independent states. Apparently, these different chiefs were enjoying autonomy. The principal kingdoms were Avanti, Vajra, Magadha and Malva. We know by their gifts of choice presents that the first three acknowledged the overlordship of Karikala. The king of Malva was an ally of Senguttuvan. Some of them became jealous of the arms of the neighbouring monarchs. Hearing that a south Indian king like the powerful Senguttuvan was advancing towards their kingdoms, some of the prominent minor rulers . . . joined together under the common leadership of Kanaka and Vijaya, and went to meet Senguttuvan encamped far from the north of the Ganges. . . . The smaller chieftains were not strong enough to offer a bold front to the strong arms of a conquering monarch like Senguttuvan. The result was a crushing defeat for the northerners. . . ."

Thus North India at this time was a mosaic of small States. Division, not union, was the rule. But how was the country governed?

"Long and laborious research in ancient Indian polity [writes Mr. Dikshitar] has tended to remove the misconception generally prevalent that all ancient Indian monarchies were autocracies. The consensus of opinion among scholars of the modern day is that the ancient Indian monarchs were not autocratic, but were subject to the laws of the land both customary and statutory. There were democratic institutions in the country which kept the king under control and prevented him from acting unduly on his own initiative. Such institutions were common both in North India and South India."

Here is a reply to Mr. Jinnah, who has said that democracy is not suited to the Indian character and temperament.

A word might be said about the village administration.

"Every village had a *manram* or the village *sabna*, where the elders transacted the business of the village. There were certain tribal settlements in the hills and forests. The Eiyar settlement may be cited as an example. Excepting these settlements, the villages in general were not isolated groups far away from the link of humanity. There was active intercourse, political and commercial, between village and village and between village and city. Learned men and pious Brahmans of one kingdom felt at home in alien kingdoms. To cite an instance, the Brahman of Mankadu, a village in the Cera *nadu*, visited sacred places as far as Cape Comorin through the Cola and Pandyan kingdoms. In spite of the gloomy trail through woods and jungles the roads were safe. There were officials appointed by the state to look after the welfare of the villages, and these were to a large extent responsible for the peace and security of the rural parts. They were often aided by the village assembly."

Now about the religion of the people :

"The chief gods invoked by the ancient Tamils were Seyon (also Murugan and Velan) and Mayon (Kṛṣṇa or the Black God). Other gods worshipped were Siva, Korraival or the Goddess of Victory, Balaram, Varuna, Indra. . . . There is a view that some of these were peculiar to the different regions (of which five are distinguished) in the Tamil land. But there are also Vedic and Purāṇic gods, and their mention in early Tamil poetry shows that the assimilation and the blend of the two cultures, Sanskrit and Tamil, was a thing of the ancient past. The earliest extant work in Tamil, the *Tolkāppiyam* bears evidence of this. Similar ideas are found scattered in the *Śilappadikāram*, and the twin epics betray clear influence of the Buddha and the Jaina cults which had come to stay in the Tamil land. . . . Side by side with these dissenting sects of which three are mentioned—the Buddha, the Jaina and the Ajivaka—the established religion of the land was in a flourishing condition. At the outset, it must be remarked that there was no nice distinction between the orthodox religion and the so-called religion of the dissenting sects. The fundamental principles of all these sects were the same, and differences, if any, were minor and trivial. It was in philosophical outlook and speculation that there was any difference, and hence the masses to whom the higher philosophy was a sealed book did not trouble themselves about it. The religious discussions were only among the cultured few, and differences in opinions and views among them were treated with mutual respect. By the orthodox religion we mean Saivism and Vaisnavism. Even here the bitter hatred of the Saiva and Vaisnava cults as separate sects, which was only a later growth on the tree of Indian religion, is totally absent in the *Śilappadikāram*. In fine, the sectarian spirit is totally absent, and every person was both a Saiva and a Vaisnava. . . ."

This is real scholarship. Mr. Dikshitar has added to our knowledge of India, for which our sincere thanks.

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Mr. P. E. Pieris has written a number of interesting studies round about Ceylon, his native land. Most of these have dealt with the relations between the rulers of the country and the strangers beyond the seas who came among them for power and pelf. *Ceylon and the Portuguese, Ceylon and the Hollanders, The Growth of Dutch Influence in Ceylon*—these titles indicate the contents of the books and the interests of the author.

In the present work, *Tri Sinhala*, Mr. Pieris tells us of the appearance of the British on the Sinhalese scene, of the capture of the last king, Sri Vikrama Raja Sinha, of the history of that period. The work is done very well. Mr. Pieris writes simple and idiomatic English; his findings are authoritative; his conclusions sound. He has the true temper of a historian. Some of his descriptions are quite good. For instance, writing of the capture of the last Raja of Ceylon, he says :

“Dias from outside shouted to the Queens to come out; he spoke in Tamil, addressing them by the respectful term *Ammayarum*. They came out reeling pitifully from side to side—‘like fowls whose necks had been twisted,’ was Dias’ graphic description—and clung to him on either side in an agony of terror, crying out, ‘Oh, protect us.’ Blood was streaming from the lobes of their ears, which had been lacerated in tearing away their earrings, and crushing some medicinal leaves he stanchd the bleeding. In the meanwhile Eknelligoda was reviling the King in the coarsest terms and ordering his men to fetch some wild creepers with which to bind him like a pig and drag him out. Dias could not restrain his indignation. ‘Your people,’ he hotly protested, ‘up to this hour worshipped the King as father and god, but mine have long been under foreign governments and are not expected to show him the same reverence. All that is needed is his safe custody; why then insult, injure and bind him?’ at the same time offering his own shawl if it was considered necessary to secure his limbs. Eknelligoda angrily retorted that his advice was not wanted; on his orders the King was tightly bound, and as he was unable to walk he was dragged and pushed along and thrown on the ground. . . . Dias, extricating his hands with difficulty from the grasp of the Queens, took pencil and paper from his pocket, and using the back of one of his companions as a table scribbled a hasty note to inform D’Oyly of what was taking place and entreating him to come at once with palanquins and clothes. Within a *peya*—the Sinhalese hour of twenty-four minutes—some officers and soldiers galloped to the spot. There lay the King, his large intensely black eyes shadowed with the physical pain which also showed itself in his singularly handsome features, though there was no expression of fear. The officers threw themselves from their horses and, after uncovering, knelt before him and unfastened his bonds, while the troops with their whips drove away the Saparamuva men to a distance. . . .”

There are other vignettes in the book. Mr. Pieris has the knack

of making history romantic without romancing. I hope his book will be read.

* * * * *

The *Brahmānas* have been called by some European scholars "the dullest books ever written." This is so. But the *Grihya-Sūtras* are, perhaps, worse. By this I mean that their literary value is nil. However, they are important as documents; they throw much light on many aspects of ancient Hindu life. In brief, they are a mine for the ethnologist. Dr. Winternitz is quite right in characterizing them as the "folk-journals of ancient India."

Mr. V. M. Apte, finding these old texts unduly neglected, set about, with the zeal of a hero, to reconstruct from them the social and religious history of the period. There is no doubt about his industry; it is frightening. Nothing that is of any interest in these musty tomes has been neglected. Indeed, the author is over-thorough. We are lost in a jungle and jumble of ideas and beliefs. Clarity is certainly not Mr. Apte's forte. And then, frankly, he writes dully, very dully. It has been a job to wade through his book. My complaint is that he could have given us a much more fascinating study. The material is there, but it has been mishandled. A pity. Here is an example of his style: "The hymns of the *Rig-Veda* clearly reveal the aspirations, ambitions, and the yearnings of the people of those days; in other words, their general optimistic outlook on life." (I cannot see the logic. Mr. Apte argues like Bottom.) "Not that they do not desire Amritatva (immortality) or the company of the gods in heaven. There certainly are hymns in the *Rig-Veda* which throw out suggestions, raise doubts, and ask questions—all inspired by the eternal quest of the soul for a solution of life's problems, hymns which betray a metaphysical streak and a flair for cutting the Gordian Knot of philosophy-seeds which were to blossom later into the wild yet beautiful garden of the *Upanishads*. . . ." This is clotted nonsense, and the book is full of it. But the reader who can command the patience of Job will come across, here and there, a thought, a feeling, an act that will illuminate for him the heart and soul of ancient India. But perhaps Mr. Apte is not to be blamed. Having meditated too much over the *Grihya-Sūtras*, he has been inspired to write a *Grihya-Sūtra* of his own. Revenge of texts!

POEM

I TRAVELLED far,
 Many ages down the crimson arch of sunset,
 Tracing an edgeling dark above the vivid weal
 Of Heaven's pathway,
 To where the ruddied golden clouds congeal
 A heavy sky;
 And in that darkening twilight
 All Heaven's gates glazed wide
 Opening to the burning heart of dying glory. . . .

I turned aside,
 And passed into the deeper shadow of the room.
 With straining eyes I turned again
 And sadly watched the slowly passing gloom
 Of ending day
 Sink into the earth
 And fade away.

LAMENT FOR A CYPRESS TREE

MOURNER for the shades of dead lovers,
 Shelter to their graves;
 Each downcast branch's shadow covers
 Emperors and slaves;
 Who covers thee,
 A tree?

PETER SYKES.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

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NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

A REMARKABLE WOMAN TRAVELLER

THE VALLEY OF THE ASSASSINS. By Freya Stark. (*John Murray.*)
3s. 6d. net.

THE SOUTHERN CASTLES OF ARABIA. By Freya Stark. (*John
Murray.*) 3s. 6d. net.

A WINTER IN ARABIA. By Freya Stark. (*John Murray.*) 16s. net.

(Reviewed by DOROTHY FOOKS.)

What is the lure which impels certain individuals to penetrate into the unexplored or forgotten places of the earth? Their records have come down to us through the mists of time, and today, even when so little remains unrevealed, the indomitable urge continues.

Miss Freya Stark is one on whom the mantle of Marco Polo has fallen. The reprint of *The Valley of the Assassins* is a record of her experiences and adventures in Persia during the years 1930-1932. It is no tale of orthodox travel, for Miss Stark's goal was far off the beaten track, to places unmapped or unknown to modern Europeans. She had long wished to visit in Mazanderan the valley of the title. Here, she had heard, were the castles of the Assassins, a Persian sect, originally a branch of the Moham-medan Shi'a. In the eleventh century one Hassan Sabbah broke away and founded a secret order, which he established in the mountain fortress of Alamut. The tenets of this sinister society spread through India to Egypt and Syria, and were notable, not for religious fervour, but for the disposal of their enemies by murder. Thus the word "assassin" came into the English language. In 1256 Persia was invaded by the Mongol armies under Hulagu Khan, and the strongholds were swept away.

With saddle-bags and bed and three retainers from the Alamut district Miss Stark set out in search of some of these castles. In the Alamut Valley she found the precipitous rock where Hassan Sabbah built his fortress and ended his days. A year later she visited the castle of Nevisar Shah, and that of Lamiasar, also built on solid rock, with impregnable sides sheer down to the valley below. Dominating the landscape was the snow-capped peak of Taht-i-Suleiman—the Throne of Solomon. Miss Stark tells of her wish to climb to the summit, some 15,000 feet, and of how this design was foiled by the duplicity of a Greek engineer, who bribed her guide not to show her the track.

During all these journeys, often in dangerous areas, her nightly

resting-places were the villages and tents of the tribes. She lived as one of themselves, sharing their food and gossip, and this open friendliness of mind was her passport through the country. Her interests were many-sided, and in these pages archæology, geography, and botany are transmuted and made alive by her infectious enthusiasm.

With her passionate love of heights and mountains, it is with some surprise that one turns to her book *The Southern Gates of Arabia*. This, also, is a reprint, and describes how in 1935 she went alone in the Hadhramaut, with a view to finding the old incense road to the coast. Two-thirds of the world's supply of frankincense is grown in Arabia, and records of this lucrative trade can be traced to the dawn of history. As in Persia, Miss Stark travelled with tribesmen, and it is due to this adaptability and sociability that she again achieved so much. Her genuine interest in the Arab and his history, as well as her command of Arabic, broke down barriers of race and colour. Her eyes and heart were tuned in to the essential qualities of the country and to the courage and simplicity of its people. Though inter-tribal warfare was very prevalent, the social discipline of the Beduin within his own circle aroused her admiration.

The aim of her journey was to reach Shabwa, the ancient capital of the Hadhramaut, but this was never achieved, owing to an illness, to which, but for her indomitable courage, she might have succumbed, and which finally necessitated her return to civilization.

However, two years later found her again in the Hadhramaut, and *A Winter in Arabia* covers some of her previous route. This time she travels with two companions interested in the archæology and geology of the district. The book opens on a modernistic note unusual in this author's wanderings, for she travels by motor lorry from Mukalla on the coast to Tarim in the north-east. Nothing else is changed, and she again merges herself into the life surrounding her, visiting harems, studying medieval manuscripts, and attending Arab feasts and weddings. From Tarim she and her companions go to Shibham and thence to Hureida, where they dig for buried temples of the past.

Two and a half months later Miss Stark, convinced that Hureida was never on the main trade route of the ancients, starts, alone once more, to explore in the Wadi'Amd, west of the road which she passed two years previously. She came upon many antiquarian remains, and the rock drawings of Rahbe confirmed her belief that the old incense road lay this way to the coast. She passed many citadels of pre-Islamic origin with restorations of a later date. Not without incident did she reach Cana on the coast, for she was frequently mobbed by Beduin, who had never seen a

European woman before. The book is illustrated by a number of extremely fine photographs taken by the author, but it does not need these alone to bring before one a picture of the desert land of Arabia. Miss Stark's writing is remarkable for its vividness and observation, and a delightful humour pervades it. She absorbs the pageant of life as it flows around her, and a keen sense of enjoyment discounts any difficulties and dangers which may arise. To quote her own words, the qualities essential to a traveller are: ". . . First of all, a temper as serene at the end as at the beginning of the day . . . the capacity to accept values and to judge by standards other than our own. The rapid judgment of character; and a love of nature, which must include human nature also. The power to dissociate oneself from one's own bodily sensations. A knowledge of the local history and language. A leisurely and uncensorious mind. A tolerable constitution and the capacity to eat and sleep at any moment. And, lastly, and especially here, a ready quickness in repartee."

THE WILD ASSES: A JOURNEY THROUGH PERSIA. By W. V. Emanuel.
(Jonathan Cape.) 12s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by LADY FOWLE.)

It is not often that travel *en masse* provides the material for a book of any distinction, but Mr. Emanuel is an author who evidently has immense powers of resistance to any impingement by his fellow-men—and women—on his personality.

The Wild Asses contains descriptions of Persian scenes (I use the older name for that country, as he does himself), which are little works of art, as clear-cut and as brilliant as the miniatures painted by Muzaffar of Isphahan.

In this book there is shown that generous toleration of the ways of other nations, the appreciation of their efforts towards friendliness and the sympathy towards their difficulties and aspirations, which is so often, and so sadly, lacking in the books of some modern travellers of the "Smart Alec" school. Persia, now in rapid transition from the ancient to the modern, has been studied and not patronized.

The party of twenty travellers of both sexes and varied nationality set out in August, 1936, under the auspices of the National Union of Students, to make the round tour of Iran, arriving and leaving via Russia, with a dash to Herat from Meshed as a hoped-for item on the itinerary and a crossing of the formidable Dasht-i-Kavis Desert on the way home.

Somewhat to their own surprise these items materialized, but delays *en route* caused a good deal of anxiety, as time was limited. This is where the leaders of the expedition made a great mistake. In Eastern travel the time allowed for any journey must be doubled (and occasionally redoubled) or

the traveller will have severe nervous strain to contend with as well as the difficulties of the road.

The food provided for the day's journey seems to have been rather unnecessarily scanty and Spartan; even the ubiquitous hard-boiled egg was not thought of until near the end of the time, and it is not surprising that several members of the party suffered from severe indigestion, in spite of the fact that some kind host usually provided a lavish evening meal.

His Majesty Reza Shah Pahlavi has a chapter to himself, and his great and genuine achievements on behalf of his country receive full appreciation. Incidentally, the query is raised whether a first-class road would not have been a better (and cheaper) method of transport than the immensely costly and almost certainly uneconomic railway recently completed across the country.

The chapter on Germany and Iran has a special interest at the moment, although the sentence "the most obvious link between Germany and Iran is a common fear of Russia and her propaganda" reads rather cynically now.

The party was allowed a hasty visit to the Sacred Shrine at Meshed, at that time a rare and rather risky privilege, but all returned safely.

The road to Herat and the town itself are well described, and the author must have taken a great deal of trouble to obtain his historical background to these chapters, as for the whole book. There is an excellent map, a historical table, a glossary and an index.

The spirit of two members of the party, one of whom was an English-woman, in gallantly launching themselves from the Parachute Jumping Tower at Tiflis, cannot be admired enough, especially as the parachutes appeared far from airworthy!

The bazaars of Iran are described as an endless delight; entrancing sources of free entertainment, the home of arts and crafts, which are being all too rapidly displaced by the mass-produced goods of Japan.

The reader who has left Iran, perhaps for ever, can exclaim at intervals, "It was just like that!" "I saw that too!" "The hills looked like that to me when the sun set!" and for just a little while he can be caught back to the lands of colour, space and light, and forget the grim horrors of devastated cities and wholesale mechanized slaughter.

KAFIRS AND GLACIERS: TRAVELS IN CHITRAL. By R. C. F. Schomberg.
(*Martin Hopkinson*.) 15s. net.

Lieut.-Colonel Schomberg has contributed variously to our knowledge of North-West India and Central Asia. After an extensive sojourn he now presents a new volume, dealing with what he saw and learned in Chitral, a semi-independent state of North-West India. And it is all very interesting and entertaining. The country with its glaciers and peaks is laid open; we also learn of the plants and trees growing in this wild land. The inhabitants of the country with their modern, enlightened ruler, the Mehtar, are fully described. A complete picture of their manners and customs is given throughout the volume. Of special interest are the ceremonies and dancing

at their Spring Festival at which the author was present. There is also an account of their shrines and religious practices. Finally, we find an historical sketch of Chitral. A good large-scale map has been added, but the illustrations might have been clearer. A remark of an old Chitrali woman (on page 170) points perhaps to the modern outlook: "Here, God takes no notice of the poor, He is only a friend of the rich, and yet we all have to give the same alms."

THE CRUSADE IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES. By Aziz Suryal Atiya. (*Methuen.*) 30s. net.

Professor Atiya published a few years ago a remarkable study of the Crusade of Nicopolis, which received great attention from historians and other scholars. The same author has now considerably enlarged upon the same subject, and he has thereby added to his proof of trustworthy, conscientious, and painstaking scholarship. Professor Atiya has made full use of his Oriental opportunities by visiting different places in the East, as well as in the West, and has studied documents not only in Arabic but also in various European languages. We are therefore fortunate in possessing a monograph in which are to be found Oriental knowledge and Western methods. The work is divided into four parts: one gives a general view of the later medieval world; the second part deals with the mass of propagandist literature in the West; the third part contains a survey of the state of Christendom, relations between Europe and the Mongols, and the Latin missionary activities in the East; whilst the fourth gives the history of the crusading movement itself.

The appendices are no less valuable. They include the names of pilgrims and travellers, with full bibliographical notes, lists of the crusaders, chronological tables, and a well-arranged enormous bibliography of manuscripts and books in all languages, and finally a complete index. The illustrations and maps are in keeping with the fine text and the numerous references.

INDIA

THE A B C OF INDIAN GOVERNMENT FINANCE. By P. K. Wattal. (Delhi: *Manager of Publications.*) 10 annas, or 1s. net.

(Reviewed by G. H. BAXTER.)

Public affairs are invariably dominated and conditioned, in the last resort, by considerations of finance. This fact is exemplified by the acknowledged primacy of the Treasury among the great departments of State, or, again, by the way in which parliamentary decision upon matters of great moment, such as a scheme of social

reform or some vital project of defence, commonly takes the shape of a vote of supply. This need not be deplored or regarded as a sordid state of affairs. Every public activity, however intrinsically desirable, costs money, which must be raised, and thus in essence represents the diversion to public purposes of a greater or less amount of the energy and productive capacity of the community. It is not surprising that the issue commonly boils down to the simple question, To spend or not to spend, to raise or not to raise. But this is far from meaning that pecuniary considerations have necessarily been allowed to have the last word.

Even the mighty business of constitution-making must wait upon the exigencies of finance. Thus, when in 1934 the lines of India's new Constitution were laid down, the Joint Select Committee of Parliament stipulated that it should not come into operation until His Majesty's Government should have given to Parliament a direct assurance that the financial position was sufficiently sound. Considerations of finance, moreover, entered largely into the allocation to Centre and Provinces of their respective rights and duties, and there were many other intricate financial problems to be solved in the course of giving a totally new form to a concern so huge and so complex as the government of a quasi-continent.

Now that a fresh turn is being given to India's constitutional outlook, we may expect a renewed interest in all these related financial topics, which will be heightened by the fact that both the Indian Budget and the Indian economy are bound to be profoundly—but to a great extent unpredictably—affected by the impact of war. Once again the attention of many among the statesmen, political writers and students, and the intelligent reading public in this country will be focussed on the many facets of Indian finance. Once again they will be brought up sharp by such localized terms of art as "currency chests," "Home Treasury balance," "authenticated expenditure," "demands for grants," or by the confusing discovery that many expressions—*e.g.*, "budget," "charged," and "revenue"—as used in relation to Indian affairs, have a connotation different from that which they bear in this country. Once again they will feel the need of a concise but readily intelligible *vade-mecum* to guide them through the labyrinths of Indian Government finance. In the meantime, with the increase of autonomy and the extension of the franchise in India, there must be a growing body of intelligent opinion there which feels the need of making itself better informed upon the machinery of the country's financial administration.

It is these needs which Mr. Wattal's seventy-one-page treatise sets out—and with a considerable measure of success—to satisfy. The scope of his work can best be indicated by quoting the

chapter headings: Financial Control; Government Accounts and their Audit; the Preparation of the Budget; the Voting of the Budget; Budget Control System and Review of Control; Public Debt; Cash Balances; and Federal Finance. On each of these topics he tells his story comprehensively and succinctly. There are light touches here and there, such as an invocation of Micawber, a *Punch* quotation, and a brief excursus on the etymology of the word "budget"; but these cannot disguise that the author views his subject with the chilly and rather narrow eye of the accountant rather than through the vaguer, if more rotund, spectacles of the framer (or the critic) of policy. Here there is an acute awareness of what things are, rather than of why they are. The author shows only a perfunctory consciousness of the existence of other countries than India, and in particular of other federations. His work is not copiously enriched with comparisons with, and illustrations drawn from, other systems of national finance. But this, which in a more ambitious work would have been a serious defect, is here, on balance, a positive merit. For it permits Mr. Wattal a single-minded devotion to his aim, which is to explain the details of the Indian system and how it works.

THE INDIAN PRESS. By Margarita Barns (*Allen and Unwin.*) 21s. net.

(Reviewed by SIR FRANK BROWN.)

On a scale not before attempted, Mrs. Barns has brought together much valuable material, especially on the earlier struggles of an imported profession which had its beginnings in India one hundred and sixty years ago. She has searched far and wide for relevant facts, and presents them from the background first of the rise and growth of journalism in Britain, and then of the political evolution of India. Due study has been given to India Office papers, and other material in this country, but the author could not have made her story so comprehensive without much delving in Secretariat records in India, where "F. B.," to whom the book is dedicated, holds an important editorial position.

Mrs. Barns shows how the official attitude toward the Press, at first very hostile, and seldom quite friendly, varied according to the turn of events and the outlook of successive Governors-General or the Home authorities. The struggles of such pioneers of Press freedom as J. A. Hicky and Silk Buckingham, with all his defiance of authority, are sympathetically recorded. The liberalizing influences at work in the early years of Queen Victoria's reign are brought out by citations of the minutes of Macaulay and of Sir Charles Metcalfe. The latter, when acting as Governor-General, rather more than a century ago, abolished the system of newspaper licences—to his own hurt in the matter of promotion. There are passages in other minutes advocating restrictions which call to mind some of the arguments

used today for shackling the Press on the ground that it may be misused to undermine the war effort.

Mrs. Barns is compelled to regard as dubious the future of what for convenience she calls throughout "the Anglo-Indian Press," but would be more correctly described today as the British-conducted journals. This is to be regretted, for that portion of the Press has a definite and valuable part to play in the further development of India. Mrs. Barns says very little, and often nothing, of the great figures among British journalists in India in modern days—the Knights, the Chesneys, J. M. Maclean, Grattan Geary, T. J. Bennett, Lovat Fraser, Alfred Watson, Stanley Reed, and others. It is natural, however, that with the background of her former activities in London, in the service of a telegraph press agency in rivalry with Reuter, she should devote chief attention to the Indian-owned but English-printed press, which has made such rapid progress in recent years.

In her outline of present-day political events in India Mrs. Barns scarcely attempts to conceal her strong sympathies with the more emphatic nationalist position. Her literary gifts have developed since she wrote some four years ago, under personal stress, *India Today and Tomorrow*, and her capacity for research might usefully be turned to further account in India.

THE JUDICIARY IN HYDERABAD

REPORT ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT OF H.E. THE NIZAM'S GOVERNMENT, 1935-36. (Hyderabad: *Government Central Press*.)

(Reviewed by H. G. RAWLINSON.)

Those who think of the Indian States as picturesque backwaters will be enlightened if they read some of the administration reports which are issued from time to time. The great Indian States today are as progressive and well-managed as the provinces of British India. The admirable report of the Judicial Department of the Nizam's Government is a case in point. Nawab Mirza Yar Jung Bahadur, the Chief Justice, tells us: "All-round efficiency has been our policy. As far as the standard of Judiciary is concerned, we have reached our goal in fixing the same for future requirements. Besides civilians, not even a Munsiff can now be recruited unless he is a barrister or graduate in law with two years' practice, and has undergone the test of competitive examination. Thus we have been trying to raise the standard of efficiency in every branch of Judicial Administration. We have been carefully watching not only changing conditions but the current of public opinion in the State. The High Court Act has been twice amended in the light of past experience, and a third amendment is now contemplated. Justice is our guiding star, and gradual evolution with due regard to circumstances determines our conduct." The elaborate statistics which constitute the body of the Report fully substantiate this claim.

INDIA EXPOUNDED IN PAMPHLETS. 1. POLITICAL ADVANCE IN INDIA. By Sir Alfred Watson. (Great Britain and the East.) 6d. net. 2. INDIA. By L. F. Rushbrook Williams. (*Oxford University Press.*) 3d. net.

(Reviewed by SIR FREDERIC SACHSE.)

Sir Alfred Watson summarizes the measures taken from 1861 to 1935 to give self-government to India by gradual stages, and explains how Congress, which originally voiced the aspirations of all sections, is now denied authority to speak for India by the vast majority of Muslims, the leaders of the depressed classes, and that one-third of India which is covered by the Indian States.

The main theme of Professor Rushbrook Williams' pamphlet is the future of the spirit of nationalism, which he says is primarily a sentiment rooted in the emotions rather than in the reason. While maintaining that British rule, alone among the many dominions which India has known in her tragic history, has placed her on the road to national integration and national self-government, he admits that the practical difficulties may still be insoluble. Against the perils of external invasion and internal disorder, he says that cultural unity, even if there were time to evolve a national racial type, can achieve little. The attitude of Hindu and Muslim thought towards the functions of the State differ as widely as East from West. Incidentally, also, he calls attention to the paradox that, while Gandhi claims to be fighting to preserve the characteristic culture of the East from contamination by the West, his idea of self-government is a slavish imitation of the mother of Parliaments, a form of government which Mr. Jinnah says is unsuited to India.

A short experience of Provincial Autonomy shows clearly with what reluctance the Viceroy's residuary powers would be used, and how quickly any form of responsible government at the centre would merge into complete independence. It is difficult to believe that the wiser Indian politicians do not realize this. But they must continue their opposition until they can persuade themselves that they have won their freedom by their own efforts, and not as voluntary concessions, and they cannot trust anybody but themselves to frame the new constitution. Hence the insistence on a constituent assembly. They recognize what neither of our authors has sufficiently emphasized, that four-fifths of the population of India, whether in the towns or the country, do not care by whom they are governed: all they want is to be left in peace, no conscription of man-power or wealth, the present low scale of direct taxation, and no interference with their social and economic customs.

The object of both these pamphlets is to help those of our countrymen who have no first-hand knowledge of India to understand why India has not accepted with open arms the promise of Dominion status. Is it because the constitution outlined in the Act of 1935 only grants "practical" Dominion status, and not the full independence enjoyed by the other Dominions? Or is it the case that there is no India to receive it, that there are Bengalis and Rajputs, Hindus and Muslims, but no Indians?"

Professor Rushbrook Williams, however, says that the view that India can never become one nation has lost ground recently because the Indian peoples have shown themselves possessed of sufficient consciousness of common unity to be increasingly reluctant to allow Britain to control the destiny of their country. This statement may require modification, if the recent declaration of the Muslim League is to be taken seriously. In any case it is not inconsistent with the belief that the Indian of one province or of one religion would rather be governed by the British than by Indians of another province or of rival religions. The main fact to be kept in mind is that the ideal of an Indian nation has grown up in a period when the leaders of Indian opinion had ceased to regard foreign aggression as an ever-present danger. It remains to be seen whether, in view of the onslaught of Hitlerism, they will modify their views. Even if India could equip a modernized army, it would be a mercenary army, not a citizen army. The danger of it turning against an elected government would be just as great as the danger of it not being able to cope with Russia or Japan. Unlike America, India can never spend millions of pounds on an air force and a navy, yet she is particularly vulnerable to attack by sea.

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, 1784-1834. By C. H. Philips, M.A., PH.D., Lecturer in Indian History, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. (*Manchester University Press.*) 20s. net.

(Reviewed by SIR CHARLES FAWCETT.)

The working of the Board of Control, established by Pitt's India Act of 1784, and its relations with the East India Company, have an importance and interest which are dealt with in many historical works. Unfortunately, there are difficulties in the way of their close study, due mainly to essential records being no longer extant and to the system initiated by Dundas, by which private conversational discussions preceded the formal submission of a draft despatch for the Board's approval. These have been largely removed by the extensive research—some of it on new ground—which Mr. Philips has made. This has enabled him to place those relations in a clearer light than that hitherto available, and to publish for the first time a detailed account of the "home" side in the government of the Company's expanding territories in India.

This comprises not only the work of the President of the Board, as a representative of the Ministry, and that of the Courts of the Directors and of the Proprietors, representing the Company, but also the activities of various "interests" that had influence in Parliament or the Company's directorate. Mr. Philips classifies them under the heads of Indian (*i.e.*, "Nabobs" or others who had returned with fortunes from the East), City or shipping (local merchants, shippers, etc.), and, in the nineteenth century, private trading (in opposition to the Company's monopoly); and he shows the direction and the varying degrees of pressure that they brought to bear from time to time on the Company and the Government of the day. He has also appended detailed lists of Members of Parliament who represented

these interests, which must have taken much time and trouble to compile. The care he has taken is also clear from the mass of detail that the pages of the text contain and the documentation in the footnotes. The reader soon finds his interest roused by the author's lucid exposition of the conflicts that occurred between the President of the Board and the Court of Directors, the intrigues that so often attended questions of patronage, and the personalities of the chief parties concerned in them. All the same, he will probably agree with Mr. Philips' conclusion that "the machinery of home government, which had been devised to supervise the Indian Governments, proved to be not inefficient for the purpose," and that, in spite of manifest defects, it generally worked with surprisingly little friction. This is a thorough and authoritative treatise on the subject, which will undoubtedly be of great help to all students of Parliamentary and Indian history of the period dealt with.

INDIAN STATES AND THE NEW RÉGIME. By Maharaj-Kumar Raghubir Singh, M.A., LL.B., D.LITT. (Bombay: *Taraporevala*.) Rs. 10.

(Reviewed by SIR WILLIAM BARTON.)

In the view of the Hindu Congress, which now rules seven of the Indian Provinces, a gloomy medievalism broods over Princely India, unfitting the Princes to play a part in shaping the destiny of the greater India; unless they allow their subjects freely to elect representatives to the Central Legislature they cannot be associated in an Indian federation.

A striking contrast to their presentment of Indian India is afforded by a study of Indian politics and the federal scheme embodied in a work entitled *Indian States and the New Régime*, by Maharaj-Kumar Raghubir Singh, a young Rajput noble, and heir-apparent of the Sitamau State in Central India. Highly cultured (he has the degree of D.Litt.), he brings to his subject a sympathy with Indian aspirations and patriotism for the larger India, deeper and perhaps more sincere than that of many a supporter of Congress.

The Maharaj-Kumar adopts more or less the orthodox attitude of Indian Princes towards the paramountcy of the British Crown and the Political department. The Princes were, he thinks, more or less driven into pledging themselves to a federation by their growing weakness in Indian polity: on the one side, largely due to the indifference of the British Government towards their economic interests and the increasing encroachment of the Political department; on the other side, the rising tide of democracy in British India was threatening to sweep over artificial boundaries. At the same time they made it clear that they would only cede the necessary powers to a responsible government over which they would have some influence, if not control.

While supporting the Princes against the British Government, the writer is not sparing in his criticism of political life in the States. He upbraids the

Princes for their selfishness, their want of unity, their failure to implement the self-denying ordinance passed in the Chamber of Princes several years ago, by which they more or less pledged themselves to bring their administration and policy into harmony with the highest precept of civilized government.

The Government of India Act, as finally passed, did not meet the wishes of the Princes. What they wanted the writer does not say. They stand strongly for the British connection. Did they want complete responsibility at the Centre? If so, how do they expect under such conditions to maintain the link with Britain?

Disunity, the writer thinks, has throughout the negotiations blighted the prospects of Indian India. If the Princes had presented a united front they might have got better terms. The British Government would not have quietly ignored their claim to a definition of the boundaries of paramountcy as a preliminary to the accession to federation.

It is interesting that this young Rajput noble is convinced that the Princes will accede to the federation. The call and needs of the Empire will influence some of them; to some, federation appears inevitable; some will hope in a federation to improve their economic position; others that the change will enable them to resist interference from the Political department. In a vein of sarcasm he exclaims that two, perhaps, of the Princes—he does not say which—may be influenced by patriotic motives.

Most people interested in Indian politics will agree with the Maharaj-Kumar that the eclipse of the Chamber of Princes has prejudiced the case of Princely India. Had it fulfilled the rôle of a rallying point for the Princes they would, he thinks, be in a much stronger position. The Chamber has, if anything, promoted disunity rather than cohesion. Unless the Princes combine their doom is sealed. Some form of political institution is essential to keep them together, and, in the Maharaj-Kumar's opinion, a reconstructed Chamber of Princes would be the best form of organization for the purpose. He would give more weight to the leading Princes; a Council of Princes should be constituted as a Cabinet of the Chamber, in which the leading Princes should predominate. The Council would be responsible for shaping the policy that the Princes desired to promote in the federal legislature. It may be of interest to note that in the past month or so the Princes have worked up a scheme for the reorganization of the Chamber very much on the lines suggested.

The Maharaj-Kumar indulges in some general reflections on future developments. He thinks that in a federation many of the smaller States with joint representation will combine to form larger political units. This may happen. Some political thinkers might challenge his opinion that India has deliberately chosen to submit her future to democracy and that ultimately the Princes will have to follow her example. In any case, centripetal tendencies, characteristic of all federations, will, in his opinion, wear away the privileges and prerogatives of autocracy and bring the States more and more under the predominance of political India. These tendencies will be all the more dangerous to the Princes because of their failure to develop local patriotism. This criticism, it may be observed, is not always merited. There

are big States, like Mysore, Travancore, and Kolhapur, with a long tradition behind them that can boast of the loyalty of the people to their own State and government.

One would like to know the Maharaj-Kumar's views as to the probable alignment of parties in the federal legislature when it comes into existence. He keeps aloof, perhaps wisely, from such speculations. The book, to which Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar writes an able foreword, may be strongly recommended to those interested in the possibilities of Indian federation.

THE BLUE GROVE : THE POETRY OF THE URAONS. By W. G. Archer. With a Foreword by Arthur Waley. (*Allen and Unwin.*) 8s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by THE HON. THEODORA BENSON.)

The interest and importance of a chance encounter sometimes lies less in whom you meet than in how you meet him. Perhaps you have never asked a question about the Uraons, a Central Indian tribe of Dravidian stock, and your personal response to the news that W. G. Archer has gathered his translations of their poetry into a book called *The Blue Grove*, for which George Allen and Unwin ask 8s. 6d., might easily be "So what?" Yet humanity and scholarship and flashes of beauty may never come so happily together again to introduce you to any other community.

Arthur Waley in his foreword points out the great value of the author's intelligence in relating the songs to the social activities (tribal dancing, marriage, the cultivation of the crops) to which they belong. Mr. Archer gives a vivid sketch of Uraon life, character and customs. He creates for us a gay, active, hard-working people, kindly and full of fun. Dancing is a village amusement for all the under-thirties. Marriages are arranged (there are three fascinating marriage dialogues between the agents for both parties at the end of the book, in which a deer, a calf, or—the best of them—a marrow represents the girl, partly for amusement and partly to cover the indelicacy of haggling for bride-price). A girl often has a special boy friend with whom she runs about, but she is generally given in marriage away from him outside the village. There are marriage poems and flirtation poems but no love poems; songs are for public occasions, and do not speak of the depths of the heart.

There are some pretty lines, however, on encounters of the sexes :

"Come and visit us, brother,
With your diamond girl
In the morning, brother,
With your diamond girl."

Or, again, with an accent on light :

"Come closer, girl, in your dress with the coloured border,
Without you there is no pleasure.
Come closer, girl, come closer;
The shining girl is coming."

Here is a tender plea for the bride going to her husband's house :

"The tawny cow has left the house,
Has gone to the forest.
Tiger, don't eat it,
O, tiger, don't eat it.
Born today, born only yesterday,
Give milk to that calf."

Some poems have a mysterious surrealist charm. There is a long one with the refrain "Noise of the rain falling" that has a strange urgency, though it tells only that a boy's red turban and a woman's long hair were wetted, that the turban should be dried in the bushes and the long hair in the body's core.

"Noise of the rain falling,
Comb and tie the long hair."

Uraon imagination is often lively and charming. The life-and-death tree is a kind of magnolia with sweet satiny blossoms on leafless black boughs. "Go it can, but come it cannot" is a riddle (the riddle section is boring, on the whole), to which the answer is an arrow. In the poem about the dhichua (a kind of king-crow) and the parrot the comparisons are exciting—though I would have put them the other way round :

"On a kend pole a dhichua sits,
In the paddy-fields a parrot swoops and wheels;
Like today the dhichua sits,
Like yesterday the parrot swoops and wheels. . . ."

Finally, some poems are just jokes :

"Visit the village,
But do not go to the girls;
Do not go to the girls.
In the girls' quarter
Is the noise of giggling.
Do not go to the girls."

SRI SWAMI NARAYANA. By Bhai Manilal C. Parekh. (Sri Bhagwat :
Dharma Mission House.) 10s. net.

(Reviewed by STANLEY RICE.)

From time to time there appear in India religious teachers who, while making a considerable stir amongst their own people, are practically unknown to the official and still less to the commercial community. Mr. Parekh hails Swami Narayana as "the most remarkable among the modern teachers in India," not excepting Ram Mohan Roy, Keshub Chunder Sen, or Dayananda Saraswati. Swami Narayana, whose real name according to the flesh was Ghanshyama, was born in 1781, and his mission was mainly

if not entirely in Gujerat and Kathiawar. He began his career in the traditional way, wandering to the Himalayas and thence all over India, as far south as Rameswaram and Danush Kodi. During this time he learned Yoga and Bhakti, and his whole career was coloured by the emotional nature of the latter. He owed allegiance to Swami Ramananda, of whom it is said that he exclaimed: "What am I even in comparison with him? He is much greater than I." This parallel with the saying of John the Baptist in the first of many similarities with his recorded life of Jesus of Nazareth. Swami Narayana came to be regarded as an Incarnation of the Deity and to be worshipped as such, so much so that even Rama and Krishna became only secondary manifestations of the Divine! He soon became an acknowledged leader, and, like most such, was subjected to persecution. Miracles are ascribed to him, some at least not unlike those recorded in the Christian Gospels, such as the casting out of devils and the supplying of ghee from empty bottles. Yet it does not appear that the Sadhu had any knowledge at all of Christianity.

At his death in 1830 it was said that "one wail, loud and piercing and bitter, rang throughout Gujerat, and upon the signal calamity that had fallen upon the community." Like Jesus of Nazareth, he is reported to have appeared several times to his disciples. The question remains how far this movement has lasted. That one never heard of it in Gujerat proves nothing, since it is, as I have said, quite possible for a movement of the kind to be in full vigour and yet to be unknown to the circles in which Englishmen move. At the same time, if one is at all in touch with religiously-minded Hindus, it is very probable that a word here or a hint there would be dropped, especially when the subject of this book had come to be worshipped as a god, superior even to Sri Krishna of Dwarka. Mr. Parekh writes enthusiastically of his hero; the reader must be left to decide for himself whether the claim is justified that his book is "a veritable textbook of religion in general and Hinduism in particular."

DICTIONARY OF PALI PROPER NAMES. By G. P. Malalasekera. Vol. II. 1938. (*John Murray*.) 31s. 6d. net.

Dr. Malalasekera has kept word by completing the *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, of which the first volume was issued only a few months ago. No one will sufficiently appreciate, except the author himself, the amount of work, research, and knowledge that is contained in these two volumes. It is true that Professor Rhys Davids and Professor Ed. Müller have prepared the beginnings of this valuable dictionary, but the real task of checking, adding, editing has been entirely done by Dr. Malalasekera. He must be a proud man today, associating his work with the famous *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, by Macdonell and Keith.

DIAMONDS AND DUST. India through French Eyes. By Baron Jean Pellenc. (*John Murray.*) 10s. 6d. net.

A book on India by an intelligent French student of Indian art, including Architecture and Sculpture, is a most welcome addition to the literature of that country. The author has visited chiefly the States of Rajputana. The book, then, offers a description of life in India, with observations and criticism on what he has seen and heard. His judgment is keen and precise, somewhat unusual at times; he does not admire the Taj Mahal. Nothing escapes his mind or eyes. Although various temples attract his attention in a special degree—such as the Jain temple on Mount Abu, the Golden temple at Amritsar—in Udaipur he is no less interested in hunting, in the wonderful ceremonial of an Indian Court, in wedding festivities, etc. Remarks on British rule in India occur but sparingly. Some criticism, however, is to be found in the last few pages. Thus he certainly acknowledges the services which the British have rendered to India, but doubts whether they have really gained the people's affection. According to M. Pellenc, the Englishman keeps himself aloof. The English translation by Mr. Stuart Gilbert is excellent.

FAR EAST

MOMENT IN PEKING. By Lin Yu-tang. (*Heinemann.*) 15s. net.

(*Reviewed by O. M. GREEN.*)

Seeking for a word that may sum up all the qualities of this charming book, one might suggest "rare," as appropriate alike to its story, manner of narrative, and the innumerable pictures of cultured Chinese life it presents. Dr. Lin Yu-tang traces the progress of two wealthy families in Peking from the time of the Boxer revolt to the present Japanese invasion, and into this framework he has poured a flood of intimate knowledge, from the influence of Taoism on its devotees to the correct method of serving a crab supper or preparing the special dishes for which different provinces are famous; and from the means by which an adroit wife may push a stupid official husband into becoming "the God of Wealth" to the intricate embroidery worked by Chinese ladies. We see inside the great mansions into which so few foreigners have penetrated, the infinite complexity of the etiquette and ritual by which they are bound. We assist at their gorgeous marriages and funerals (through which a Chinese may cripple himself financially for years). We accompany them in picnic parties to the western hills and admire the wit with which they cap verses or compose little poems appropriate to the occasion. We see them in times of fun and in times of tragedy. And we know them all, for Dr. Lin has a very skilful pen in drawing character, and there is not one in all his vast gallery of portraits that is not plainly visible before us. As for Mulan, his heroine, she is surely one of the most lovable women in fiction. Apart from the merit of the story, *Moment in Peking* is invaluable as a record of a type of high civilization which prevailed for thousands of years, but has now passed for ever.

Of Peking itself Dr. Lin writes with that devotion which it inspires in foreigners as well as Chinese, more perhaps than any other city. For example :

"It was now deep winter. Winter in Peking is unsurpassable, unless, indeed, it is surpassed by the other seasons in that blessed city. For Peking is a city clearly marked by the seasons, each perfect in its own way and each different from the others. In that city man lives in civilization and yet in nature, where the maximum comforts of the city and the beauties of rural nature are perfectly blended and preserved, where, as in the ideal city, man finds both stimulation for his mind and repose for his soul. . . . Peking as a human creation was not the work of anyone, rather the joint product of generations of men who had the instinct for beautiful living. . . . The unmistakable poise and leisurely accent of the speech of a Pekinese boy or girl, man or woman is sufficient evidence of this human culture and this geniality of life."

As, one may well say, is revealed in the lives of Dr. Lin's friends, the Tsengs and the Yaos.

The skies darken for these pleasant people as the story advances until the storm of the Japanese invasion bursts upon them. The terrible drama of the past three years, in which millions of helpless and innocent people have been butchered or driven in ruin from their homes, is described very finely, without rancour, indeed with something of the cold impersonality of a Thomas Hardy. But the book ends on a note of triumph, and Mulan and her husband join the flood of refugees for Western China, buoyed up with the knowledge that out of her sufferings a new China will be born, far more glorious than anything that the polite classical writers in whom their youth was steeped could ever have known.

THE STRANGE APOTHEOSIS OF DR. SUN YAT-SEN. By "Saggitarius." (*Heath Cranton.*) 3s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by O. M. GREEN.)

This is not a book to offer to a devout Chinese Nationalist. The author's argument is that "during his life-time Dr. Sun's chief claim to fame, or infamy, was his destructiveness; that on no single occasion did he display any real constructive ability; and that the political philosophy with which he appears to have infected the China of today is a sham . . . unworthy of a kindergarten pupil." This argument is worked out by a survey of the principal episodes in Dr. Sun's career, supported by quotations from such writers as Thomas Millard and Nathaniel Peffer, who certainly saw a great deal of the national revolt at close quarters. "Saggitarius" recalls that the revolution in 1911 broke out quite independently of Dr. Sun, who did not arrive in China till three months afterwards, when "it suited the leaders to have (him as) a figurehead, as a foil to Yuan Shih-Kai." His subsequent interventions in the movement were frequently unfortunate and embarrassing, notably in Canton in 1920-22, from which he eventually had to flee on

board a British gunboat. And Peffer is quoted to the effect that at that time "he had outlived his usefulness even to the cause to which he had dedicated his life." In those last seven words probably lies the secret of the influence that Dr. Sun wields after death, far greater than he did in life. It is never to be forgotten of Dr. Sun that, although vast sums passed through his hands, he died a comparatively poor man, and from boyhood he held to the vision of making China a better place for the "four hundred millions." He was a vain man, intolerant and, when thwarted, even tyrannical. But he was a powerful personality of remarkable magnetic force, and no man of his time could sway the Chinese as he did. His adoption after death by the Nationalists as "the Father of the Revolution" was to a large extent a matter of necessity. But when all his shortcomings and extravagances have been allowed for, and they were many, it is difficult to think of any other figure in the fiery, self-seeking ranks of so-called revolutionary leaders, who would have been more worthy of the deification accorded to Dr. Sun.

PEACH PATH. By Kuo Chin Chiu. (*Methuen.*) 8s. net.

(Reviewed by D. SEFL.)

To the prospective feminine reader a work on the subject of feminism by a woman of Chinese nationality might suggest itself as being "too quaint and intriguing" but unmatched to Western ideas; on the contrary, this is a splendidly written book, serious in intention, on occasion extremely witty, and one that should appeal to any woman who is willing to study the subject of her importance in this world and to appreciate the gravity of her social responsibility.

In explanation of her title, the author tells a tale of a Chinese fisherman who finds a Utopian Happy Village along the course of a river flanked by peach trees in bloom; according to the story, it was primarily due to his ability to appreciate the beauty of his surroundings that he was able to discover the secret of happiness. Though the exact point of the narrative is a little obscure, the author finds in it an allegory which she presents for her readers' consideration. "Is there a peach path for all of us?" she asks. "Have we passed along it to the Happy Village; or have we not troubled to find it yet? We are all seeking it if we are truly alive, so let us try and discover it and live in it."

This by way of a prelude to the book. Thereafter the author undertakes a careful study of the many aspects of women's character; she discusses their potentialities and uncovers their weaknesses, and from these various angles she brings the whole point of her book into focus. She has no sensational theories to propound; she holds the firm opinion that the rightful sphere of the average woman is marriage and maternity and that her place is in the home, and she has no other object in view but to bring women to realise the value of their most powerful asset—womanliness. "It is an honour to be a woman," she says, "and an honour is a desirable thing to possess . . . few women dare to say it to each other. . . . occasionally a woman who is brave enough to endure to be called a crank has

flung it as a challenge in writing and speech." In substance the author goes on to say that the gift of womanhood is a foundation upon which an edifice of comprehensive excellence can be built, but only if its main structure is supported by a cultivated mind; it is to woman's intelligence that the author appeals, and she directs her efforts to be helpful towards discovering to her sex her view of the right interpretation of life. Imbued with the philosophy of Confucius, she indicates to those of her fellow-women who are willing to be interested a scheme of self-discipline, a way to interior contentment and to mental and moral fitness that will contribute to their general effectiveness, to their power of good influence, and to their dignity in the domestic circle.

The author touches on every subject of interest to women and she expresses her opinions courageously. Her reflections upon the subject of divorce shine between laughter and tears. "The more I see of Western marriage," she states, "the more I am alarmed for the future of the Western woman; I am afraid and I am shocked. I have received the impression that marriage has been removed from its position as a headstone of national security and put in a corner like a bag of golf sticks; not everyone plays it, and a lot of people play it very badly." Every word of this book is worthy of attention, and to attempt any adequate review of it is merely to dismember it. It should be read from cover to cover, and the average intelligent woman for whom it is written (if she can weather its occasional scathing criticisms!) will appreciate it and derive great benefit from it.

WIND FROM THE EAST. By W. H. Potts. (*Blackie*.) 10s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by DOROTHY FOOKS.)

To exchange the desk of a city office for the deck of a sailing ship is to touch life at two extremes. On the one hand is security and comfort as opposed to the fatigue, hardship, and possible danger of the other. *Wind from the East* is an account of this transition, and the author, Mr. W. H. Potts, describes how the sudden impulse came to him to sign on as an apprentice on a windjammer, the Finnish four-masted barque *Parma*, bound for Australia to pick up a cargo of wheat. He met with fatigue, hardship, and poor food, but discovered that all this was worth the thrill of changing sail, working "for glorious hours in the rigging, climbing about like trapeze artists, standing on rusted footropes nearly two hundred feet above the deck." In the Roaring Forties he encountered his first hurricane, a terrifying experience when the ninety-foot mainsail was blown off the yard in one piece.

He left the *Parma* in Australia, and, after a short period in a cargo steamer, joined the *Idle Hour*, a ketch bound for New Guinea. Here, after a short and abortive attempt at prospecting for gold, he visited other Melanesian islands, and then embarked for Bali, where he is enthralled by the colour and gaiety of this enchanted island. Proceeding to Shanghai, he

travels over China to Tibet, a far cry from his previous existence of ledgers and business. Mountains and their passes become familiar to him as he journeys on to Burma and India.

The first half of the book is the best, for the author was then part of his experiences. A tendency to objectivity appears after he leaves the sailing ship, but throughout there is an enthusiastic feeling of adventure set down by one who has voluntarily cast aside the trammels of civilization to go and see the world for himself.

THE BUDDHIST SECTS OF JAPAN: THEIR HISTORY, PHILOSOPHICAL DOCTRINES AND SANCTUARIES. By E. Steinilber-Oberlin and Kuno Matsuo.

On the difficult subject of Buddhist sects of Japan a small but valuable book was issued many years ago by Professor Anesaki, and this is difficult to find. No wonder that two specialists in that field used their knowledge in order to fill the gap. The student of Buddhism as practised in Japan has a good deal of literature, but the great difficulty has been to distinguish between the different sects, to understand their aims and to distinguish their practices. The collaboration of the two authors, one evidently a Frenchman, the other a Japanese, has been a very happy one. A work has been compiled which will long remain a standard book and which will be found useful in study and research. Some samples of texts have been added. The English rendering reads like an original.

TIBETAN TREK. By Ronald Kaulback. (*Hodder and Stoughton*.)

This book is a light-hearted account of a seven months' trek beyond the Tibet-Burmah frontier. The author of it had not long been down from Cambridge. The trek was begun under the auspices of that well-known explorer-botanist, Mr. Kingdon Ward. The south-east corner of Tibet until fairly lately has been a wild, inhospitable region, like most borderlands difficult of access and not too safe when penetrated. Both the Abors and the Mishmi, who dwell in the vicinity, are far from sociable people. Their outlook towards a stranger has always savoured of the "'eave 'arf a brick at him" attitude. At various times several minor military expeditions have endeavoured to tame their fiery spirits. The expeditions invariably had to retire in the end; the fiery spirits usually survived.

Mr. Kingdon Ward's little party of three Englishmen was made up in order to accompany one of his periodical botanical expeditions into this—to him—interesting corner of Tibet. Mr. Ronald Kaulback and Mr. B. R. Brooks-Carrington were the other two members. Mr. Kingdon Ward was, of course, fully occupied in securing new plant specimens. Mr. Brooks-Carrington was busy with natural colour films when the somewhat doubtful weather conditions made photography possible. On the other hand, the author's position by his own showing seemed at times rather like that of one of the unemployed. Mapping was his chief occupation when the party were on the move, but Mr. Kaulback was also engaged in looking after the stores

and coolie transport. As days at a time were sometimes spent at various hamlets while the party was kept there by the weather or waiting for mails or porters, the author had plenty of time to take stock of his novel surroundings. He used it to the reader's advantage.

The tale of the dog offered him by the headman's wife at Shigatang is an amusing instance (page 78).

It was not until the party were over the Tibet border that Mr. Kingdon Ward was informed that Mr. Kaulback had not been granted a passport to go more than a short way into Tibet. Special local permission allowed of the latter accompanying Mr. Kingdon Ward as far as Chutong and the Ata Kang Pass (16,000 feet), under a hundred miles from Rima (map to face page 76), then he and Mr. Brooks-Carrington had reluctantly to turn back again down the Rongto Valley to Rima.

Advised by Kingdon Ward not to try and return along the valley of the Lohit River, they decided to strike south-east over the Diphuk Pass (14,250 feet) for some 140 miles to Fort Hertz on the Burmah frontier. Fort Hertz is about 200 miles from Myitkyina on the Irrawaddy River. From there the author made for Mandalay and Calcutta and home across India from Bombay.

Tibetan Trek is an interesting account of a first attempt at exploration on a small scale and offers easy and amusing reading. The illustrations are excellent. Youth in this kaleidoscopic world of today is sometimes accused of irresponsibility, selfishness, and various other sins to which all flesh is heir, age just as much as youth. Exploration is an amusement for the young and not for greybeards. In spite of the besetting sins it is often accused of, the younger generation today do not shirk exploration, whether in Tibet, the Arctic, or Antarctic. Like Ronald Kaulback, youth is still out for adventure.

As an esquire in the ranks of explorers the author of this book has made good. There can be little doubt that in due course Mr. Ronald Kaulback should win the golden spurs of a full-fledged knight.

GENERAL

AN AGRICULTURAL TESTAMENT. By Sir Albert Howard, C.I.E., M.A. (*Oxford University Press.*) 15s. net.

(Reviewed by SIR ALFRED CHATTERTON.)

Sir Albert Howard is well known to the agricultural world, especially in India and other tropical countries, as a great exponent of the value of humus in cultivation and as the originator of a method of producing that material which he calls "the Indore process," as it was at the Institute of Plant Industry in that State that he finally worked out the details that indubitably have made it a practical success. Millions of tons are now so produced, but if the exhausted soils of the world are to be rejuvenated the scale of operation will have to be multiplied at least one thousand times.

The growth of the urban population during the last century created an enormous demand for cheap food which has been met by the reckless exploitation of the virgin soils of America, Australia, the Cape and other countries. Fertile regions have been treated as mines, their agricultural wealth has been extracted, and now they are derelict. In the United States alone it is estimated that 250,000,000 acres are in that condition or rapidly approaching it. Vast tracts of land have been converted into hideous deserts by the erosive action of the elementary forces of nature. "The rape of the earth," as it has been fittingly termed by Messrs. G. V. Jacks and R. O. Whyte in their recent world survey of soil erosion, has produced agronomical problems of the first magnitude which will require for their solution a vast expenditure of energy and skill accompanied by a complete revolution in the methods by which in future the earth will be induced to yield its increase.

³ In the middle third of the nineteenth century chemists, notably Liebig, began to study plant growth, and established the fact that fertility depended upon the presence of certain mineral substances in the soil and that the absence or an insufficient supply of any one of them led to failure of the crop. The development of this idea gave rise to the use of artificial fertilizers and eventually to their employment on a very extended scale. A great chemical industry has grown up, much research work has been undertaken, and a greatly increased yield of agricultural produce has been obtained.

In recent years, however, it has been questioned whether these results have not been purchased very dearly. Quality has been sacrificed to quantity, and as foodstuffs for men and animals they have proved unable to sustain the healthy working of physiological processes which are a necessary concomitant of immunity from disease. Sir Albert Howard furnishes much evidence on this point, and is supported by unimpeachable medical testimony. The physical fitness of our people is said to be deteriorating, and a great campaign has been launched to provide physical training and healthy recreations. This is all to the good, but it only touches the fringe of the problem, and as it is on a purely voluntary basis it will probably only benefit those who have the energy and vitality to take advantage of it. Bad nutrition is the chief cause of the growth of our C₃ people, and with them it is not lack of food but food of inferior quality, badly cooked, which is the cause of all the ills from which they suffer.

The medical testament of 600 family doctors in the County of Cheshire throws much light on the subject, and we cannot do better than quote from its concluding words. "The better manuring of the home land so as to bring an ample succession of fresh food crops to the tables of our people, the arrest of the present exhaustion of the soil and the restoration and permanent maintenance of fertility concern us very closely. For nutrition and the quality of food are the paramount factors in fitness. No health campaign can succeed unless the materials of which the bodies are built are sound. At present they are not. Probably half our work is wasted, since our patients are so fed from the cradle, indeed before the cradle, that they are certain contributions to a C₃ nation. Even our country

people share the white bread, tinned salmon, dried milk régime. Against this the efforts of the doctor resemble those of Sisyphus."

The thesis which Sir Albert Howard has set out to maintain is that modern farming neglects to observe the principles underlying the operations of Nature as exemplified in the forests and the prairies, where there is no segregation of either vegetable or animal life. The vital processes are carried on with materials drawn from the soil and the atmosphere, and year in and year out reserves of fertility are accumulated in the form of humus by the agency of fungi and bacteria on the carpet of fallen leaves and dejecta which covers the ground.

It is more or less common knowledge today that through ignorance and greed these stores of agricultural wealth have been depleted, that on an ever-diminishing scale farmyard manure is applied to the land and its place taken by manufactured chemicals which in the main have served as stimulants to morbid growths which further reduce the available supplies of natural plant food. Where animal husbandry prevails things are not so bad, but they might be greatly improved if a more intelligent use were made of the organic refuse of the live-stock. Sir Albert Howard contends that this should be utilized in the preparation of humus, and he has demonstrated on a large scale how this can be done. The details must necessarily differ with the great variations in climate between one part of the world and another and with the local materials which are available. Essentially the process consists in the suitable admixture of animal and vegetable refuse under conditions which promote the action of the micro-organisms which induce fermentation and convert the assembled material into humus. The water-borne sewage systems of urban areas preclude the employment of much valuable organic waste, save where the effluent from the sewage works can be used to irrigate grass farms in the neighbourhood or where the sewage is treated by "the activated sludge" process. On the other hand there is a vast amount of material suitable for conversion into humus in the dustbin refuse collected by municipal authorities and often got rid of in incinerators when not deposited in controlled tips. Some experimental work in this direction has yielded valuable data and proved the feasibility of the commercial utilization not only of current collections but also of the accumulations in the dumps. Farmyard manure composted with pulverized town wastes yields four times the volume of humus, and when applied on the fields yields crops as good as if they had been manured with pure dung.

Whilst the value of humus in crop raising is generally accepted, the extreme views of Sir Albert Howard have hitherto not been shared by some eminent agricultural authorities. Sir Daniel Hall in a recent number of the *Countryman* wrote: "The nature and function of the humus of the soil is not only one of the oldest, but still one of the unsettled problems of agricultural science." After stating the tentative conclusions of the experts of the Agricultural Research Council, he continues: "But in practice how far is humus necessary to the growth of crops? Obviously it is not necessary, for nowadays men are growing tomatoes and other plants commercially in water solutions without a trace of organic matter, and

the tomatoes are as healthy, sweet and well flavoured as those grown in soil. There is plenty of evidence that wheat, barley and oats, too, can be grown successfully in soils with a very low humus content. But vegetable crops, it is generally held, require a large proportion of it." Further on in his note he says: "Disease is not a product of modern high farming with 'chemicals,' though it may be the mark of their use in an ignorant manner."

Sir Albert Howard, initially as the result of observations on the roots of tea plants and subsequently confirmed in the case of many other crops, discovered that where humus was available the young roots showed marked mycorrhizal infection, and concluded that this fungus plays the part of a middleman whereby the nutriment in the humus is conveyed to the plant and that presumably where this mycorrhizal relationship exists even a comparatively small quantity of humus in the soil may be of value in promoting growth and immunity from disease. This discovery he regards as of vital importance in coming to a right understanding of the processes of nutrition in plants. "By means of this connection certain soil fungi, which live on humus, are able to invade the living cells of the young roots and establish an intimate relationship with the plant, the details of which symbiosis are still being investigated and discussed. . . . The mycorrhizal association, therefore, is the living bridge by which a fertile soil (one rich in humus) and the crop are directly connected and by which food materials ready for immediate use can be transferred from soil to plant."

The intelligent layman in agricultural matters, after a careful study of *An Agricultural Testament*, cannot but come to the conclusion from the evidence furnished at some length that a satisfactory cycle of farm work depends upon the maintenance of the fertility of the soil and that this can only be attained by continuous attention to the preservation of its humus content. Agriculture is the occupation of the greater part of the human race and upon the quality of its products depends their physical well-being. In many parts of the world it is now admittedly in a parlous condition, and if the remedy be so comparatively simple one may well ask why Sir Albert Howard's views do not meet with general acceptance. He, himself, furnishes the answer to some extent in his criticism of present-day agricultural research. He gives due credit to the many workers who have laboured in this field and have gradually built up the knowledge we now possess in great detail regarding such matters as soil physics, the pathology and physiology of animals and plants, genetics, nutrition, food preservation and other subjects, intimately connected with the production, preservation and transport of food. Much credit is given to the work of plant breeders, as exemplified by Saunders in Canada, which led to the production of Marquis wheat, the most successful hybrid yet introduced; by Barber at Coimbatore in the South of India, whose new varieties of sugar-cane have replaced the indigenous types of cane in Northern India. Nevertheless, the gain per acre obtained by changing the variety is as a rule small. This is due to the new types making a greater demand on the fertility of the soil, and, unless this is provided for, the increased yield is only obtained for a time at the expense of the soil capital. The advocates of the use of artificial fertilizers claim to have successfully revived impoverished land, but Sir

Albert Howard insists that the effect is of transient character and in the long run will not only disappear but leave the land in a derelict condition.

There seems to be a fundamental cleavage between the views of Sir Albert Howard as to the way agricultural research should be conducted and the methods adopted in the very numerous research stations scattered over Great Britain and elsewhere in the British Empire. In each there is a team of specialists under administrative control which does not necessarily mean a superior scientific authority, and the problems dealt with, instead of being envisaged as a whole, are dissected into fragments and each separate aspect assigned to an appropriate specialist. In research work it is the individual who counts, and though the co-operation of a team of moderate ability is of value in routine work it is no substitute for the touch of genius which the individual sometimes displays, and which is more likely to be evoked when responsibility is definite and freedom of action untrammelled. In this country the State expenditure on agricultural research is of the order of £700,000 a year, and what is termed "a formidable, complex and costly organization" has been created since 1911.

Under the Agricultural Research Council started in 1934 there are six standing committees and no less than fifteen scientific committees, of which twelve are considering the diseases of crops and live-stock. This seems to substantiate the contention that there is something radically wrong with the cultivation of the soil and that the unhealthy living matter becomes the breeding ground of parasitic insects and fungi. Instead of going to the root of the whole matter and determining once and for all what is the cause of all the troubles the farmer has to put up with, alleviation is sought in palliatives. Therapeutic rather than preventive measures are the order of the day.

Based on a lifelong and very varied agricultural experience, Sir Albert Howard says that all this work is really unnecessary, that if you treat the soil properly its produce will be healthy and the men and animals that feed on it will be free from disease. This is a simple proposition, and considering the magnitude of the interests at stake our political leaders who are ultimately responsible for the welfare of the country should take measures to decisively determine the validity of the facts and arguments put forward in support of it.

The final paragraph of the chapter of "criticism on present-day agricultural research" sums up views which are certainly shared by some of our most competent agriculturists and as such is worthy of quotation in full. "In allowing science to be used to wring the last ounce from the soil by new varieties of crops, cheaper and more stimulating manures, deeper and more thorough cultivating machines, hens which lay themselves to death, and cows which perish in an ocean of milk, something more than a want of judgment on the part of the organization is involved. Agricultural science has been misused to make the farmer, not a better producer of food, but a more expert bandit. He has been taught how to profiteer at the expense of prosperity—how to transfer capital in the shape of soil fertility and the reserves of his live-stock to his profit and loss account. In business such practices end in bankruptcy; in agricultural research they lead to tem-

porary success. All goes well as long as the soil can be made to yield a crop. But soil fertility does not last for ever; eventually the land is worn out; real farming dies."

If this be a true picture of what has been going on in England in recent years the situation will be worse at the end of the war when the hasty improvisations dictated by military considerations have further depleted our slender reserves of fertility. The scarcity of farm labour precludes the possibility of any extensive campaign for the improvement of the methods of applying manure. There are, however, many thousands of unemployed who have not been found work of national service, and as most of them are resident in urban areas one may well ask why they should not be utilized to deal with the dust-bin refuse, which has been proved to be of such value in making compost. How long the war will last no one can tell, and as every effort is being made to increase home-grown produce a material increase in the supply of manure for garden and allotment cultivation will be a valuable contribution to the national resources. As the manpower of the country is now under ever increasing control ordinary commercial considerations do not apply, and everyone in receipt of public assistance may well be asked to render such service as he is physically competent to give. It is recognized that all our skilled labour not required for the manufacture of munitions should be applied to the making of goods for export, and equally it should surely be our policy to use surplus unskilled labour on work which will obviate the necessity for imports. With the waste from municipal dust tips it may be well to state again that farmyard manure is rendered four times as efficacious as when applied to the soil without this addition.

To those who are interested in the major problem of rural communities *An Agricultural Testament* may be commended, especially the introductory chapter, which in a brief compass compares the ways of Nature with those of man in conserving the means whereby animal and vegetable life are maintained on this planet. In this outline it is clearly shown that Western civilization has much to learn from the Orient. Modern science and engineering have revolutionized the culture of the soil, but it is becoming increasingly obvious that "*naturam expelles furca, tamen usque recurret.*"

A HANDBOOK OF MALARIAL CONTROL. By Robert Svensson, D.S.O., M.C., M.B., B.CH., Assistant Director of the Ross Institute.

(Reviewed by SIR ALFRED CHATTERTON.)

From the Preface to this manual on Malarial Control by Sir Malcolm Watson it would appear that the need has arisen for an authoritative handbook on certain aspects of malarial control work for the use of planters, engineers and other laymen, who are directing operations involving the employment of large bodies of labour in regions infested with mosquitoes capable of transmitting such devastating diseases as malaria and yellow fever. When this was brought to the notice of the Shell group of oil companies the directors volunteered to defray the expenses of production

and distribution through their world-wide organization if the Ross Institute would be responsible for compiling it. The work was entrusted to Dr. Svensson, and a first edition of 6,000 copies has now been issued for free distribution to any who have need of such information. It goes without saying that any such work issued under the auspices of the Ross Institute has been well done, and that through the generosity of the Shell Company it is presented to the public in a convenient and attractive form.

In the April number of this REVIEW, dealing with the annual report of the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, I drew attention to the magnificent results, both humanitarian and commercial, which have been achieved in malarial control by Sir Malcolm Watson and his collaborators as compared with the complete failure of the prophylactic methods advocated by the German bacteriologist, Robert Koch, and at one time endorsed by a considerable number of the medical profession. Here, with a detailed exposition of the methods of control which are recommended before me, tribute should be paid to the unstinted labours which have evolved a simple procedure which can be applied to any area where men congregate, provided the community can afford the not very heavy charges which it entails.

Malaria is an insect-borne disease transmitted in nature from man to man by certain species of anopheline mosquitoes. The malarial parasites dwell in the blood system, are imbibed by the carrier or vector, as it is termed in this manual, and after a cycle of development in the body of the mosquito collect at the basis of the proboscis ready for injection into the blood of a victim. The control may therefore be exercised at one or other of two points: by attacking the parasite in the blood of the man or by eliminating the mosquito. There are three drugs now in use in the treatment and prevention of malaria: quinine, alebrin and plasmoquine. Quinine is our old friend and well known, but the other two drugs are comparatively new, and though recognized to be of value under certain circumstances, should only be administered under medical supervision. Drugs are costly and affect only the individual who takes them. My own personal experience is that quinine is a palliative rather than a cure. Like many, I suffered from periodic attacks of malaria, but the last one about sixteen years ago was combined with influenza, and though the experience was unpleasant it resulted in the complete elimination of the malaria parasite. It would be interesting to know if after the great epidemic of influenza in India in 1918 there was any marked decrease in the incidence of malaria. Probably not, as most of those who were attacked died, and influenza is apparently a generic term covering a variety of obscure infections.

The elimination of the mosquito is the method of control described by Dr. Svensson, and is based on the principle that prevention is better than cure. Nowhere, he remarks, is the aphorism truer that "the female of the species is more deadly than the male" than in the case of the anopheline mosquito. The male lives exclusively on the juices of plants, but the female must have blood to ripen her eggs, and death rates are only too often the measure of her success in obtaining it. Briefly, she lays her eggs singly in water and from them free-swimming larvæ are hatched. After

passing through four processes of moulting, termed "instars," the larva turns into a comma-shaped pupa, from which in due course the mosquito emerges. The whole process from egg to mosquito takes, in the tropics, about ten days. The basis of control is to get rid as far as possible of breeding pools and to render those that remain unhealthy by spraying the surface with a suitable oil, which should have a direct toxic action on the larvæ in addition to destroying the plankton film.

This sounds simple enough, but there is a good deal of preliminary work to be done before a control scheme in any locality can be launched with the certainty that it will prove a success. The first question to be asked should be, "Is malaria control necessary at all, and if so, to what extent is it economically justifiable?" This can only be answered by consideration of the local reasons calling for an area under control and by a survey of the country round it from the point of view of the mosquitoes inhabiting it. Different species have different habits, and it is vitally important to determine what species have to be dealt with. The site for a protected area should only be selected after an examination of the neighbourhood by an expert at such work, whose experience will tell him where the control can most cheaply be established and maintained. Natural features should be adapted as far as possible, and these, of course, vary not only in different parts of the world but also in contiguous tracts depending upon their topographical features. Full instructions in these matters are given in the handbook, and here it need only be said that they deal with such questions as flushing streams, river training, the conversion of swamps into open water by the construction of suitable dams, the filling up of holes or burrow pits in which stagnant water could accumulate and by draining with deep open cuts to carry away seepage water. Some species will not breed in shade, and in some cases protection can be obtained by planting thick-growing shrubs on the banks of narrow streams or encouraging the growth of dense vegetation in swamps. The method to be adopted depends on the species you have to deal with. Finally, arrangements have to be made to periodically spray with oil any remaining breeding places which cannot be otherwise dealt with. When oil was first used as a larvicide it was thought that the oil film acted by denying the larvæ access to air, and consequently persistence of the film was regarded as the only important attribute. The credit for realizing what part the oil really played is due to Sir Malcolm Watson, who in 1914 demonstrated in Malaya a toxic oil could be used with success against larvæ living in running waters.

Today the genesis of malaria is so well understood that it is difficult to realize the mystery with which this dread scourge was surrounded till 1897, when Ross announced his epoch-making solution. This is well illustrated by a comparison of the information set out in Dr. Svensson's manual with the authoritative article by Dr. Creighton in the ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, or with the note on malaria in a *Manual of Family Medicine and Hygiene for India*, compiled by Sir William Moore, K.C.I.E., at one time Surgeon-General with the Government of Bombay, of which the sixth edition was issued in 1893, and supplied to all *mofussal* officers at their own charge. A brief quotation from the *encyclopædia*

will emphasize the contrast: "In all localities and at all seasons it is at or after sunset that the malarial influence prevails, and it tells most when a cold night follows a hot day. Perhaps the most constant fact relating to malaria is that it goes with watery exhalations and with the fall of dew. On wet soils, and over marshes, swamps and jungles the aqueous vapour condenses as the air cools; while on dry surfaces the rapid radiation of heat causes a heavy dew fall. The occurrence of malaria on bare rocks, parched uplands and treeless tracks of dry fallow land may have several associated circumstances; but that which has been most uniformly observed in such localities is diurnal range of temperature, with rapid radiation of heat after sunset and copious falls of dew." It is a long step from mephitic exhalations to the anopheline mosquito.

The medical profession may well derive great satisfaction from the labours of many of their distinguished members in alleviating the ills from which we suffered in the past, well knowing that the results achieved have been subsequently utilized for no unworthy ends, whilst we who are engineers, physicists and chemists have to deplore the fact that our contributions to human progress so often have been misapplied and turned to curses. In this connection one need only mention as an outstanding example the achievement of the Wright Bros. in constructing a flying machine. In conclusion, emphasis may be attached to the opinion of Sir Malcolm Watson that "engineering which leaves a trail of malaria behind it is bad engineering." In this respect irrigation and railway engineers are not without blame. The seepage from canals has led to extensive waterlogging, and the embankments of railways have obstructed drainage and thereby breeding places have been created. Of course this was due to ignorance, but the harm done still remains in many districts and is a high price to be paid locally by useful works which benefit the whole community. The engineer and the malariologist now work hand in hand, and the former cannot be but greatly assisted in avoiding such errors in future by reference to this very useful manual.

LIFE WORTH LIVING. By C. B. Fry. (*Eyre and Spottiswoode.*) 12s. 6d. net.
(Reviewed by PROFESSOR L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS.)

It is not given to many of us to encounter, later in life, the heroes of our boyhood, save with a sense of disillusion. But I well remember my first introduction to Commander Fry at an age when the demigods of sport had assumed for me a dim twilight, and how in a flash I recaptured all the glamorous impressions of years long past. For he has the secret of that joyous vitality which belongs to the youth of the world. Within the months that followed that first meeting I was privileged to see a good deal of him, for I was attached to the staff of the present Duke of Windsor when he visited India as Prince of Wales, while "C. B." was paying one of his winter visits to his old friend "Ranji." The late Jamsahib occupied a position which was in many ways unique in the estimation of his brother-rulers; he was "uncle," adviser, mediator, and composer of differences. Accordingly, there was great competition for his presence among the Indian

States which were to be honoured by a visit from His Royal Highness; and, in the event, "Ranji" and his faithful "Charles" performed an itinerary almost as protracted and nearly as strenuous as that of the Prince of Wales himself. So we gradually became friends, to my great and lasting pleasure.

Shortly after this I was fated to work in association with him in preparing the case which the Indian Princes were to submit to Sir Harcourt Butler and his colleagues, and this experience showed me a new side of "C. B.'s" extraordinary versatility. That he had a penetrating mind and a shrewd judgment, combined with wide experience of men and things, I knew already; but I was unprepared for the fine scholarship, the sense of historical perspective, the fearless logic which he brought to his task. He had the faculty of sinking himself entirely in the work upon which he was engaged, while preserving a judgment that was as cool as it was objective. I enjoyed every moment of our close association.

I have ventured to recount these personal experiences because they serve to illustrate one characteristic of Commander Fry's career—his power of throwing himself so wholeheartedly into the problems and interests of any *milieu* in which he happened to find himself, that anyone who was brought into contact with him when so situated might be pardoned for believing that "C. B." had spent his whole life in these particular surroundings and had no interests of any kind except those associated with them.

Such an impression is, as this book shows, a complete illusion. It may be doubted whether any one individual today has contacts so intimate with such a large number of circles so diverse in their interests. He is equally at home in the world of sport, of scholarship, of politics, of society. He could have attained to any position in the Empire on which he had set his heart. He has preferred to bestow his many gifts freely upon his many friends, particularly upon those whose sole return must be confined to affectionate gratitude. His most outstanding achievement, and that in which he justly takes a modest pride, is the foundation and governance of the training-ship *Mercury*, which gives pre-service training to boys of good character who are adopting the sea as a profession. It is a notable contribution to the well-being of a seafaring nation, and may well prove the most enduring memorial of its author. Yet it represents but a fraction of the achievement of a life which has been exceptionally rich and varied, and which displays in every moment a profound conviction that each experience, each acquaintance, each task, must for the time of its encounter be all-absorbing. Such, it seems, is the secret of "C. B.'s" abounding vitality; and this truth, revealed in every page, makes *Life Worth Living* a tonic that is as invigorating as it is palatable.

THE PRIMROSE PATH: POEMS FOR OPTIMISTS. By Edward Ellul. (*Oscar F. Bøhringer.*) 3s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by D. SEFI.)

There is a tone of such tranquil gaiety in these short poems that even the few that are written in sadder vein are divorced from melancholy. Some of them are dedicated to individuals, others are based on quotations from

various authors, and in subject many of them are frankly humorous, but they are innocent of any descent into mere doggerel.

The author's light-hearted and whimsical reflections on the little things of life that so many of us see but comparatively few of us notice will delight those optimists for whom the book is explicitly written, but they should also prove to be a wholesome tonic to any reader of pessimistic outlook.

There is sincerity in all these little poems whether grave or gay; the author not only means what he says, but he succeeds in saying what he means in admirable poetry.

His "Danseuse on my Mantelpiece," written for Elsa de Rokiski, is especially worthy of notice as a little gem of poetic delineation.

To the lover of poetry who is not looking for solemnity, this slender volume will be a good companion and will represent a veritable tome of cheerful philosophy.

RELIGION AND THE PRESENT DAY

VITAL RELIGION. A BROTHERHOOD OF FAITH. By Sir Francis Young-husband, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E. (*Murray.*) 3s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed by* MISS M. D. PETRE.)

This attractive little volume is composed of addresses given at different times, and others not actually delivered. Sir Francis has had an active life in the service of his country; he has fought for her, he has carried out negotiations on her behalf. India has been a chief stage of his activity, and it is not the first time that a soldier has learned to understand the soul of a country in which he has borne arms. As founder and head of the World Congress of Faiths he has persistently advocated the part that Eastern religions can and should contribute to the common faith of mankind; without such contribution he would maintain that no religion could be truly universal.

Our writer is an avowed, unabashed mystic, in so far as he dates a new life from a revelation which came to him on a mountain-side of Tibet, to which he had escaped in solitude after the successful completion of an arduous mission. At that supreme moment of his life he "felt in touch with the flaming heart of the world," and henceforth the distinctions of race and creed, of countries and peoples, of individuals amongst themselves were not, indeed, effaced, but were reduced to their respective places in one all-embracing centre; nations became members of humanity, and the world itself a member of the greater universe.

"Those," he adds, "who are privileged to enjoy such experiences are convinced for ever of the utter worthwhileness of life. To them all life is sacred."

It may be asked what value such experiences contain for other minds. None at all on purely deductive rational grounds; very much on the inductive law of experience. We may not enjoy the direct vision ourselves, but we see the one who sees it, and there is a convincingness in certain

testimonies greater than that of syllogistic proof. For, mystic or not, we all know that the workaday realities of life have a greater reality beneath and above and beyond them; and the moments in which that greater reality makes itself felt to certain souls are moments of revelation to all. And, in fact, few are without their instants of illumination.

It was this sense of unity that inspired Francis Younghusband in his later efforts to unite religious minds of every denomination in the great quest for human peace and fellowship. For he would define "religious experience as experience of what is going on in the heart of things."

A second message of "Vital Religion" is faith in happiness, as the right of man, the light of man, and the remedy of discord; happiness recreative and creative. He maintains that not suffering, but joy, is the supreme and final experience. "That is the rôle of suffering. It is the payment which joy demands." I leave it to those who will, I hope, be induced by this slender review to read the book itself to judge whether it errs on the side of optimism.

Sir Francis is distinctly opposed to the Christian doctrine of the Fall.

"No mother would really allow that her innocent babe was born in sin." Would she perhaps admit it more readily later on? And do not some of us agree with Browning who found proof for, and not argument against, the Christian faith which

"launched point-blank her dart
At the head of a lie-taught original Sin,
The Corruption of Man's Heart"?*

But whether or no we go with him without any critical opposition, he is surely right, sublimely right, in his belief in happiness, as that which, from the earthly point of view, is what supremely matters, and is what we look to and hope for as the final condition of mankind, whether in this world or beyond. And he is also, surely, right in his belief that, were the world happy it would also be peaceful; that unhappiness is the evil genius of every form of society.

Sir Francis lays stress on "fellowship" as something greater, more precious, more far-reaching even than love; because fellowship is the great expression of unity; love is of the feeling and the heart, fellowship of the entire being.

This small volume is a personal testimony of faith in humanity, and in the spiritual universe, and we cannot afford to shut our eyes to a lighthouse in the dark night of our present world.

THE LIGHT OF THE ANXIOUS HEART. A book of spiritual reflections for war-time. By the Reverend Aloysius Roche. (*Burns Oates and Washbourne.*) 6s. net.

(Reviewed by D. SEFI.)

The subject of this volume is clearly indicated by its sub-title. The author divides his meditations into chapters of reasonable length, in which he makes

* *Golden Hair*, a story of Pornic.

a conjectural survey of the psychological difficulties that may threaten us at the present time; difficulties that, encompassed as we are by the horrors and dismays of war, may tempt us to doubt the goodness and justice of Providence. With considerable insight into human character, the author seeks out the weaknesses in our moral defences, and frankly discusses the questions that we tend to ask ourselves at such a time.

"Many people," he says—"especially just now—passionately and peremptorily demand an explanation of the misery in which human life is involved—an explanation that will satisfy not only their intellect but, above all, their moral sense. Because, of course, the fact that it is a moral problem makes all the difference. How can I go on being a Christian, being anything, if I am not sure of the goodness and justice of God?"

In the subsequent treatment of his subject the author rather splits his argument, but its basis is clear: that God is good; therefore, be our present miseries what they may, He will order what will ultimately be the best for us, and it is for us to make good use of what He sends us. The author's approach to the general question he raises is for the most part indirect. He sets aside the objective aspect of the matter, and concerns himself principally with our objective attitude to it. His aim is not to solve the problem of evil, but rather to resolve the discord within ourselves resulting from it. It is with our supernatural state that he is preoccupied. He urges that our prayers should be directed more towards the saving of our souls than towards the saving of ourselves.

As we stand amid the ruins of security, and the ruin perhaps of our own lives, he asks us to remember that "our necessity is God's opportunity." His opportunity to make us, if we will, more spiritual individuals and more significant members of society, not in spite of, but by reason of, the evils that beset us. "And besides," he adds, "by intensifying my spiritual life, by using to the full the resources of my religion I am making a very big contribution to the solution of the crisis through which we are passing." To the reader who is looking for logic it would appear that, after all, Father Roche has not really answered the question he is supposed to have put to us. We ask: How can we believe in God's goodness if evil is allowed to prevail over good? He answers that God is good; therefore good will prevail over evil. He appears to have evaded the issue by an unsupported statement of the very fact we have asked him to substantiate.

However, the author does not claim to be wiser than his generation; he admits that there is no answer to the problem of evil that will satisfy the intellect, he admits that the way of Providence is a mystery; but he strongly denies the possible deduction that it is consequently a muddle. It must be remembered that Father Roche is writing from a standpoint within his province as a Catholic priest, and is addressing those whose fundamental belief in God and in Christian revelation is presupposed; his aim is to reassure and encourage—not to inculcate faith.

The forceful spirituality that characterises this book cannot be appreciated without careful reading, and those who are willing to view their problems from the author's standpoint will derive great benefit from it.

THE POPE SPEAKS. (*Faber and Faber.*) 7s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed by* DOUGLAS BROWN.)

Since the war began Pope Pius XII. has made many public declarations on international affairs, in sermons, receptions of pilgrims, broadcasts, and encyclical letters. In none of these has he descended into the political arena, as some would have him do, and espoused dramatically the human cause of either belligerent; but together they form a carefully articulate enunciation of the spiritual principles that, in the Catholic view, should govern the life of nations, in this as in every other age. In collecting them in one volume the publishers have not only performed a valuable service to the Catholic community in this country, but have made an apt contribution to the moral side of the British war effort.

The Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster writes a Preface, in which he makes a frontal attack on the difficult question why the Pope has not excommunicated Hitler or the German nation. The answer, indeed, is implicit in the whole atmosphere of the papal writings and speeches that follow. The Church, the instructed Catholic would remind one, is not primarily interested in the survival of what is called democracy, nor of the present economic system—still less in the perpetuation of the British Empire. These institutions, with whatever veneration Englishmen may regard them, are not to the Christian philosopher the fundamental types of *Civitas Dei*, except in the general sense that they are legitimate forms, under the natural law, of organized human society. They do, however, imply an acceptance of the Christian principles of good government which the Church demands in all ages and at all stages of economic and political development. These may be set forth as a standard of international morality, tending to the moral unity of Christendom; a patriotism that stops short of state-worship and acknowledges the supreme importance of the individual; the subjection of the state to the laws of justice and charity; economic and cultural conditions which allow the family full scope as the essential unit of society; and complete freedom for the practice of religion and the preaching of the Gospel. A moment's thought will show that the Nazis, in practice as well as in theory, reject every one of these principles; but even so it should not be for the Church to identify herself with any other particular political philosophy or with the political war aims of a belligerent. In ecclesiastical statesmanship the Popes have usually, in the words of Newman, "confined themselves to the practicable," but the Catholic apologist would say that their teaching is crystal clear to those who will listen.

The usefulness of the volume is further increased by a short objective biography of the Pope by Mr. Charles Rankin (a distinguished name, indeed, in this connection). Of necessity, it is a record mainly strung together from the material of newspaper cuttings, but it should serve as a convenient compilation for later and more perspicacious chroniclers.

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EGYPT AND A BRITISH VICTORY

AHMED MAHER PASHA, brother of Aly Maher Pasha, former Prime Minister, writing in *al-Musawwar* on July 26, 1940 :

It is my firm and final opinion that England's victory in the present war would be of the greatest advantage to Egypt, both politically and economically; whereas a victory for Italy (which God forbid!) would be the greatest calamity for the Egyptian people. I am not impressed by the propaganda stories broadcast by the Italian radio, to the effect that Italy has no designs on Egypt, but merely wishes to free her from foreign influence as she did in the case of Spain. These claims are belied by the actual state of the Italian people. Needing a means of livelihood which their own country cannot adequately supply, barred from emigration to the Americas by the numerous restrictions there in force, the Italians have been constrained to colonize desert regions such as Tripoli, or territories requiring a long time and much money to exploit such as Abyssinia. Many have emigrated to the East in search of a living. The Italian colony in Egypt is large: it competes with the Egyptians themselves in many manual, commercial, and agricultural undertakings.

It is unthinkable that a people, living under such conditions as these, could enter a rich and hospitable country like Egypt and leave it intact to its own inhabitants free to enjoy its own democratic system and liberties and the fruits of its sons' labours, seeing that it has been the practice of the Italians, during their occupation of desert territories, to colonize them and impose their régime upon them, practically wiping out the indigenous population.

As for England, our relations with her are fixed by the treaty. We have an acknowledged political position. England is a rich Power, and does not need to compete for a livelihood with the Egyptian people. During the occupation the English did not set up as rivals to the Egyptians in commerce, manufacture, and agriculture. Though they are an imperialist people they have certain humanitarian principles which compel them to respect the principles and constitutions of other nations. They leave others in freedom to conduct their own affairs, to choose the form of government which they desire.

Egypt is now a democratic country. It is therefore to her interest politically that her democratic ally should be victorious, for her victory would mean victory for the régime for which Egypt has struggled and suffered long. I believe that if Italy or Germany once got into Egypt they would forcibly impose their régime here, just as they have done in the countries they have occupied. That would mean the destruction of the Egyptian people and an end to their independence and freedom.

If England wins, however, perhaps we shall obtain from her what we did not get four years ago—namely, the removal of the stipulations laid down in the treaty. In return for the help Egypt has afforded during this war, in return for the sincere and faithful manner in which Egypt has

honoured the undertakings she voluntarily assumed, England will find reasons to justify confidence in the Egyptian Government and the Egyptian people; she may therefore withdraw from the country, leaving to us the responsibility for defending the Suez Canal, and assisting us to make ourselves strong and to guard our interests.

So much for the political aspect. As for the economic side, the English people are the greatest importers of Egyptian cotton and other Egyptian exports. It is thus in our interest that this "client" should be victorious over his enemies so that our commercial relations with England may continue to grow. England's victory in this war will benefit us greatly in the economic field and will bring our country much prosperity.

I am full of hope that the English people, hardy and dogged as they are, will conquer, even as they conquered Napoleon in the end. Indeed, their defeat of Napoleon may be regarded as the best possible evidence of their moral and military strength. Though that great commander's conquests had the appearance almost of permanence, an appearance strengthened by the régimes and dynasties he set up for his brothers and generals, in the end the English were able to finish with him and to destroy his vast empire. It is not improbable that history will repeat itself and that England will achieve a spectacular triumph, more especially as she is mistress of the seas, for so long as that command is hers her victory is assured. This people have profited by the many experiences of their long history and have been taught by them how to attain victory in the end.

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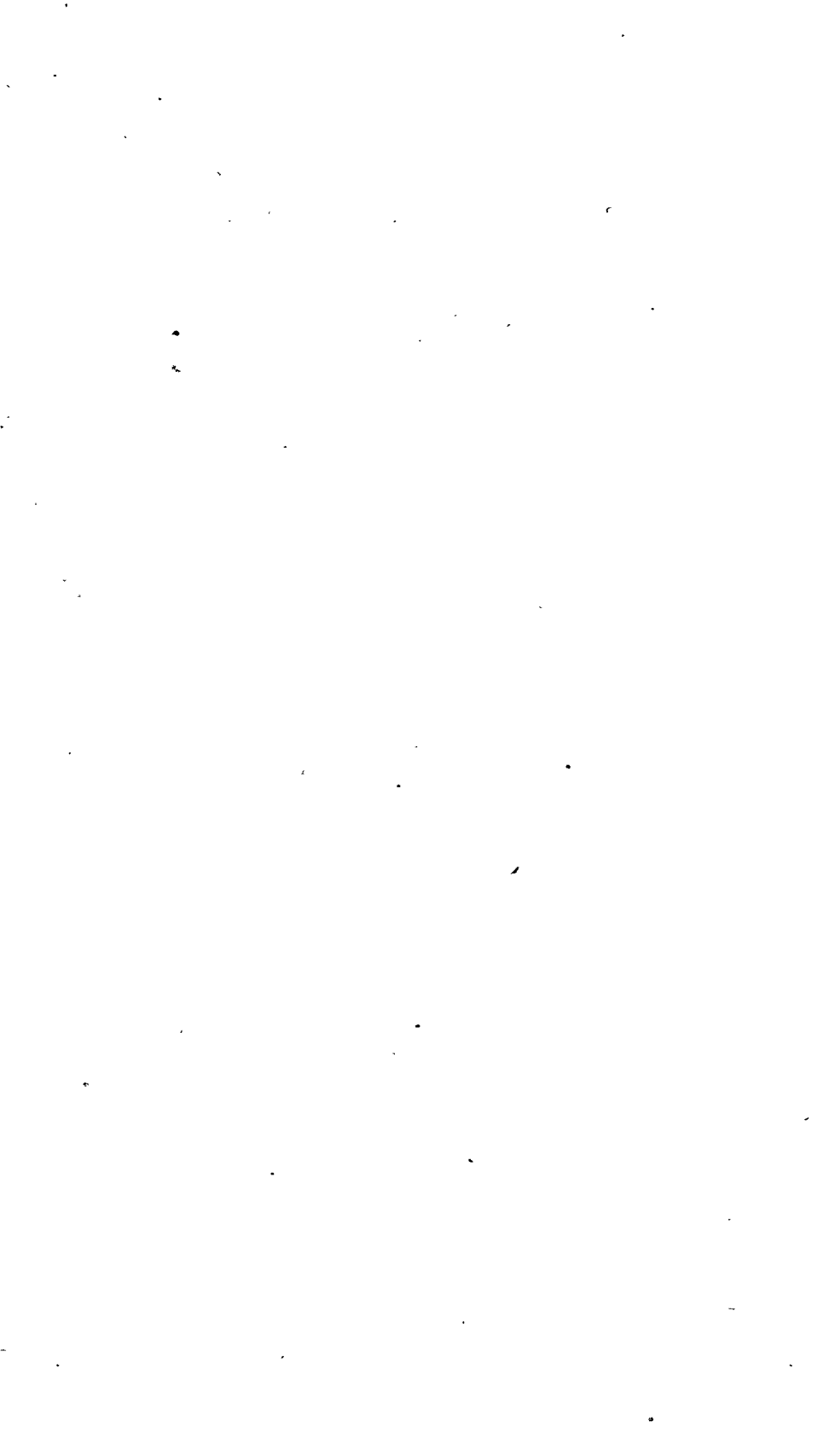
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